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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Law 89-253
H. R. 8383

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Index and summary of H. R. 82831
Digest of Public Law 89-2532

INDEX AND SUMMARY OF H. R. 8283

Apr.	9, 1965	Sen. McNamara introduced and discussed S. 1759 which was referred to the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Print of bill and remarks of author.
May	19, 1965	Rep. Gibbons introduced H. R. 8283 which was referred to the Education and Labor Committee. Print of bill.
May	20, 1965	House committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 8283.
May	27, 1965	House committee reported H. R. 8283 without amendment. H. Rept. 428. Print of bill and report.
June	22, 1965	House Rules Committee reported resolution for consideration of H. R. 8283. H. Res. 431, H. Rept. 542. Print of resolution and report.
June	25, 1965	Sen. Nelson submitted a proposed amendment to S. 1759.
July	20, 1965	House began debate on H. R. 8283.
July	21, 1965	House continued debate on H. R. 8283.
July	22, 1965	House passed H. R. 8283 with amendments.
July	26, 1965	H. R. 8283 was referred to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Print of bill as referred.
Aug.	6, 1965	Senate committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 8283.
Aug.	13, 1965	Senate committee reported H. R. 8283 with amendment. S. Report 599. Print of bill and report. Senate made H. R. 8283 its unfinished business.
Aug.	16, 1965	Senate began debate on H. R. 8283.
Aug.	17, 1965	Senate continued debate on H. R. 8283.
Aug.	18, 1965	Senate continued debate on H. R. 8283.

INDEX AND SUMMARY OF H. R. 8283, cont'd

Aug. 19, 1965 Senate passed H. R. 8283 with amendments.
Senate conferees were appointed.
Print of H. R. 8283 as passed by Senate.

Aug. 31, 1965 House conferees were appointed on H. R. 8283.

Sept. 3, 1965 Conferees agreed to file a report.

Sept. 14, 1965 House received conference report. H. Report 1001. Print of report.

Sept. 15, 1965 House recommitted conference report.

Sept. 22, 1965 House received second conference report. H. Report 1061.

Sept. 23, 1965 House adopted conference report.

Sept. 24, 1965 Senate adopted conference report.

Oct. 9, 1965 Approved: Public Law 89-253.

Hearings: S. committee on S. 1759.
H. committee on "Expand War on Poverty"-Misc.

DIGEST OF PUBLIC LAW 89-253

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965.

Amends title III (Special Programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 so as to make clear that prohibition against loans to cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes does not prevent loans to cooperatives processing dairy products or similar edible farm products; to clarify the authority granted with respect to the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which assistance may be extended to migrant workers and their families; and to authorize the appropriation of \$55 million for fiscal year 1966 for carrying out the purposes of title III. Extends to June 30, 1966, the authorization for indemnity payments to dairy farmers whose milk has been barred from the market because of residues of pesticides which had been approved by the Government. Eliminates young women enrollees from those who shall be assigned to camps where work activity is directed primarily toward conserving, developing, and managing the public natural resources of the Nation. Authorizes grants for programs which will enable the chronically unemployed poor to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of communities. Increases the membership of the National Advisory Council from fifteen to twenty-one. Provides that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure that benefits of this Act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1759

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 9 (legislative day, APRIL 8), 1965

Mr. McNAMARA introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

A BILL

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the “Economic Opportunity
4 Amendments of 1965”.

5 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

6 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS

7 SEC. 2. Section 104 (d) of the Economic Opportunity
8 Act of 1964 is amended by (1) striking out everything

1 through the clause designation “(2)”, and (2) amending
2 the remainder of such section to read as follows: “Each
3 enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in
4 the following form: ‘I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I
5 bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America
6 and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of
7 the United States against all its enemies, foreign and do-
8 mestic.’. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United
9 States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation
10 required under this subsection.”

11 JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES’

12 COMPENSATION ACT

13 SEC. 3. Section 106 (c) (2) (A) of the Economic Op-
14 portunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

15 “(A) The term ‘performance of duty’ in the Federal
16 Employees’ Compensation Act shall not include any act
17 of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of
18 duty, except while participating in an activity (including
19 an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such
20 post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and super-
21 vision of the Corps.”

22 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

23 SEC. 4. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act
24 of 1964 is amended by inserting the word “male” before
25 the word “enrollees” in the first sentence.

1 WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL
2 ASSISTANCE

3 SEC. 5. The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic
4 Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

5 “Federal assistance to any person pursuant to this part shall
6 not exceed 90 per centum of the costs of such program, in-
7 cluding costs of administration, unless the Director deter-
8 mines, pursuant to regulations, adopted and promulgated by
9 him establishing objective criteria for such determinations,
10 that assistance in excess of such percentage is required in
11 furtherance of the purposes of this part.”

12 WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS
13 ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

14 SEC. 6. Section 124 (f) of the Economic Opportunity
15 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting a semicolon after the
16 word “compensation” the second time it appears and strik-
17 ing the balance of such section.

18 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND
19 RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

20 GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS
21 ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

22 SEC. 7. (a) The first sentence of section 208 (a) of the
23 Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as
24 follows: “Assistance pursuant to sections 204 and 205 shall
25 not exceed 90 per centum of the costs referred to in those

1 sections, respectively, unless the Director determines, pur-
2 suant to regulations adopted and promulgated by him estab-
3 lishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assist-
4 ance in excess of such percentage is required in furtherance
5 of the purposes of this part.”

6 (b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignat-
7 ing subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new
8 subsection (b) as follows:

9 “(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations
10 establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance
11 may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community
12 action programs or components as have received assistance
13 under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regu-
14 lations.”

15 (c) Section 208 (c) of such Act (as redesignated by
16 subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at
17 the end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The require-
18 ment imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to
19 such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate
20 establishing objective criteria for determinations covering
21 situations where a literal application of such requirement
22 would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be incon-
23 sistent with the purposes sought to be achieved.”

1 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS;

2 FEDERAL SHARE

3 SEC. 8. Section 216 (b) of the Economic Opportunity
4 Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

5 “(b) For purposes of payments under this section, the
6 Federal share of expenditures of each State under its State
7 plan shall be 90 per centum.”

8 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER

9 TRAINING

10 SEC. 9. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity
11 Act of 1964 is amended—

12 (1) by striking out “From the sums appropriated
13 to carry out this title” in section 213 (a) and inserting
14 in lieu thereof “From so much of the sums appropriated
15 or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved
16 pursuant to section 218”; and

17 (2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219
18 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following
19 new section 218:

20 “TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

21 “SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums
22 appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any

1 fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to
 2 provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to
 3 colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies,
 4 or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or
 5 organizations to provide training to persons engaged or pre-
 6 paring to engage as instructors for individuals described in
 7 section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (in-
 8 cluding traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons
 9 undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director
 10 may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

11 VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

12 SEC. 10. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 13 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof.

14 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO

15 COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

16 COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO

17 ASSIST MANUFACTURING

18 SEC. 11. Section 305 (f) of the Economic Opportunity
 19 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the
 20 period at the end thereof the following proviso: “*Provided,*
 21 That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing
 22 used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, includ-
 23 ing dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing

1 merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of
2 a new or different substance”.

3 ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED
4 AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

5 SEC. 12. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act
6 of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

7 “MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
8 EMPLOYEES

9 “SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and
10 implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to
11 assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions,
12 and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating
13 programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily
14 contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers
15 and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of
16 housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.”

17 AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

18 SEC. 13. The second sentence of section 502 of the Eco-
19 nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as fol-
20 lows: “The costs, to the United States, of projects supported
21 from funds transferred under the preceding sentence shall,
22 notwithstanding the provisions of such Act, be met entirely
23 from such funds.”

1 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND
2 COORDINATION

3 VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF
4 OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS

5 SEC. 14. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Eco-
6 nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out
7 everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designa-
8 tion “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection with
9 programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a char-
10 acter eligible for assistance under this Act.”

11 (b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read
12 as follows:

13 “(d) (1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to
14 an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section
15 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001
16 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with
17 respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided
18 in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not
19 be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject
20 to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment,
21 including those relating to hours of work, rates of compen-
22 sation, and Federal employee benefits.

23 “(2) All volunteers during training and such volun-
24 teers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of sub-
25 section (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the

1 same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section
2 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for pur-
3 poses of the computation described in paragraph (2) (B)
4 of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be
5 deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for
6 GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949.”

7 NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

8 SEC. 15. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act
9 of 1964 is amended by striking “fourteen” in the second
10 sentence and inserting in lieu thereof “twenty”.

11 AFFIDAVITS

12 SEC. 16. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act
13 of 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof.

14 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

15 SEC. 17. (a) The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
16 is amended by redesignating title VII as title VIII and
17 redesignating section 701 as 801, and by inserting after
18 title VI a new title VII as follows:

19 “TITLE VII—AUTHORIZATION OF 20 APPROPRIATIONS

21 “SEC. 701. For the purpose of carrying out the pro-
22 visions of this Act, there are hereby authorized to be appro-
23 priated the sum of \$1,500,000,000 for the fiscal year ending
24 June 30, 1966, and such sums as may be necessary for
25 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967.”

1 (b) Effective July 1, 1965, the Economic Opportunity
2 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the following parts
3 and provisions:

- 4 (1) part D of title I;
- 5 (2) part D of title II;
- 6 (3) part C of title III;
- 7 (4) section 407;
- 8 (5) section 503; and
- 9 (6) section 615.

10 AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—
11 MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUN-
12 TEERS

13 SEC. 18. (a) Paragraph (2) (A) of section 205 (b)
14 of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C.
15 425 (b) (2) (A)) is amended by striking out “or” before
16 “(iii)” and by inserting before the proviso and after “Peace
17 Corps Act” the following: “, or (iv) not in excess of three
18 years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer
19 under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of
20 1964”.

21 (b) The amendments made by this section shall not ap-
22 ply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this Act
23 without the consent of the then obligee institution.

A BILL

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

By Mr. McNAMARA

APRIL 9 (legislative day, APRIL 8), 1965
Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare

or remarriage which occurs after he or she attains age 62; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1764. A bill to authorize the acquisition of certain lands within the boundaries of the Uinta National Forest in the State of Utah, by the Secretary of Agriculture; and

S. 1765. A bill to reimburse the Ute Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation for tribal funds that were used to construct, operate, and maintain the Uintah Indian Irrigation project, Utah, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Moss when he introduced the first two above-mentioned bills, which appear under separate headings.)

REPRESENTATION BY ATTORNEYS IN MATTERS BEFORE FEDERAL AGENCIES—NOTICE OF HEAR- INGS

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Senators BAYH, BURDICK, DIRKSEN, ERVIN, FONG, HART, McCLELLAN, SCOTT, and TYDINGS, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill to permit members of the bar of the highest court of a State to practice before administrative agencies of the United States without imposition of any additional requirements by the agencies. I introduced a similar bill in the 88th Congress (S. 1466). Hearings were held on that bill and it was approved by the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure and favorably reported by the Committee on the Judiciary. It was ultimately passed by the Senate, but unfortunately it was tied up in committee in the House at adjournment.

The previous bill on this subject enjoyed the cosponsorship of seven of my distinguished colleagues. I am delighted to say that this new bill enjoys the cosponsorship of nine Senators.

The history of the agencies shows that they have imposed a bewildering array of regulations restricting attorneys from practicing before them. This multiple admission arrangement and refusal to recognize the right of persons who are members of the bar in their States to represent clients before these agencies is an affront, not only to the integrity and competence of the individual attorney, but also to the fine State bars which have found these attorneys worthy to be accepted into their distinguished and honored membership.

If a man is competent to practice before the supreme court of his State, he should be able to practice before a Federal agency. Yet, these agencies impose certain additional tests or requirements which have the effect of intimating that the attorney's integrity and professionalism is more subject to compromise when before the agencies than when before the courts. Such intimations are wholly unwarranted and at best are self-righteous assertions of superiority. This bill will stop this senseless practice of multiple admission requirements. The primary benefit, however, will inure to the private litigant whose legal problems in Washington may be handled by his local attorney.

I am pleased to announce that this bill has, as it has in the past, the full and

determined support of the American Bar Association.

Also, I am pleased that nine of my colleagues have added their impetus and support to this legislation.

Mr. President, I introduce this bill which I have described. I also wish to announce that this bill will be one of the subjects of the hearings scheduled for May 12, 13, and 14, 1965. Any interested persons wishing to comment or appear as witnesses in regard to this bill should contact the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Committee on the Judiciary, Room 3214, New Senate Office Building, Telephone: 225-5617.

In addition, I wish to announce that the bill, S. 1523, introduced by the distinguished Senator from Arkansas, Mr. McCLELLAN, will also be a subject of the hearings on May 12, 13, and 14. This bill would amend Section 6(a) of the Administrative Procedure Act and would provide that parties, and persons required to appear in agency proceedings to be represented by attorneys at law or other duly qualified representatives. Anyone wishing to comment or testify with respect to this bill should contact the subcommittee at the address or telephone number mentioned above.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1758) to provide for the right of persons to be represented by attorneys in matters before Federal agencies, introduced by Mr. LONG of Missouri (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AMENDMENT OF ECONOMIC OPPOR- TUNITY ACT OF 1964

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, by request, I introduce a bill for appropriate reference.

Mr. President, this bill contains amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

They have been proposed by the Office of Economic Opportunity after more than 6 months experience with the anti-poverty program which Congress enacted last year.

I ask unanimous consent that a section-by-section analysis of the bill, together with an explanation of the amendments, be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the section-by-section analysis and explanation of the amendments will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1759) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, introduced by Mr. McNAMARA (by request), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The section-by-section analysis and explanation presented by Mr. McNAMARA, are as follows:

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965—SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 1. Short title: Section 1 provides that the act may be cited as the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

Section 2. Job Corps—Enrollee Affidavits: This section amends section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (hereinafter referred to as the act), which provides that Job Corps enrollees must execute disclaimer affidavits and subscribe to an oath of allegiance. It would eliminate the requirement for affidavits and otherwise conform the provisions of section 104(d) to current requirements for certain oaths in the National Science Foundation Act and the National Defense Education Act.

Section 3. Job Corps—Application of Employees Compensation Act: This section amends provisions of section 106(c) of the act to extend Federal Employees' Compensation Act coverage to certain activities of Job Corps enrollees while on pass and during travel to or from a Job Corps site.

Under specific language in paragraph (2) (A)(i) of section 106(c) payment of disability or death benefits is precluded in the case of any enrollee who is injured or killed while on authorized leave or pass. In addition, section 106(c)(2)(A)(ii) provides that Federal Employees' Compensation Act coverage does not extend to injury or death of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, unless sustained while participating in an activity authorized by or under the supervision of the Corps. The amendment would modify and combine these provisions in such a way that an enrollee could be considered as engaged in an authorized or supervised activity, and thus covered, while on pass or traveling to or from a Job Corps site. This would not affect the regular exclusions established under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act for cases of willful misconduct.

Section 4. Job Corps—Enrollee work activities: This section amends section 110 of the act to provide that 40 percent of male enrollees in the Job Corps must at any one time be assigned to camps where their work activity primarily involves public natural resources of public recreational areas.

Section 5. Work-training programs—Limitation on Federal assistance: This section extends the period during which Federal assistance for work-training programs authorized under title I-B of the act may regularly cover 90 percent of the cost of these programs. Under existing provisions, this period ends on August 20, 1966. The bill would extend the authority for 90 percent Federal financing through the fiscal year 1967, the last year for which appropriations are authorized.

Section 6. Work-study program—Limitation on Federal assistance: This section amends the work-study program to extend the period during which the Federal share of student compensation may be up to 90 percent through the fiscal year 1967, the last year for which appropriations would be authorized under the bill.

A number of important amendments to the work-study program, including a program extension and transfer of authority to the Commissioner of Education, have been recommended by the President and are included in the proposed Higher Education Act of 1965. The amendment contained in this section is intended to be effective only pending enactment of these other amendments.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTIONS PROGRAMS

Section 7. General community action programs—Limitations on Federal assistance: Subsection (a) extends the period during which general community action programs

may regularly be financed with 90 percent Federal assistance from August 20, 1966, through the fiscal year 1967, the last year for which appropriations would be authorized.

Subsection (b) adds a new subsection (b) to section 208 under which the Director would be specifically authorized to promulgate regulations relating to the reduction of assistance below 90 percent for community action programs or component programs which have been conducted with assistance under section 205 for more than a prescribed period. As with other determinations under section 208, reductions would be made pursuant to objective criteria established in such regulations.

Subsection (c) amends provisions of section 208 of the act which require that the non-Federal share of a community action program be in addition to the aggregate of non-Federal expenditures or contributions made for similar purposes immediately prior to the extension of Federal assistance. Under the amendment, the Director would be authorized to promulgate rules and regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which modifications of this requirement could be permitted in situations where its literal application would result in unnecessary hardship (as in the case of a community with a sharply declining population) or would otherwise be inconsistent with the basic purpose to be served by the requirement.

Section 8. Adult basic education programs—Payments; Federal share: This section amends section 216(b) of the act to extend the period during which the Federal share of the costs of State plans shall be 90 percent. Under the amendment, the 90 percent Federal share would be authorized through fiscal year 1967, the last year for which appropriations would be authorized.

Section 9. Adult basic education programs—Teacher training: This section authorizes use of up to 5 percent of the funds appropriated or allocated for the adult basic education program for the training of persons to act as adult basic education instructors.

Section 10. Voluntary assistance program for needy children: This section deletes part C of title II of the act which authorizes establishment, on a nationwide basis, of a program for voluntary financial assistance by individuals to needy children. Similar programs on a local level could, notwithstanding this amendment, be incorporated in community action programs if otherwise feasible and in accordance with applicable State and local law.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

Section 11. Cooperative associations—Prohibition of loans to assist manufacturing: This section amends section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to make clear that the prohibition against loans to cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes does not prevent loans, if otherwise appropriate, to cooperatives processing dairy products or similar edible farm products for the benefit of low-income farmer members.

Section 12. Migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees: This section amends part B of title III of the act, requiring the Director to develop and implement a program to assist migrant workers and their families, so as to clarify the authority granted with respect to the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which that assistance may be extended.

AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

Section 13. Payments: This section extends through fiscal year 1967 the authority for meeting costs of work experience programs from funds appropriated under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

Section 14: VISTA—Assignment; application of Other Provisions and Federal Laws.

Subsection (a) authorizes the assignment of VISTA volunteers under section 603(a)(2) of the act to programs, which are authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under the act. Under section 603(a)(2) of the act, assignment of volunteers in connection with other programs under the act is now limited to programs under titles I and II.

Subsection (b) makes specifically applicable to VISTA volunteers the same oath requirements as would apply to Job Corps enrollees under section 2 of this bill. In addition, it provides that for purposes of death or disability benefits under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, the pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949 (in lieu of the entrance salary for GS-2, as now provided for both Job Corps enrollees and volunteers).

Section 15. More National Advisory Council: This section expands from 14 to 20 the numbers of members (in addition to the Director) who may be appointed to service on the National Advisory Council established by section 605 of the act.

Section 16. Affidavits: This section deletes section 616 of the act, requiring a disclaimer affidavit applicable to VISTA volunteers and dairy farmers receiving indemnity benefits in view of the amendments made by section 14 to the VISTA program and the lapse of the indemnity payments program.

Authorization of appropriations

Section 17. Authorizations.

This section authorizes the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$1,500 million, and such sums as may be necessary for fiscal year 1967, in order to carry out the provisions of the act.

Subsection (b) of this section consists of conforming amendments which would delete from the act the separate program duration and authorization provisions contained in its several titles.

Amendment to the National Defense Education Act

Section 18. Moratorium on student loans to VISTA volunteers. This section amends the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to authorize a moratorium of up to 3 years on the repayment of student loans under that act to individuals in the VISTA program authorized under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

EXPLANATION OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 would authorize appropriations for the war on poverty for fiscal years 1966 and 1967. For fiscal 1966, the bill would authorize \$1.5 billion, an amount that would be approximately double the \$785.4 million appropriated for carrying out Economic Opportunity Act programs during fiscal year 1965. For fiscal 1967, the bill authorizes the appropriation of such sums as may be necessary for these programs. In order to facilitate the most effective use of funds among new and still developing programs, these new authorizations would be provided on an overall or lump-sum basis as opposed to the separate program or title authorizations contained in the act for fiscal 1965.

The bill also includes a number of provisions designed to enhance the effectiveness of Economic Opportunity Act programs. These provisions do not authorize new programs. For the most part they make only technical or perfecting changes. The most notable exception relates to the level of Federal assistance under the work-training, work-study, community action, and adult basic education programs, all of which now

provide Federal funding equal to 90 percent of program costs. Under the bill, this level of assistance would be extended through fiscal year 1967, the last year for which appropriations would be authorized.

The basis for this extension is set forth below, together with explanations covering the other amendments contained in the bill.

A. EXTENSION OF 90-PERCENT FINDINGS

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorizes 90 percent Federal financing of program costs under the work-training, work-study, community action, and adult basic education programs. This authority, however, extends only during the period ending August 20, 1966 (or, in the case of the adult basic education program, the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966). After that time, the regular level of Federal assistance must be reduced to 50 percent, except under the work-study program where assistance at a 75-percent level is authorized. Under the bill (sections 5, 6, 7(a), and 8) authority for 90-percent financing would be extended through fiscal year 1967.

The provisions of the act authorizing an initial, higher level of Federal assistance were designed to assure that programs could be started quickly. They provide both the initial impetus of a high level of Federal support and a time period during which participating States and communities may prepare to assume a greater share of the program costs. Experience to date in no way indicates that this approach is not basically sound. The bill, in fact, recognizes that within the next several years a reduction in Federal assistance may be appropriate for certain community action programs or components by authorizing regulations pursuant to which such reductions could be made.

The critical problem which currently exists and to which the amendments are directed is essentially one of timing. Although the act originally contemplated a 2-year adjustment period, funds did not become available until October 8, 1964, and it was some time later before regulations, instructions, program guides, forms, and other materials could be completed and made generally available. For States and communities already hard pressed to meet growing responsibilities, the effect of this delay was to enhance greatly the difficulty of a planning and adjustment problem that would never have been easy for them even under the most favorable circumstances.

It is, for example, now clear that many applicants for assistance will be unable even to qualify with meaningful, substantial programs before the cutoff date now provided in the act. These are commonly localities in isolated or rural areas that lack the staff and ability to act quickly in taking advantage of new Federal programs. Without the extension provided in the bill, such localities either will never receive the level of support now provided, or they will qualify so late that they will largely be denied advantages in such matters as initial staffing and equipment which are now enjoyed by localities commonly having greater resources.

For localities in which projects have already been approved, the problems now posed by the cutoff are hardly less difficult. If these localities are to prepare intelligently for meeting an increased share of program costs, they must have a proper basis for estimating those costs and for determining how effective their programs will be in serving local needs. Such preparations cannot be left until 1966. Because of the lead time required for budget and resources planning, most major decisions must be made at least before the end of 1965 and well before the cutoff. In many cases, they should by now already have been incorporated in regular budget planning procedures.

These decisions cannot be made today and without a change in the cutoff date it will rarely be possible to make them in time to

allow any kind of sound preparation for an increase in the non-Federal share. Many programs which have qualified for assistance are not yet operational, and others have started on a limited scale which provides little basis for evaluation or estimating costs more than a year in the future. Even where programs of a substantial character are already under way, they have rarely reached the point where substantial modifications could not be expected during the next year as experience is accumulated both locally and throughout the country on the relative effectiveness of different approaches, techniques and services in serving particular needs of the poor.

By deferring the cutoff through fiscal 1967, the bill would thus accomplish two objectives. It would, first, tend to assure that the higher level of initial Federal support will be more widely and equitably distributed among applicants with varying capacities to take advantage of new Federal programs. Second, it would provide localities with necessary time to evaluate and build support for local programs which otherwise might be severely crippled before they fairly get underway. This change in the cutoff must be made this year if implementation of these Economic Opportunity Act programs is to proceed smoothly without the disruption which would necessarily flow from local efforts to compress program development work and to plan for and anticipate adjustments well in advance of the time when sound planning at the local level is fairly possible. The time lost and confusion created by a failure to act now on this change can ill be afforded. A failure to act could also result in a substantial curtailment of many programs in fiscal 1967 even should the Congress decide next year to extend the cutoff before it would otherwise become effective, since by the time the change could be approved many local decisions would have been made which could not readily be reversed.

B. OTHER AMENDMENTS

1. Job Corps—Revision of Loyalty Oath Requirements:

The bill (section 2) would amend the loyalty oath requirements applicable to Job Corps enrollees under section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Section 104(d) provides that each enrollee must take an oath of loyalty to the United States and must, in addition, execute an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of any organization that believes in, the overthrow of the United States by force or violence or by illegal or unconstitutional methods. The legislative history of this provision indicates that it was originally adopted on the understanding that it conformed to provisions in the National Science Foundation Act and the National Defense Education Act of 1958. In fact, however, these acts were amended in 1962 to delete the provision for disclaimer affidavits. The bill would, accordingly, eliminate the affidavits requirement from section 104(d).

Job Corps screening procedures do not rely upon the present disclaimer requirement and thus would not be weakened or affected by the change made by the bill. Special efforts are made, and will continue to be made, to assure that enrollees are not accepted who do not have the basic motivation and honesty of purpose needed for effective and meaningful participation. This screening is backed up by continuing controls to which every enrollee is subject, on a day to day basis, during the entire period of his service in the corps.

2. Job Corps—Extension of Federal Employees Compensation Act coverage to enrollees while on authorized pass and during travel:

The bill would extend Federal Employees' Compensation Act (workmen's compensation) coverage to Job Corps enrollees while

they are on authorized pass and during travel to and from their post of duty. This amendment is contained in section 3.

Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, FECA death and disability benefits are not payable with respect to Job Corps enrollees who may be injured or killed while temporarily absent from a camp on pass. Thus, an enrollee who might be permanently disabled as the result of an injury sustained in or while going to or from a nearby town could receive no benefits under the act. This would be so even though his pass had been duly approved and even though he may have been in no way at fault.

The amendment is based upon the principle that while an enrollee is away from home and engaged in an authorized activity, he is subject to certain added or special risks precisely because of his status as an enrollee and that he should therefore, as an enrollee, be entitled to protection against these risks under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act. This principle clearly extends to activities of an enrollee who is on an authorized pass as a regular part of his camp or center program and to authorized travel to or from a post of duty, including travel by one who is first reporting or who is returning home at the end of his enrollment. The amendment would provide coverage with respect to these activities. It would not, however, provide coverage with respect to activities of an enrollee away from his post of duty where these were in fact unauthorized. Nor would it affect the regular exclusions in the Federal Employers' Compensation Act for injuries sustained as a result of willful misconduct.

3. Job Corps—Exclusion of young women in determining the number of enrollees to be assigned to conservation or recreational areas work activities:

The bill (section 4) would amend section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act, which now provides that, at any one time, no less than 40 percent of Job Corps enrollees must be assigned to a Youth Conservation Corps in which their work activity will primarily involve public natural resources or developing, managing and protecting public recreational areas. The Job Corps includes young women as well as young men, and, under the amendment, the 40 percent requirement would be limited so as to apply only to male enrollees.

In enacting section 110, Congress is believed to have intended that a substantial proportion (40 percent) of the enrollees qualified to engage in conservation and public recreation work activities would in fact be assigned to camps or centers where they could participate in such activities. Young women, however, are not generally so qualified and would not normally be expected to take part in this kind of work, much of which necessarily involves hard physical labor. Since young women cannot typically be assigned to such work, including them in the total to which the 40 percent requirement is applied produces a result that is at odds with the apparent purpose of section 110. In addition, because the number of women is made to depend upon the number of young men who can be accommodated in the Youth Conservation Corps, the existing provision has the effect of establishing an arbitrary limit on the number of young women who can be enrolled.

While the amendment would exclude young women for purposes of the 40 percent computation, no reduction is contemplated in the number of male enrollees in the Youth Conservation Corps. By June 30, 1966, it is expected that more than 19,000 young men will be in the Job Corps conservation centers while many others in urban centers may of course be assigned to work activities primarily involving local public recreational areas.

4. General community action programs—Authorization to adjust the local effort requirement to hardship situations:

The bill would amend section 208(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the so-called maintenance of effort provision applicable to localities seeking community action assistance under sections 204 and 205 of the act. This amendment, which appears in section 7(c) of the bill, would permit the director to prescribe, by regulation, objective criteria pursuant to which the maintenance of effort requirement could be adjusted for special situations where its literal application would result in an unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the basic purpose of the requirement.

Under section 208(b), the non-Federal contribution to a community action program must be in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources being made for similar purposes prior to the extension of Federal assistance. This provision is designed to prevent a community from obtaining community action funds by simply reducing its own level of effort by the amount needed to make up the required non-Federal share, thus diverting funds or contributions from other poverty-related programs or services.

Despite the difficulties inherent in measuring expenditures or contributions made in connection with a broad range of local activities, the Office of Economic Opportunity has sought to make this local effort requirement as meaningful and effective as possible. Each applicant is required to demonstrate specifically, and to document, its expenditures in poverty-related programs and services, and to demonstrate that the non-Federal share will be in addition to these expenditures. This must be done on an overall basis as well as in connection with each component of a community action program.

In some situations, however, it is now apparent that a literal application of the maintenance of effort requirement may work a wholly unnecessary hardship. These are perhaps most likely to involve rural areas, often with high levels of poverty, which are experiencing a decline in population. To require such a locality to maintain its prior level of expenditures means that it must increase its per capita expenditures at the very time that its resources will normally be declining. Such a community typically has a greater than usual need for assistance. It is clearly unwarranted to require it to make a proportionately greater effort than other communities whose needs are likely to be relatively smaller. The amendment is designed to provide some leeway for administrative exceptions to take account of these and comparable situations where a reduction in local effort occurs because of conditions which are essentially unrelated to the purposes of the requirement or not fairly subject to local control. Such exceptions would be granted only pursuant to regulations. They would, of course, be limited to what is in fact necessary and justified, and granted only in accordance with prescribed criteria that would assure equitable treatment of localities having similar claims to relief.

5. Adult basic education program—Authorization for training of instructors:

The bill (section 9) would authorize use of up to 5 percent of the sums appropriated or allocated to the adult basic education program for the training of teachers or instructors to participate in that program.

While a variety of sources will be used to recruit teachers for the adult basic education program, it has become clear that an adequate supply of teachers can be secured only by using many otherwise qualified instructors who have had no previous experience teaching adults. If these teachers are to be effective, it is essential that they receive intensive training in adult education problems and practices either before or dur-

ing their employment. The amendment would permit limited use of program funds for this purpose.

6. Voluntary assistance program for needy children:

The bill (section 10) would delete from the Economic Opportunity Act part C of title II, the voluntary assistance program for needy children.

This program was designed to provide a National Information and Coordination Center through which interested persons could secure information concerning needy children whom they might desire to assist through gifts and donations. However, while the program is laudatory in purpose, no method has been found by which it can be implemented or administered on a national scale.

One problem arises from legal and established policy restrictions which in many jurisdictions restrict or preclude release of the kind of information concerning particular relief recipients which the program contemplates. Even where these restrictions do not apply, it was found that welfare officials would often be reluctant to make such information available without some assurances as to the amount and certainty of contributions and the availability of procedures that would permit a followup on each case. These difficulties are, of course, augmented by the extremely complex problems of selection necessarily involved in a program of this kind.

Discussions with representatives of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and local welfare officials have suggested no practicable administrative steps to overcome these difficulties. The bill would, accordingly, delete from the act the authorization it now provides for this kind of national program. It is hoped, however, that similar programs could be instituted locally in those jurisdictions where they are legally feasible and consistent with local wishes. This can be done, of course, within the scope of a community action program under part A of title II.

7. Clarification of "manufacturing" restriction on loans to rural cooperatives:

The bill (sec. 11) would clarify the restriction against loans under title III to rural cooperatives organized for "manufacturing" purposes, particularly with respect to cooperatives processing edible dairy products.

Section 303 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, authorizes loans to local cooperatives furnishing essential processing and marketing services predominately to low-income rural families. One limitation on this authority appears in section 305(f) of the act, which prohibits loans to cooperatives organized for "manufacturing purposes." It is not believed that the Congress by this limitation meant to preclude loans to cooperatives serving low-income rural families in the processing and marketing of cheese, butter, ice cream, or similar dairy or edible farm products. Under established rules of interpretation, however, processing is regarded as manufacturing when a new or different substance is produced or created. The amendment is designed, accordingly, to provide an express basis for otherwise appropriate loans to cooperative dairy establishments and other cooperatives which process and market the edible farm products of their members.

8. Revision in statutory language affecting the migratory workers program.

The bill would revise section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which authorizes a special program of assistance to migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees in order to clarify such matters as the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which assistance may be granted.

These revisions are contained in section 12 of the bill and are essentially technical

in nature. Existing language, for example, while it refers to direct loans, does not otherwise specify the types of assistance that may be extended. The amendment would, in this respect, expressly provide for grants and loan guarantees. In addition, the amendment would make it clear that in order for a program to qualify for Federal grants or other assistance, it must be administered and operated by a State or local public agency, nonprofit organization or cooperative, as opposed to programs that might be undertaken by an individual or growers' association.

The amendment would also clarify authority to assist local programs which supplement other efforts to assist migrants or which contain some services that appropriately complement assistance in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care. Proposals have been received, for example, which are centered upon migrant needs in these four specified fields but also contemplate supplementary services designed to enhance the effectiveness of the overall program. These additional services may involve relatively little added cost and may sometimes be provided by the same personnel and through use of the same basic facilities as are employed in meeting housing, education, sanitation, and day-care needs. The amendment would facilitate assistance under section 311 in this type of case.

9. Continuation of Economic Opportunity Act funding of work-experience programs:

The bill (sec. 13) would extend through fiscal year 1967 the authority for meeting costs of work experience programs from funds appropriated under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provides that the costs of work-experience programs under title V shall be met, for the fiscal year 1965, entirely from funds appropriated or allocated under the act. By extending this authority through fiscal years 1966 and 1967, the amendment would conform section 502 to the authorization for appropriations for those years contained in section 17(a) of the bill.

10. VISTA volunteers—Assignment to programs in furtherance of the purposes of the act:

The bill (sec. 13 (a)) would authorize the assignment of VISTA volunteers generally to programs or activities of a character eligible for assistance under the act.

Under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act, a VISTA volunteer may be assigned (in which case his subsistence and other costs may be paid from Federal funds) only to limited categories of activities. These include work in meeting the needs of Indians, migratory workers, and residents of the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the territories and possessions; and work in the care and rehabilitation of the mentally ill or mentally retarded under treatment at nonprofit facilities assisted by Federal funds. In addition, volunteers may be assigned to work in furtherance of youth, community action or adult basic education programs or activities authorized or supported under titles I and II of the act.

There are many situations where volunteers may have skills and backgrounds that would make them particularly helpful to local efforts to combat poverty but where assignment is not presently possible. Very often in these cases, local funds are not available to pay for the costs of using volunteers on a referral basis. This may result in the abandonment of useful and imaginative projects; it may also result in efforts to secure Federal funds under other provisions of the act to support activities that could be carried on more appropriately and very possibly at lower cost through the use of assigned volunteers.

Existing limitations on assignment pro-

duce many disparities that are, at best, difficult to justify. Volunteers, for example, may now be assigned to work with Indians living on reservations but not with Indians, however impoverished, living as a distinct community off a reservation, or to work in federally assisted mental hospitals, but not in other federally assisted hospitals where needs may be as great. They may be assigned to work in connection with community action programs but not to work on otherwise eligible projects which have not yet been included in a community action program or on projects designed to deal with isolated ribbons or pockets of poverty in areas unable or unprepared to undertake community action programs. They may be assigned to work in connection with projects assisted under titles I and II, but in the absence of a community action program, they may not be assigned to assist the poor to set up and make going concerns of small businesses securing loans under title IV, or to aid low-income farm families in establishing cooperatives with loan assistance under title III-A, or to help in the training and counseling of needy adults participating in work-experience projects under title V.

The amendment would eliminate these anomalies by making volunteers available for assignment in connection with any kind of local program or activity which is receiving, or could receive, assistance under the act. Equally important, it would tend to assure that the relatively limited number of volunteers available for assignment could be employed most effectively in service to those localities which in fact have the greatest need for volunteer assistance on an assignment basis.

11. VISTA—Increase in imputed salary level for Federal Employees' Compensation Act purposes:

The bill (sec. 14(b)) would increase the wage base on which FECA death or disability benefits for assigned VISTA volunteers would be computed.

Under section 603(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, FECA benefits must now be determined as though volunteers were paid the entrance salary for GS-2 under the Classification Act of 1949. This is the same imputed salary level used for Job Corps enrollees. Its effect is to limit benefits payable with respect to volunteers who are killed or disabled to amounts which are clearly inappropriate for adults who hold responsible positions and who may, in addition, have family obligations.

The bill would, accordingly, provide that for FECA purposes the pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act. This is the same wage level used for computing benefits in the case of Peace Corps volunteers.

12. VISTA—revision of loyalty oath requirement:

The bill (sections 14(b) and 16) would apply to VISTA volunteers the same modified loyalty oath requirement as would be provided under section 2 for Job Corps enrollees.

Section 616 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 presently requires disclaimer affidavits on the part of individuals receiving direct payments from funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under the act. Interpretations expressed during final congressional consideration of the act indicated that this provision would not apply to recipients of loans or to beneficiaries of State or local programs being carried out with Federal assistance, but that it could apply to regular Federal employees, experts and consultants, VISTA volunteers, and dairy farmers receiving indemnity payments under section 331 of the act.

In view of requirements normally applicable to Federal personnel, and lapse of the indemnity payments authority, section 616 is no longer significant except in the case of

VISTA volunteers. The bill would accordingly delete this section from the act and insert in its place a specific loyalty oath provision limited to VISTA volunteers. As in the case of Job Corps enrollees, disclaimer affidavits would not be required, since these are inconsistent with the provisions of the National Science Foundation Act and the National Defense Education Act on which both section 616 and the Job Corps loyalty oath requirements were patterned.

As a matter of administrative policy, all VISTA volunteers receive a national agency check and are subject to full field investigations whenever this appears warranted. This policy of course would not be affected by the changes made in the bill.

13. Expansion of the National Advisory Council:

The bill (sec. 15) would expand from 14 to 20 the number of members, in addition of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, who could be appointed to the National Advisory Council established under section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

So many groups have demonstrated an active interest in Economic Opportunity Act programs that it has been difficult, within existing membership limitations, to structure the Advisory Council so as to assure that it will be reasonably representative. The addition of six new members, as proposed in the bill, is designed to provide the Council with a somewhat broader base without, however, making it so large as to impair its effectiveness.

14. VISTA—Authorizations for moratorium on student loans to volunteers:

The bill (sec. 18) contains one amendment to the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to authorize a moratorium of up to 3 years on the repayment of student loans under that act to VISTA volunteers.

A substantial proportion of volunteers in the VISTA program are expected to be individuals who have just completed, or recently completed, their college education. Some of these may have received student loans under the National Defense Education Act with repayment obligations which may be difficult for them to meet during their period of VISTA service. Four of the first 68 volunteers have, for example, already inquired as to the possibility of a deferment or a moratorium on repayment of such loans. The provision of the bill authorizing such moratoriums is based upon a similar provision applicable to Peace Corps volunteers.

GREEK LOAN OF 1929 SETTLEMENT ACT

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, by request, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the acceptance of a settlement of certain indebtedness of Greece to the United States and to authorize the use of the payments resulting from the settlement for a cultural and educational exchange program.

The proposed legislation has been requested by the Secretary of the Treasury and I am introducing it in order that there may be a specific bill to which Members of the Senate and the public may direct their attention and comments.

I reserve my right to support or oppose this bill, as well as any suggested amendments to it, when the matter is considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be printed in the RECORD at this

point, together with the letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated March 31, 1965, and the agreement of May 28, 1964, by and between the Government of the Kingdom of Greece and the Government of the United States of America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, letter, and agreement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1760) to authorize the acceptance of a settlement of certain indebtedness of Greece to the United States and to authorize the use of the payments resulting from the settlement for a cultural and educational exchange program, introduced by Mr. FULBRIGHT, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1760

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Greek Loan of 1929 Settlement Act".

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to accept a bond from the Kingdom of Greece (hereinafter referred to as "Greece") in the principal amount of \$13,155,921 in settlement of the indebtedness of Greece to the United States under part II of the Agreement of May 10, 1929, and under paragraph 1(b) of the Agreement of May 24, 1932. The terms and conditions of such bond shall be those set forth in the Agreement between the United States and Greece of May 28, 1964. Upon the delivery of said bond by Greece to the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to surrender to Greece all the bonds issued pursuant to part II of the Agreement of May 10, 1929, and discharge Greece of its obligations under paragraph 1(b) of the Agreement of May 24, 1932.

SEC. 3. The sums paid by Greece to the United States as interest on or in retirement of the principal of the bond issued as provided in section 2 hereof shall be placed in an account in the Treasury of the United States. Such sums are hereby authorized to be appropriated to remain available until expended for use in financing educational and cultural exchange programs authorized by the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2451-2458), in relation to Greece and the people of Greece.

The letter and agreement, presented by Mr. FULBRIGHT, are as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, March 31, 1965.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: There is transmitted herewith a draft of a proposed bill "To authorize the acceptance of a settlement of certain indebtedness of Greece to the United States and to authorize the use of the payments resulting from the settlement for a cultural and educational exchange program."

On May 28, 1964, the United States and Greece concluded an agreement (hereinafter referred to as the "Settlement Agreement") to settle certain indebtedness of Greece to the United States arising from a loan made to Greece in 1929 and partially funded by an agreement of May 24, 1932. A copy of this settlement agreement is attached. This agreement specifies the terms and conditions of the settlement and provides that the funds arising from the settlement will be

used for an educational and cultural exchange program. Congressional approval of the settlement, as well as of the proposed use of the funds arising from the settlement, is required. The draft legislation would, therefore, (a) authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to accept a bond from Greece in the principal amount of \$13,155,921 in settlement of the 1929 loan, and (b) authorize the use of payments of interest and principal made by Greece for an educational and cultural exchange program provided for under the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2451-2458), in relation to Greece and the people of Greece.

The debt in question arose from a \$12,167,000 loan granted to Greece by the U.S. Government in 1929 for the purpose of helping in the repatriation of Greek refugees from Asia Minor that was being carried out by the Refugee Settlement Commission, established under League of Nations auspices. The loan, authorized by the act of February 14, 1929 (45 Stat. 1176), had a 20-year maturity and carried interest at 4 percent per year. Payments on this loan to May 1931 reduced the amount outstanding to \$11.3 million. Under a Joint Resolution of December 23, 1931 (47 Stat. 3), \$400,000 of principal and \$500,000 of interest due during fiscal year 1931 were funded into a separate loan by an agreement between the United States and Greece dated May 24, 1932. Greece has made only token payments on the original 1929 loan and no payments at all under the May 1932 agreement. Since the invasion of Greece in 1941, no payments at all have been received under the 1929 and 1932 agreements and thus Greece is in complete default with respect to these obligations.

Over the years a number of attempts were made to negotiate a settlement of Greece's defaulted post-World War I external debt including settlement of Greece's 1929 debt to the United States. In October 1962 the Government of Greece and the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council finally agreed upon settlement of the \$36 million privately held dollar bonds. The main outlines of this 5-year renewable settlement involve forgiveness of approximately 93 percent of the interest arrearages, reduction of the interest rate to one-half of the original rate and a grace period of several years during which time interest payments are less than half the original rate.

The Settlement Agreement reached with Greece follows closely the principles used in the settlement with the private bondholders. Principal and interest due to August 10, 1933, under the 1929 agreement and the 1932 agreement have been computed at \$12,208,538. In lieu of arrears of interest from August 10, 1933, \$947,383 was added to the principal, giving \$13,155,921 as the total indebtedness to be funded. Greece will pay interest at the rate of 2 percent a year on the outstanding principal amount. In retirement of principal, Greece will provide annually a sinking fund of one-half of 1 percent of the total principal which will be paid annually to the United States. In addition, the interest saving resulting from the reduction of principal through provision of a sinking fund (instead of payment of interest on the total principal for the entire period the loan is outstanding) will be added annually to the sinking fund and paid to the United States. Payments of interest and principal will be in U.S. dollars and will begin 1 year after enactment of legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to accept the debt settlement as provided for in the Settlement Agreement. All necessary steps have been taken by Greece to commence payments after congressional approval of the Settlement Agreement. Section 2 of the proposed legislation would authorize the Secretary of the Treasury

to accept, in settlement of the 1929 and 1932 loan agreements, a bond providing for payment under the general terms outlined above and as specifically set forth in the Settlement Agreement. Upon receipt of this bond from Greece, section 2 would also authorize the Secretary to discharge Greece of its obligations under the 1929 and 1932 loan agreements.

The United States has placed major emphasis on the settlement of Greece's post-World War I external debt. It is important that Greece reestablish its credit standing in order to obtain the capital needed for economic development. Utilization of the payments made by Greece for educational and cultural purposes constituted an important consideration in enabling Greece to reach agreement on settlement terms, and it is believed that it will create good will in Greece for the United States, and, at the same time, provide funds for our valuable educational and cultural exchange activities. The allocation of the Greek payments to this program would be similar to the use made of the principal and interest payments on Finland's World War I debt to the United States. Finnish debt payments were made available under a joint resolution of August 24, 1949 (63 Stat. 630), for an educational and cultural exchange program, which was reenacted by the act of September 21, 1961 (75 Stat. 527, 532).

The settlement agreement provides, subject to congressional approval, that principal and interest payments made by Greece will be made available by the United States for financing educational and cultural activities authorized under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended. In order to implement this provision, section 3 of the draft legislation would authorize the appropriation of amounts equal to the Greek payments of principal and interest for activities authorized by the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended. The State Department would annually seek to obtain use of the Greek payments through its "Mutual educational and cultural exchange activities" appropriation.

The proposed legislation thus provides a number of valuable benefits. A longstanding obligation, now in complete default, will be repaid. The elimination of this default will help to restore Greece's credit standing in the international financial community and will be another step forward in the direction of self-sustaining economic growth which Greece has, with U.S. assistance, been working toward since the end of World War II. In addition, use of the funds arising from the settlement for educational and cultural exchange purposes will further the interest of the United States, benefiting both Americans and Greeks, without financial burden on the United States. I, therefore, urge the enactment of the proposed legislation.

It would be appreciated if you would lay the proposed bill before the Senate. A similar bill has been transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Department has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection from the standpoint of the administration's program to the submission of this proposed legislation to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

DOUGLAS DILLON.

AGREEMENT

This agreement made and entered into as of the 28th day of May 1964, by and between the Government of the Kingdom of Greece (hereinafter referred to as Greece) and the Government of the United States of America (hereinafter referred to as the United States);

WITNESSETH

Whereas Greece is indebted to the United States under part II of the Agreement of

May 10, 1929, and under paragraph 1(b) of the Agreement of May 24, 1932; and

Whereas Greece and the United States wish to refund the aforementioned indebtedness due from Greece to the United States; and

Whereas it is the intention of the United States to use all of the funds derived from the refunding to finance a cultural and educational exchange program between the United States and Greece involving students, teachers, professors, research scholars and specialists, and other educational and cultural activities as authorized under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended;

Now, therefore, it is agreed that:

1. The amount of indebtedness to be funded is \$13,155,921, which has been computed as follows:

(a) Principal and interest due and unpaid as of Aug. 10, 1933, on the bonds issued pursuant to pt. II of the May 10, 1929, agreement.....	\$11,315,496
(b) Principal and interest due and unpaid as of Aug. 10, 1933, under par. 1(b) of the May 24, 1932, agreement.....	893,042
Total.....	12,208,538
(c) In lieu of arrears of interest from Aug. 10, 1933 (\$12,208,538 capitalized at 7.76 percent).....	947,383
Total indebtedness to be funded.....	13,155,921

2. On the day of notification to the Embassy of Greece by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of the entry into force of legislation referred to in paragraph 6 below, Greece will execute in favor of and deliver to the United States a bond in the principal amount of \$13,155,921, hereinafter referred to as the total principal amount, in the form attached hereto as exhibit A, whereupon the United States will surrender to Greece the unpaid bonds issued pursuant to part II of the agreement of May 10, 1929, including bonds numbered 5 and 6, and will discharge Greece, by an appropriate instrument in the form attached hereto as exhibit B, of its obligations under paragraph 1(b) of the agreement of May 24, 1932. During the period in which there remains any principal sum due and unpaid on the bond issued pursuant to the first sentence of this paragraph, Greece shall provide annually a sinking fund of one-half of 1 percent of the said total principal amount to be paid annually to redeem an equivalent amount of the principal. Payments from the sinking fund in redemption of an equivalent amount of the principal are due and payable beginning 1 year from the day of notification to the Embassy of Greece and annually thereafter until the total principal amount is paid in full.

3. Interest on the unpaid principal balance shall be at the rate of 2 percent per annum to be paid annually beginning 1 year from the day of notification specified in paragraph 2 above until said total principal amount is paid in full. An amount equal to the difference between the interest due and payable 1 year from the day of notification provided for in paragraph 2 above and the interest payable in each succeeding year shall be provided annually to the sinking fund established by paragraph 2 above and paid annually to redeem an equivalent amount of the principal as provided for in that paragraph.

4. No reduction from principal or interest shall be made for or on account of any present or future taxes, duties or any other charges imposed or levied against the bond issued pursuant to this agreement or the proceeds thereof by or within Greece or any political or taxing subdivision thereof.

5. The principal and interest payments made under the provisions of this agreement and the bond issued pursuant thereto shall, to the extent all necessary action for this purpose is taken by the United States Congress and as determined by the Secretary of State, be made available by the United States for financing educational and cultural activities authorized under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended, including the educational exchange program between the United States and Greece established by the "Agreement Between the United States of America and the Government of Greece for Financing Educational Exchange Programs" dated December 13, 1963.

6. The entry into force of the provisions of this agreement is subject to the entry into force of legislation passed by the United States Congress and signed by the President of the United States authorizing the refunding of the debt of Greece to the United States under part II of the agreement of May 10, 1929 and paragraph 1(b) of the agreement of May 24, 1932, as provided in paragraphs 1 through 4 above and the use of the funds arising from this agreement as provided in paragraph 5 above.

7. Greece represents and agrees that the execution and delivery of this agreement have in all respects been duly authorized, and that all acts, conditions, and legal formalities which should have been completed prior to the making of this agreement have been completed as required by the laws of Greece and in conformity therewith.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have caused this agreement to be executed in duplicate at Athens, on the date first mentioned above.

For the Government of the United States of America HENRY R. LABOULSSE.¹

For the Government of the Kingdom of Greece STAVROS COSTOPOULOS.²

EXHIBIT A

Form of bond: \$13,155,921.

THE KINGDOM OF GREECE

The Kingdom of Greece, hereinafter referred to as Greece, for value received, hereby promises to pay to the Government of the United States, hereinafter referred to as the United States, or order, the principal sum of \$13,155,921, hereinafter referred to as the total principal amount, and to pay interest at the rate of 2 percent per annum on the unpaid principal balance hereof annually beginning 1 year from the date hereof until said principal amount is paid in full. This bond is payable as to both principal and interest in United States dollars.

During the period in which there remains any principal sum due and unpaid on this bond, Greece shall provide annually a sinking fund of one-half of 1 percent of the said total principal amount to be paid annually to redeem an equivalent amount of the principal. An amount equal to the difference between the interest due and payable 1 year from the date hereof and the interest payable in each succeeding year shall be provided annually to the sinking fund established herein and paid annually to redeem an equivalent amount of the principal. Payments from the sinking fund in redemption of an equivalent amount of the principal are due and payable beginning 1 year from the date hereof and annually thereafter until the total principal is paid in full.

Interest payments and payments from the sinking fund in redemption of the principal shall be made in the amounts set forth in the following schedule:

¹ Henry R. Laboulse, United States Ambassador to Greece.

² Stavros Costopoulos, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 19, 1965

Mr. GIBBONS introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

A BILL

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity
4 Amendments of 1965".

5 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

6 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS

7 SEC. 2. Section 104 (d) of the Economic Opportunity
8 Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: "(d) Each
9 enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation
10 in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that

1 I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of
2 America and will support and defend the Constitution and
3 laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and
4 domestic'. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United
5 States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation
6 required under this subsection."

7 JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES'
8 COMPENSATION ACT

9 SEC. 3. Section 106 (c) (2) (A) of the Economic Op-
10 portunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

11 "(A) The term 'performance of duty' in the Federal
12 Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act
13 of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post
14 of duty, except while participating in an activity (including
15 an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such
16 post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and super-
17 vision of the Corps."

18 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

19 SEC. 4. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act
20 of 1964 is amended by inserting the word "male" before the
21 word "enrollees" in the first sentence.

1 WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL
2 ASSISTANCE

3 SEC. 5. The first sentence of section 115 of the Eco-
4 nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out
5 “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking
6 out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

7 WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL
8 ASSISTANCE

9 SEC. 6. Section 124 (f) of the Economic Opportunity
10 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting
11 in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “or June 30,
12 1966, whichever is later,”.

13 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COM-
14 MUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

15 GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS
16 ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

17 SEC. 7. (a) The first sentence of section 208 (a) of
18 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
19 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by
20 striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

21 (b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesign-

1 nating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new
 2 subsection (b) as follows:

3 “(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regula-
 4 tions establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assist-
 5 ance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such com-
 6 munity action programs or components as have received
 7 assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such
 8 regulations.”

9 (c) Section 208 (c) of such Act (as so redesignated by
 10 subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the
 11 end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The requirement
 12 imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such
 13 regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate estab-
 14 lishing objective criteria for determinations covering situ-
 15 ations where a literal application of such requirement would
 16 result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent
 17 with the purposes sought to be achieved.”

18 DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

19 SEC. 8. Section 209 (c) of the Economic Opportunity
 20 Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting “of part B” before
 21 “of title I” and (2) striking out “and such plan has not been
 22 disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission”
 23 and inserting in lieu thereof “and such plan has not been dis-
 24 approved by the Governor within thirty days of such submis-
 25 sion, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the

1 Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the
2 provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part”.

3 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS;

4 FEDERAL SHARE

5 SEC. 9. Section 216 (b) of the Economic Opportunity
6 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “and the fiscal year
7 ending June 30, 1966,” and inserting in lieu thereof “and
8 each of the two succeeding fiscal years,”.

9 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER

10 TRAINING

11 SEC. 10. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity
12 Act of 1964 is amended—

13 (1) by striking out “From the sums appropriated
14 to carry out this title” in section 213 (a) and inserting
15 in lieu thereof “From so much of the sums appropriated
16 or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved
17 pursuant to section 218”; and

18 (2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219
19 and inserting immediately after section 217 the follow-
20 ing new section 218:

21 “TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

22 “SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums
23 appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any
24 fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to

1 provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to
2 colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies,
3 or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or
4 organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or
5 preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described
6 in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any
7 (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons
8 undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director
9 may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

10 VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

11 SEC. 11. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
12 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof, and by re-
13 designating part D as part C and section 221 as section 220.

14 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO
15 COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

16 COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO
17 ASSIST MANUFACTURING

18 SEC. 12. Section 305 (f) of the Economic Opportunity
19 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the
20 period at the end thereof the following proviso: “: *Provided,*
21 That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing
22 used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, includ-
23 ing dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing

1 merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of
2 a new or different substance”.

3 ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED
4 AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

5 SEC. 13. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act
6 of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

7 “MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
8 EMPLOYEES

9 “SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and
10 implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to
11 assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions,
12 and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operat-
13 ing programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily
14 contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers
15 and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of
16 housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.”

17 AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

18 SEC. 14. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act
19 of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence
20 thereof the following new sentence: “Workers in farm fami-
21 lies with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be con-
22 sidered unemployed for the purposes of this title.”, and (2)

1 by striking out of the last sentence the following: “for the
2 fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,”.

3 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND
4 COORDINATION

5 VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF
6 OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS

7 SEC. 15. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the
8 Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking
9 out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause desig-
10 nation “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection
11 with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a
12 character eligible for assistance under this Act.”

13 (b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read
14 as follows:

“(d) (1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104 (d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

25 “(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers

1 as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection
2 (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent
3 as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c),
4 and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the com-
5 putation described in paragraph (2) (B) of section 106 (c)
6 the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that
7 received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the
8 Classification Act of 1949.”

9 NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

10 SEC. 16. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act
11 of 1964 is amended by striking “fourteen” in the second
12 sentence and inserting in lieu thereof “twenty”.

13 AFFIDAVITS

14 SEC. 17. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of
15 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof.

16 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

17 SEC. 18. (a) (1) The first sentence of section 131 of
18 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
19 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

20 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
21 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
22 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
23 \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
24 the sum of \$825,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
25 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the

1 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
2 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

3 (b) (1) The first sentence of section 220 of such Act
4 (as so redesignated by section 11 of this Act) is amended
5 by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

6 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
7 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
8 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
9 \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
10 the sum of \$680,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
11 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
12 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
13 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

14 (c) (1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by
15 striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

16 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended
17 to read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this
18 title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum
19 of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,
20 and the sum of \$70,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June
21 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
22 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated
23 as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

24 (d) (1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act

1 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu
2 thereof "three".

3 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
4 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title,
5 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
6 \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
7 the sum of \$300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
8 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
9 the succeeding fiscal year such sums may be appropriated as
10 the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

11 (e) (1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is
12 amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof
13 "three".

14 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
15 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title
16 (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving
17 fund established by section 606 (a)), there is hereby author-
18 ized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal
19 year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$20,000,000 for
20 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year
21 ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such
22 sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter
23 authorize by law."

1 AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—
2 MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUN-
3 TEERS

4 SEC. 19. (a) Paragraph (2) (A) of section 205 (b) of
5 the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C.
6 425 (b) (2) (A)) is amended by striking out “or” before
7 “(iii)” and by inserting before the proviso and after “Peace
8 Corps Act” the following: “, or (iv) not in excess of three
9 years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer
10 under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of
11 1964”.

12 (b) The amendments made by this section shall not
13 apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this
14 Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.

A BILL

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

By Mr. GIBBONS

MAY 19, 1965

Referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

A BILL

to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for the taxation of certain income from the sale of certain property

IN SENATE

APRIL 1959

Submitted by the Committee on Finance

May 20, 1965

13. POVERTY. The "Daily Digest" states that the Education and Labor Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) "H. R. 8283 (the clean bill introduced in lieu of H. R. 8174), to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964." p. D428
14. DAIRY. The Subcommittee on Dairy and Poultry of the Agriculture Committee voted to report to the full committee with amendment H. R. 3609, the dairy "base surplus plan" bill. p. D428
15. EDUCATION. A subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee voted to report to the full committee H. R. 3220, to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education. p. D428
16. MEAT IMPORTS. Received a Nev. Assembly resolution urging the "Nevada congressional delegation to take action to protect the domestic livestock industry from the effect of the importation of meats." p. 10796
17. ATOMIC ENERGY. Passed with amendments, 350 to 1, H. R. 8122, the Atomic Energy Commission authorization bill. pp. 10742-65
18. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Patman commended the achievements of the Rural Electrification Administration on its 30th anniversary. pp. 10766-7
19. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Wolff spoke in opposition of legislation which might reduce the number of Americans traveling abroad or the amounts of money they spend, stated that he "adamantly opposed any move to further reduce the duty-free allowance from \$100 to \$50" and said that he has constantly called for "substitution of trade for aid."
20. FEDERAL WAGE-HOUR. Rep. Roosevelt inserted a subcommittee press release, "Federal Wage-Hour Amendments", announcing hearings to begin May 25 covering the "administration's proposals, raising the minimum wage, shorter workweek, and coverage of farm workers."
21. OPINION POLL. Rep. Smith, N.Y., inserted the replies to a questionnaire including items of interest to this Department. pp. 10777-8
22. FARM PROGRAM. Rep. Langer inserted a "Statement by the House Republican Task Force on Agriculture: The Administration's 'Mi-grate Society' for Rural America," critical of the Administration's policy toward the family farm. pp. 10778-9
23. FARM LABOR. Rep. Gonzalez inserted the testimony of the director of research of the California Labor Federation concerning the strawberry crops in Calif. which stated that "the great 'strawberry crisis'...is a deliberately deceptive publicity campaign." pp. 10787-8
24. PERSONNEL. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 432, to amend the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 and the Civil Service Retirement Act with regard to filing designation of beneficiary. p. D429

Received from the Civil Service Commission a proposed bill to amend the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended, to provide for reimbursement of certain moving expenses of employees, and to authorize payment of expenses for storage of household goods and personal effects of employees assigned to isolated duty stations within the continental United States; to Government Operations Committee.

Received from the Interior Department a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to use appropriated funds for the payment of medical care of temporary and seasonal employees located in isolated areas who became disabled because of injury or illness not attributable to official work; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

25. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Rep. Boggs stated that the foreign aid authorization bill will be taken up on Mon., and the USDA appropriation bill on Wed. p. 10740
26. ADJOURNED until Mon., May 24. p. 10794

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

27. DISASTER RELIEF. Speech in the House by Rep. Roush during debate on the bill to provide assistance to the Northwestern States damaged by recent flood and highwaters. p. A2512
28. CCC; GRAIN. Extension of remarks of Rep. Nelsen criticizing CCC grain resale policies and inserting a GTA article on this subject. p. A2514
29. EDUCATION; EXTENSION WORK. Extension of remarks of Rep. Tunney favoring the proposed aid to education bill and stating that a large portion of the funds would be allocated to the Univ. of Calif. Extension Service. p. A2518
30. NOMINATIONS. Rep. St. Germain inserted an article, "The President Makes Some More Good Appointments", which refers to the nomination of Under Secretary Murphy to be Chairman of the CAB. pp. A2518-9
- Extension of remarks of Rep. Rivers, S. C., favoring the nomination of Lawson B. Knott, Jr. to head the General Services Administration. p. A2531
31. FARM LABOR. Extension of remarks of Rep. Jacobs inserting an article and stating that it "contains an intelligent, responsible tribute to the courage and wisdom of Secretary Wirtz in the handling of the migrant farm labor controversy." p. A2521
32. MARKETING. Extension of remarks of Rep. Gilligan urging enactment of proposed "truth-in-packaging" legislation and outlining the key provisions of the legislation. pp. A2522-4
33. WATER RESOURCES. Speech in the House by Reps. Harris and Rogers, Tex., during debate on H. R. 5269, to provide uniform policies with respect to recreation and fish and wildlife benefits and costs of Federal multiple-purpose water resource projects and stating that "It does not apply to agricultural projects and it does not apply to the small reclamation projects..." pp. A2527-8
34. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Burton, Utah, inserted an article which "cogently sets forth reasons why the request of the Bonneville Power Authority for \$1 million for planning of transmission lines to southeastern Idaho should be denied." pp. A2531-2

May 27, 1965

HOUSE

13. LANDS. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported with amendment H. R. 903, to add certain lands to the Kings Canyon National Park, Calif. (H. Rept. 384). p. 11576
14. APPROPRIATIONS. The Appropriations Committee reported H. R. 8639 (H. Rept. 427) the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies appropriation bill, 1966. p. 11576
15. POVERTY. The Education and Labor Committee reported without amendment H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act (H. Rept. 428). p. 11576
16. CLAIMS. The Judiciary Committee reported with amendment H. R. 5024, to amend titles 10 and 14, U.S.C. and the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, with respect to the settlement of claims against the U. S. by members of the uniformed services and civilian officers and employees of the U. S. for damage to, or loss of, personal property incident to their service (H. Rept. 382). p. 11576
17. WATER RESOURCES. Conferees were appointed on S. 1229, to provide uniform policies with respect to recreation and fish and wildlife benefits and costs in connection with Federal water resource projects of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation (p. 11532). Senate conferees have already been appointed.
18. CIGARETTE LABELING. The "Daily Digest" states that the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee voted to report with amendment (but did not actually report) H. R. 3014, to regulate the labeling and advertising of cigarettes. p. D456
19. FISH AND WILDLIFE. A subcommittee of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee voted to report to the full committee H. R. 4227, to extend the term during which the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to make fisheries loans under the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956; and H. R. 505, to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated annually to carry out the program for the conservation and restoration of the Hawaiian Nene goose, and to extend such program for an additional five years. p. D457
20. TARIFF; TAXATION. The "Daily Digest" states that the Ways and Means Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 5768 to continue through June 30, 1966, the suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk; and H. R. 7502 (amended), relating to the income tax treatment of certain casualty losses attributable to major disasters; and H. R. 4493 (amended) to continue existing suspension of duties on metal scrap. p. D457
21. FOOD STAMP PROGRAM. Rep. Dulski commended the restoration of \$100,000,000 in the agricultural appropriations for the food stamp program. p. 11551
22. FAIR LABOR STANDARDS. Rep. Roosevelt commended and inserted the testimony of Labor Secretary Wirtz before the Education and Labor subcommittee on Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1965. pp. 11551-4
23. ITEM VETO. Rep. Halpern urged support of his proposed amendment to the Constitution relative to disapproval of items in general appropriation bills. p. 11560

24. CONSERVATION. Rep. Ottinger urged enactment of his bill to provide for the establishment of the Hudson Highlands National Scenic Riverway, N. Y., and inserted a supporting article. pp. 11567-9
25. FARM PROGRAM. Rep. Schmidhauser stated that an Iowa farm poll indicated strong support for the food-for-peace and feed grains programs and opposition to the proposal to permit soybeans to be grown on diverted acres. pp. 11570
26. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Hansen, Iowa, paid tribute to the Rural Electrification Administration on its 30th anniversary. p. 11574
27. BARTER. Rep. Morris questioned the "administratively confidential" classification of USDA information on a barter withdrawal involving surplus commodities under Public Law 480 and inserted a USDA announcement. pp. 11550-1
28. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Rep. Albert announced that on Tues. the House would consider the State, Justice, Commerce appropriation bill; on Wed. the bill to reduce excise taxes; on Thurs. and the balance of the week H. R. 4623, amending the Reorganization Act, and H. R. 8464, to provide a temporary increase in the public debt ceiling. pp. 11531-2

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

29. URBAN DEVELOPMENT. Rep. Stanton inserted an address, "The Best Word Is Contemporary--the Urban Challenge for America." pp. A2689-90
Extension of remarks of Rep. Rhodes opposing certain provisions of the proposed Housing and Urban Development Act and inserting an article. pp. A2714-8
30. POVERTY. Extension of remarks of Rep. Frelinghuysen criticizing the termination of hearings on the poverty bill "before hearing testimony which would have defined some of the serious and evident shortcomings of the Office of Economic Opportunity." pp. A2693-5
31. FARM LABOR. Extension of remarks of Rep. Cohelan stating that the migrant farm is the least adequately protected of all American workers and inserting an article on this subject. pp. A2695-6
32. ELECTRIFICATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Michel criticizing REA programs and stating that "REA over the years has continuously waged a cold and often successful war to thwart the congressionally approved standards in the 1936 act." pp. A2696-7
Extension of remarks of Rep. Stephens paying tribute to REA. pp. A2708-9
33. SOYBEANS. Rep. Michel inserted an article, "Washington Digest: Soybean Exports Hurt by Shipping Subsidy." pp. A2699-700
Extension of remarks of Rep. Michel inserting an article, "...A New Soybean Oil for Export", and stating that it "points up the work being done to develop new uses for the soybean." pp. A2705-6
34. WHEAT; PUBLIC LAW 480. Rep. Michel inserted an article, "Nasser Raps U. S. Halt of Wheat Sales." pp. A2707-8
35. TOBACCO; APPROPRIATIONS. Speech in the House by Rep. Duncan during debate on the agricultural appropriation bill opposing the proposed amendment to prohibit use of funds for tobacco price supports. p. A2723

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

MAY 27, 1965.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. POWELL, from the Committee on Education and Labor,
submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 8283]

The Committee on Education and Labor, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

PURPOSE OF THE LEGISLATION

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 carried an authorization for an appropriation for only 1 year. This 1-year appropriation authorization was a control technique developed by the Congress in order to require a close check and reevaluation of this new program.

The Education and Labor Committee early this year established an ad hoc subcommittee to make a detailed investigation of the Economic Opportunity Act. As a part of the investigation, special task forces were sent to make on-the-spot field investigations throughout the United States. Numerous days of public and executive hearings were held. A more complete investigation was not possible because of the very heavy congressional legislative schedule during this early part of the 89th Congress. Also, it was not possible to completely judge some of the programs of this great new approach to the elimination of poverty because the program is only in its initial stages of operation. It is possible, however, to say at this time that the program as a whole appears to be soundly conceived and that the administration of it is being well and faithfully carried out.

The first appropriation for this new program became available on the 8th day of October 1964. From that date, an enormous amount of activity began. It was necessary to assemble and organize a staff in

Washington, and regional staffs. It was necessary to develop the programs, conceive and publish the regulations under which they would operate. Since for a part of this program, namely, the community action programs, there was no prototype or model upon which to build or improve, the administration of this new concept has been difficult. However, even this new program, with its emphasis on local planning and participation, is making substantial progress.

TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

As stated in the report on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the purpose of this title is to create new opportunities and expand existing opportunities for young people to obtain work, education, and training.

PART A—JOB CORPS

Last year, the Job Corps concept became a reality. The functional operation of this plan involved the participation of young people, age 16 through 21, who, through a change in surroundings and associations, would be prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship and employment which every youth should and must bear.

Section II of H.R. 8283 amends section 104(D) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 so as to require that each enrollee take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the same form and with the same penalty provisions as are now provided in the National Defense Education Act and the National Science Foundation Act. This change would make the loyalty oath requirement for the Job Corps enrollee conform to the oaths required under other major programs in the education and training field.

An effort is made by the Job Corps staff to insure that enrollees and prospective enrollees are not accepted unless they adequately demonstrate the necessary stimulation and honesty of purpose which is necessary for effective and meaningful participation. Moreover, enrollees, once accepted, are subject to continuous supervision which is so personal and intensive that those who might for any reason, seek to use enrollment for deceptive purposes inconsistent with the options of the program can expect to have their enrollment promptly terminated.

Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Federal Employees' Compensation Act death and disability benefits are not payable with respect to Job Corps enrollees who may be injured or killed while temporarily absent from their campsite on a pass. For example, as the present law stands, a Job Corps enrollee or his dependents would be denied Federal Employees' Compensation Act benefits if he is injured or killed while going to or coming from a nearby town. The committee has attempted to correct this unfortunate situation by extending Federal Employees' Compensation Act coverage to Job Corps enrollees while they are on authorized pass.

The committee deems this to be the most practical approach to the problem based upon the fact that when a Job Corps enrollee is away from his home and he is engaged in an authorized Job Corps activity, he is necessarily subjected to the possibility of death or injury whether or not he is within the area of the campsite itself. The new bill also specifically extends Federal Employees' Compensation Act coverage to a Job Corps enrollee who is on authorized travel

status to or from a post of duty, including travel by one who is first reporting or who is returning home at the end of his enrollment. This provision would in no way affect the existing Federal Employees' Compensation Act exclusions for injuries sustained as a result of willful misconduct.

At present, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provides that, at any one time, no less than 40 percent of all Job Corps enrollees can be assigned to a Youth Conservation Camp in which their work activities will primarily involve public natural resources or developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas. However, since the Job Corps includes a considerable number of young women as well as young men, the committee has amended the 40-percent requirement so as to pertain only to male enrollees.

The main reason for this amendment goes to the fact that women are not generally qualified for or expected to participate in this kind of work, which usually involves hard physical labor. Thus, since women cannot typically be assigned to such work, including them in the total to which the 40-percent requirement is applied produces a result that is at odds with the apparent purpose of section 110.

The committee wishes to make clear that while this amendment would exclude young women for the purposes of the 40-percent computation, no reduction is contemplated in the number of male enrollees in the Youth Conservation Corps. The amendment would, however, serve to eliminate the possible barrier to the expansion of the number of young women in the Job Corps, since it would make it possible to expand this phase of the Job Corps operation without regard to the number of young men who could be assigned to conservative activities.

The committee wishes to express its great disappointment in the fact that a greater number of Job Corps centers have not been established for young women. Information brought to the attention of the committee during its consideration of this legislation indicated that the current budget for training centers for girls is slightly over \$25 million as compared with \$101 million for urban training centers for boys. In addition, \$70 million is budgeted for conservation camps. Thus, almost seven times as much has been made available for Job Corps centers for young men as has been made available for centers for young women. It was also brought to the attention of the committee that only 133 young girls had been enrolled in Job Corps centers as of the second week in May while over 1,500 young men had been so enrolled. These reports are in conflict with the intention of the Congress, as expressed in last year's committee report, that at the very minimum, the number of young women in the Job Corps should be one-third of the total enrollment.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity should exert a maximum effort to meet this minimum goal as expressed in the committee report. The necessity for appropriate increases in Job Corps centers for young women can be more fully appreciated after consideration of the dropout rates and unemployment rates for young women. Studies show that in any given year the number of girls dropping out of school is approximately the same as the number of young men. Of the nonwhite girls aged 14 to 19 in the labor market in 1963, one-third were reported as unemployed. By comparison, one-fourth of the nonwhite teenage boys were looking for work during the same period. It should also be noted that the unemployment

rate for white teenage girls is approximately the same as it is for white teenage boys.

The hearings before the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the War on Poverty Program indicated that the response by potential enrollees was widespread, and that the Job Corps centers had made an impressive beginning. Emphasis on the establishment of centers and recruitment should not, however, be permitted to obscure the fact that the enrollees who are being recruited and trained must also leave these centers and put their training to use. The Job Corps program is designed to provide a bridge between poverty and opportunity. In order for the bridge to be complete, placement must receive as much attention as recruitment. Placement procedures must be developed at an early stage so that the first enrollees will have some assurance of employment when they complete their training.

The data presented to the committee indicated that efforts are being made to develop procedures for placing enrollees in suitable employment or in situations where they may receive additional training. This aspect of the Job Corps program deserves emphasis in situations where the enrollees do not return to school or do not arrange to secure suitable employment on their own behalf. The placement procedures should make use of a variety of sources for locating job opportunities so as to assure that the enrollees can count upon the availability of work that is in fact suitable and, in as many cases as possible, upon the real choice between jobs.

Finally, it must be recognized that enrollees returning to a community after an enrollment period, face a particularly difficult problem of transition. Placement should therefore include a followthrough, where necessary, to aid the enrollees in adjusting to their new work.

The committee requests that as specific data on both the method of job placement and statistics on the effectiveness of such programs become available, periodic reports be made to the committee during the ensuing year.

PART B—WORK-TRAINING PROGRAMS

The work-training programs in part B of title I are designed to provide useful work experience opportunities for young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21 through participation in State and community efforts. This section pertains to youths who are either in school or who have dropped out of school. This antipoverty section is unique in that it provides our young people with an opportunity for work and training experience which has not been available to them.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized 90 percent Federal financing of this program through the period ending August 20, 1966. After that time, the regular level of Federal assistance would have to be reduced to 50 percent.

Section 5 of this bill amends the 1964 act by extending the 90 percent financing through fiscal year 1967.

The provisions of the act authorizing an initial higher level of Federal assistance were designed to assure that programs could be started quickly. They provide both the initial impetus of a high level of Federal support and a time period during which participating States and communities may prepare to assume a greater share of the program costs.

The committee recognizes that the critical problem which currently exists is one of timing. Although the 1964 act originally contemplated a 2-year adjustment period, the anticipated funds did not become available until October 8, 1964, and it was some time later before regulations, instructions, program guides, forms, and other materials could be completed and made generally available.

As might well be expected, those communities and sponsors which were relatively better equipped financially and with qualified personnel have responded most rapidly. On the other hand, many of the most needy communities required considerably more time to develop viable work-training projects. These are most often localities in isolated or rural areas that lack the staff and ability to act quickly in taking advantage of new Federal programs. Without the extension provided for in this bill, the committee feels that such localities, as potential sponsors, either will never receive the level of support now provided or, foreseeing this probability, will abandon efforts to develop work-training projects because of their inability to initially absorb 50 percent of the costs of such projects.

The committee recognizes the present inappropriateness of placing a large financial burden on economically depressed localities when their number of disadvantaged youth who need and can benefit from work-training programs may have little or no relation to their capacity for financing such programs. By insisting that such localities must initially carry an equal share of the financial burden, many needy youths may be precluded from obtaining the benefits to be derived from work-training projects.

The committee also recognizes that those work-training programs which are already or which will shortly be operating with 90 percent Federal assistance will not have been in existence for a sufficient length of time to permit the localities concerned to prepare intelligently for meeting an increased share of program costs. Because of the leadtime required for budget and resources planning, most major decisions must be made before the end of 1965, and certainly well before the cutoff date of August 20, 1966. However, most of the localities and sponsors will not have had a year's experience by that time, the bare minimum required to have a proper basis for estimating those costs and for determining how effective their programs will be in serving the needs of local disadvantaged youths.

By deferring the cutoff through fiscal 1967, the committee feels that two major objectives would be accomplished. It would, first, tend to assure that the higher level of initial Federal support would be more widely and equitably distributed among applicants with varying capacities to take advantage of new Federal programs. Second, it would provide localities with necessary time to evaluate and build support for local work-training programs which otherwise might be severely crippled before they fairly get underway. This change in the cutoff must be made this year if implementation of work-training programs is to proceed smoothly without the disruption which would necessarily flow from local efforts to compress program development work and to plan for and anticipate adjustments well in advance of the time when sound planning at the local level is fairly possible. The time lost and confusion created by a failure to act now on this change can ill be afforded. A failure to act could also result in a substantial curtailment of many work-training projects in fiscal 1967, even should the Congress decide next year to extend the

cutoff before it would otherwise become effective, since by the time the change could be approved, many local decisions would have been made which could not readily be reversed.

It has come to the committee's attention that on a number of occasions problems have arisen concerning rents to be charged in public housing projects to families one or more of whose members are receiving assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In most cases rents in these federally assisted projects are set by local housing authorities on the basis of family income. The problems have arisen where local housing authorities have sought to include income received by a family, such as earnings by a son or daughter in a Neighborhood Youth Corps project or amounts paid to an adult neighborhood worker in a community action program, in determining family income. This results not only in increased rents but in some cases, because of income limits for continued occupancy, may produce a situation where a family is threatened with eviction because of participation in Economic Opportunity Act programs.

The committee believes that this practice is basically inconsistent with the purposes which the Economic Opportunity Act was designed to serve and the policies it represents. These purposes and policies are most clearly set forth in title VII of the act which precludes reduction in public assistance to any person because of designated payments that person may receive under the Economic Opportunity Act. Although title VII does specifically apply to the federally assisted public housing program, the committee understands that the Public Housing Administration has ruled that local housing authorities may take account of this provision of the act and exclude for rent and eligibility purposes any income that would be excludable under title VII. In addition, it has advised local authorities that they may exclude additional amounts, where otherwise appropriate, in the case of minors, such as those who may be employed on a Neighborhood Youth Corps project.

The committee expects that local housing authorities will act in accordance with this authorization. It plans, however, to keep in close touch with developments in this area and is prepared to recommend additional legislation should this prove necessary.

The committee is most concerned about the welfare of the Cuban refugees in the United States. Because most of them have been admitted as parolees without visas or nonimmigrant aliens, they are excluded from the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs which are limited under the act to "permanent residents" of the United States. Because both these programs have applicants far in excess of the numbers that can be served, the committee has not recommended an amendment to the act making Cuban refugees eligible at this time. Consideration of such an amendment will be undertaken next year. In the meantime, the committee believes that special efforts should be made to assist the Cuban refugees under other programs for which they are eligible at the present time.

PART C—WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS

The purpose of work-study programs has been to provide basic financial assistance to needy college or potential college students through part-time employment.

As in the case of work-training programs, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized 90 percent Federal financing for work-study programs through the period ending August 20, 1966. After that time, however, the regular level of Federal assistance would have to be reduced to 75 percent (not 50 percent as required for work-training programs).

Section 6 of this bill amends the 1964 act by extending the 90-percent financing through the fiscal year 1967.

To avoid a duplication as to statement of purpose, the committee points out that the reasons for the extension of the 90-percent Federal financing for work-study programs are essentially the same as those for the extension of 90-percent Federal financing of the work-training programs. The extension of this matching ratio is necessary to allow participating colleges 2 full years of activity since the 1964-65 college work-study program did not actually begin operation within the institutions until this past spring. At present, 45,000 students from low-income families are employed in 678 colleges and universities. For the fall of 1965, 1,100 institutions have proposed to employ more than twice this number. Continuation of the 90-10 matching ratio will facilitate the continued expansion of this program through fiscal year 1967.

Legislation is presently pending before the full Committee on Education and Labor to transfer the administration of the work-study program, originally enacted as part of the Economic Opportunity Act, to the U.S. Office of Education.

TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

A. COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

The committee has been concerned with the potentiality of the communitywide structure for monopoly on efforts to eradicate poverty in each community. It was clearly the intent of Congress that grants to such communitywide structures should not prevent grants from being made in the same community to groups with novel and imaginative ideas for dealing with the problems of poverty.

The policy of the Office of Economic Opportunity on this matter has been restated (May 12, 1965) as follows:

The Office of Economic Opportunity supports the efforts of local communities to mobilize their resources in local attacks on poverty. It is our belief that such mobilization is most effectively accomplished by the establishment of community action agencies having broad representation from local groups, both public and private, including an adequate and substantial representation of the residents of the areas and the members of the groups to be served.

The encouragement of broad-based community action agencies is, I think, required by the language of the act. It is, moreover, sound policy. The broad-based community action agency is capable not only of mobilizing resources but also of coordinating the use of those resources. It reduces the likelihood of duplication and waste. It promises to make possible a broader range of needed services to a greater proportion of those in need than reliance on the

traditionally independent and separate actions of a miscellany of unrelated groups.

Having said that we encourage the establishment of such broad-based agencies, it should also be said that the existence of such an agency is not a prerequisite to the granting of Federal assistance. Grants to independent single-purpose agencies are made when formation of a community action agency appears to be impractical. Such grants have been made when there was substantial promise that the single-purpose program would provide the genesis for true community action. The reluctance of public agencies to participate in a broadly based program or their withdrawal from participation in an ongoing program will not make it impossible for private agencies and groups to be funded.

We want also to make it clear that we have not permitted nor will we permit community action agencies to develop into bureaucratic monopolies.

We have a number of ways to prevent development of monopolies.

First, successful and truly representative community agencies reduce the likelihood of monopolistic abuses.

Second, we can condition the funding of a particular application or of future programs upon the more effective utilization of resources, upon the inclusion of programs not applied for, or upon the use of agencies whose proffers of service have not been accepted.

Finally, OEO has informed a number of community action agencies of its intention to permit single-purpose agencies to appeal to Washington directly to circumvent the community action agency in any case where it can be shown that such a single-purpose agency has been arbitrarily, unfairly, or improperly discriminated against.

Our general policy of permitting maximum flexibility to local community action organizations in the development of their programs has led us to permit a community action agency to establish a program for a city, an entire metropolitan area, a number of cities plus adjoining rural areas, and a variety of other political and geographic configurations. OEO has not, however, required an amalgamation of geographic or political areas into one community action program. This is left to local option except for those cases where there is a clear showing that the local plan is unwise, uneconomic, or unfairly discriminates against adjacent areas or communities."

Emphasis should be given to that part of the statement which makes it clear that public or private nonprofit agencies will have free access to the Office of Economic Opportunity after reasonable attempts have been made to operate through the local, broadly representative, communitywide structure, where one exists. Such single-purpose agencies should, in all cases, first submit their plan to the existing communitywide agency in order to determine whether its plan is compatible with that of the communitywide structure. Although efforts should be made to interrelate all resources in the community directed toward the eradication of poverty, single-purpose independent groups having

no relationship to a communitywide structure are eligible for funding under section 205 of the act. That these single-purpose agencies have no chance of developing into a communitywide structure is not a condition for receiving such grants. The Congress has contemplated the existence of independent single-purpose agencies in the same community that a communitywide structure has been created. Such competitiveness and experimentation is appropriate in an area in which conclusive remedies have not been established.

The committee has been concerned with the participation of the residents of the area and members of the group served in the programs under the Economic Opportunity Act. The Office of Economic Opportunity has stated its policy on this matter (May 12, 1965) as follows:

From our first contacts with local community groups, as evidenced by the requirements printed in our "Community Action Program Guide," we have required substantial and effective representation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served on the governing board of community action agencies. In addition, such groups are required by our policies to have effective representation on policy advisory boards. Such a board, where used, assists the governing body in establishing policies, reviews proposed projects, and acts as a hearing board for groups which may wish to propose addition to or changes in the community action program.

In addition, we have encouraged a variety of other techniques designed to insure participation of the affected groups in the community action programs. We have encouraged the development and use of representative neighborhood advisory organizations, which have given advice on program policies and which was thereby channeled to the community action agency. Such neighborhood organizations have also given such groups an effective voice in the conduct and administration of neighborhood-based programs.

In addition, we have encouraged the employment of the residents of the areas served in jobs created as part of the community action program itself.

We have funded a number of training and demonstration projects designed to find new ways to use such people and to educate them so that they can better participate in community action activities.

The thrust of the policy of representation of residents of the area and members of the group served is to assure that they are an important factor in initiating plans which affect their own future. It is indeed vital that the persons who are the objects of this program be treated "less as clients or cases and more as partners" (Office of Economic Opportunity, Apr. 30, 1965). The committee is aware that any other mode of operation would be demoralizing to the groups to be served by the act. On the other hand, the idea that the residents of the area and members of the groups served should have sufficient representation on the community action boards, where such boards exist, conforms with a fundamental analogy—that of democracy. By assuring these groups of sufficient representation,

we are involving those who have the greatest stake in the choice of alternate policies. Their experience with the problem to be solved will lend exactness to these policies. Policies which are independently premeditated, devised in advance of dealing with the people who are the objects of the program, are imprecise and wasteful.

The committee was concerned with the salaries paid to certain directors and other administrative personnel in OEO funded community action programs.

It is informed of the practice of OEO's community action programs to study budgets of applicants with particular emphasis on salary schedules, and to pay with Federal funds only so much of a proposed salary as it feels is reasonably related to the responsibility and scope of the position; and that in determining how much it will pay with Federal funds, it considers the salaries paid to persons within the locality who have positions of similar responsibility and scope.

The committee commends this practice, but wishes to make clear to the Director that for purposes of achieving ultimate salary objectivity, he is empowered to use a broad base of multiple criteria. The Director not only may consider the "comparability" test in determining appropriate salaries, but he may also give credence to the size of each program and to the amount of each grant. The committee urges that OEO community action programs continue to carefully scrutinize budgets of all applicants for Federal funds, with particular emphasis on proposed administrative salaries.

The committee has taken note of criticism from local community action agencies and other local organizations concerned with the problems of poverty about the difficulties of obtaining information about community action requirements, procedures, and policies. In no small measure, these difficulties are probably attributable to the fact that the Office of Economic Opportunity began operations without a system of regional offices. As a result, many questions that could have been handled in the field were either left unanswered or referred to the central office. In addition to the delay involved in such referral was the difficulty of obtaining answers which were related to local problems.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is now in the process of establishing a system of seven regional offices. As these develop and expand, the committee expects that many of the current difficulties will disappear. For this to occur, however, it is essential that these offices not be permitted to become mere application processing centers. They must also be equipped to provide direct, prompt, and expert assistance at the community level with respect to matters that must be dealt with even before an application is prepared and that will continue to arise as programs are developed and implemented. Such assistance will do more than simply assure better channels of communication for the handling of day-to-day questions. With the opportunities it affords for personal contact and a two-way flow of information, it should also result in a better appreciation of the potentialities of community action, and a correspondingly greater sensitivity to its problems, on the part of those with operating responsibility both at the Federal level and in local communities throughout the country.

The existence of an adequately staffed and properly constituted system of regional offices does not mean that a significant role can no longer be played by State technical assistance agencies. Some

communities may prefer to rely upon the State agencies. Moreover, these agencies are equipped to deal with problems involving the State or State-planned programs, as in the area of health and welfare assistance which may have a direct bearing upon local community action plans and activities. It should be stressed, however, that State technical assistance programs must remain faithful to what the term "technical assistance" implies: assistance for those communities and organizations which want and need such assistance. State technical assistance agencies should not seek to interpose themselves or to exert control over decisions which the people in a community are prepared to resolve on their own.

The committee recognizes that there are some situations in which the literal application in the maintenance-of-effort provision may work an unnecessary hardship on some communities. Under 208(b), this requirement was enacted to assure that the aggregate expenditures on contributions from non-Federal sources is maintained. Its application is most likely to involve hardship in the case of rural areas which often have high levels of poverty. One common feature of rural areas is a steadily declining population. To require such locality to maintain its prior level of expenditure means that it must increase its per capita expenditures at the same time that its resources may be declining. This would require a proportionately greater effort than other communities whose needs are likely to be relatively smaller.

The amendment to 208(b) is designed to provide some latitude for administrative exceptions in order to take account of these and comparable situations where a reduction in local effort occurs because of conditions which are essentially unrelated to the purposes of the requirement or not fairly subject to local control. Such exceptions should be granted only pursuant to regulations. They should, of course, be limited to what is in fact necessary and justified, and granted only in accordance with prescribed criteria that would assure equitable treatment of localities having similar claims of relief.

B. ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The committee has noted with regret the slow pace of the adult basic education program. It believes that such a slow beginning was due primarily to extended negotiations which were required in some States in order to obtain assurances under title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This slow beginning was also due to the fact that the Adult Basic Education Branch was not adequately staffed. Nor has the Adult Basic Education Branch been given that status in the Office of Education which an expanded program would merit.

Section 10 of H.R. 8283 authorizes the use of up to 5 percent of the sums appropriated or allocated to the adult basic education program for the training of teachers or instructors to participate in that program.

While a variety of sources will be used to recruit teachers for the adult basic education program, it has become clear that an adequate supply of teachers can be secured only by using many otherwise qualified instructors who have had no previous experience teaching adults. If these teachers are to be effective, it is essential that they receive intensive training in adult education problems and practices either before or during their employment.

C. VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

The committee has deleted from the Economic Opportunity Act part C of title II (the voluntary assistance program for needy children). While the program is laudatory in purpose, no practical method has been found by which it can be implemented or administered on a national scale.

One problem arises from legal and established policy restrictions which in many States restrict or preclude release of the kind of information concerning particular relief recipients which the program contemplates. These difficulties are, of course, augmented by the extremely complex problems of selection necessarily involved in a program of this kind.

Participation of Governors

Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Governors in various States have the following specific powers:

1. Under section 109, to disapprove the establishment of a Job Corps center in the State;
2. Under section 209(c), to disapprove any program or project of assistance proposed to be undertaken by any public agency or any private institution or organization other than an institution of higher education. This power affects the Neighborhood Youth Corps program established under title I-B of the act, the community action program under title II-A, and the adult basic education program under title II-part B;
3. Under section 603(b), to approve or disapprove the assignment or referral of VISTA volunteers.

In addition, Governors as a practical matter generally have power under section 209(b) which provides for Federal assistance to "appropriate State agencies" for expenses of providing technical assistance to local communities in developing and administering local community action programs. In the absence of State law specifically designating an agency for this purpose, the power of designation and appointment of personnel has been exercised by the Governors.

The involvement of the Governors in decisions to establish Job Corps centers and the assignment of VISTA volunteers presents considerations different from those applicable to the veto under section 209(c).

In the case of VISTA, volunteers are trained at Federal cost and, even after assignment or referral, retain a special Federal status. The existence of this status, and the possible need for a special check, has not been in issue and was recognized in the original bill submitted by the administration last year.

In the case of the Job Corps, that program involves a direct Federal activity as opposed to assistance to local programs or local agencies. A consent requirement for this program thus in no way impinges upon the normal legal or governmental framework within the State, since it does not operate to transfer to the Governor control over any matter which would normally be assigned elsewhere by State law.

The Governors' power with respect to the adult basic education program has not to date presented any problems. As a practical matter, since the program is operated under the traditional "State plan" scheme and since the plan is prepared by a State education

agency, the Governor's influence and control is apt to be determinative regardless of the veto requirement. The requirement may, however, in some States operate to shift legal power or responsibility for education programs to an official other than the one designated by State law.

The chief problem to date appears to revolve around the Governor's unlimited power to veto programs and projects under title I-B and title II-A. These both involve assistance to local programs planned and developed by local agencies. The absolute veto as applied to these programs gives the Governor discretion over local programs and affairs over which, under State law, he normally has no direct control and for which he is not directly responsible.

Since the Federal law does not prescribe any criteria to be followed by the Governor, and since there is no State law prescribing criteria, the discretion is in fact unfettered as to the conditions of its exercise. Since there is no Federal body or official with power of review, and since none exists at the State level, the power is absolute. The power may be exercised without any of the restraints that would have been provided had the power been granted by a State legislature composed of representatives each of whom might be concerned over its possible future use in connection with programs in his own community.

What Congress has done in section 209(c) is to confer upon the Governors more power of control over a federally assisted program than the Governors enjoy with respect to State action of their own governments. In some States the Governor has no veto at all, but there is no State where the Governor's veto of the legislative process cannot be overridden.

Nor, can the Governor of any State veto the action of city or municipality under its charter or statute in the conduct of its own affairs. In some States with home rule provisions in their constitutions, not even the State legislature could confer the kind of power over essentially local matters which the Congress has sought to provide.

The power that the Governor has under section 209(c) is without precedent in any Federal program where Federal assistance is given to a local community. There are many such Federal programs where the Federal Government and the municipality deal directly: Community facilities, urban renewal, public housing, manpower development and training, Federal aid to airports, the "impact education" aid program, to mention a few.

The existence of an absolute veto power in the hands of a Governor is inconsistent with the entire philosophy of the community action and neighborhood youth corps programs of the antipoverty act. These two programs are based on the theory that representative bodies of public and private agencies and organizations, together with representatives of the areas and groups to be served, can best determine the needs of the poor, coordinate the use of local resources, and determine the means for the seeking an end to poverty. It is based on the theory that the level of government and persons closest to the problem understand that problem best.

Particularly with respect to title II, part A, the community action program, it should be noted that the Governor is provided Federal funds to establish a State technical assistance program. He appoints his people to carry it out. This financial support, coupled with the

veto, gives him tremendous power with respect to the planning, establishment, conduct, and administration of community action programs. Governors can, and increasingly have, injected themselves into the planning process.

The committee is aware that the veto power can, and is, being used coercively. Some Governors appear to be experimenting to determine exactly how far they can go in using their power to determine the organization and structure of the community action agency, its constituent agencies and personnel, as well as the content of the program.

It may well be that the veto power is like an iceberg, more important by virtue of its informal and unpublished exercise before the fact than from its exercise after the program has been approved by OEO.

Even if the veto is eliminated, Governors may, of course, have other sources of coercive power. This power would stem, however, from sources of authority they already have by virtue of State law. If that authority is abused, it will not be because the Congress has given a license for possible abuse. It will be abuse which has received no stamp of Federal approval.

Section 209(c) in its present form permits the exercise of the veto based on any reason, or no reason. Relief must be given to prevent Governors from using their veto power over antipoverty projects in such a way as to defeat the policy and purpose of the act. A review process is the best way to prevent arbitrary action.

The amendment to the Act of section 8 of the bill provides that programs or projects by local communities for a community action, Neighborhood Youth Corps, or adult basic education program must be submitted to the Governor for approval. If such plans are not disapproved by him within 30 days they are permitted to go into effect. In those rare cases where a Governor disapproves a program or project, it must be reviewed and reconsidered by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in the light of the comments by the Governor, if any. Where the Director finds reason, upon sound program grounds, for supporting a Governor's disapproval, the projects or programs will not go forward. Where, however, after review of the facts the Director of the OEO makes the determination that the application is in fact fully consistent with the law, and with the purposes and policies of the act, these projects and programs may be permitted to go forward in spite of the Governor's disapproval.

This is an apt compromise. It permits the legitimate exercise of power by the Governor with respect to programs going on within his State. It recognizes that Governors may have knowledge, information, and insights on the wisdom or desirability of particular projects. It recognizes that they should be in a position to address themselves to any problems those projects may raise under State law. It recognizes that Governors are especially competent to speak for the State as a whole so far as related State plans and programs are concerned. And it provides a method by which all of the knowledge, competence, and prestige a Governor may have can be effectively brought to bear.

At the same time, however, the amendment closes the avenue for abuse that exists under the law as now written. It provides a method of review for actions which are arbitrary, capricious, or discriminatory. And it protects the right of local communities to a self-determination that is consistent with the policy of State and local law throughout the country and with the Economic Opportunity Act.

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

A. AUTHORITY TO MAKE GRANTS AND LOANS

The committee notes satisfactory progress in this program. It feels that this program has demonstrated its potentiality to relieve the poverty of the small farmer.

The bill includes an amendment which would clarify the restriction against loans under title III to rural cooperatives organized for "manufacturing" purposes, particularly with respect to cooperatives processing edible dairy products.

Section 303 of the act authorizes loans to local cooperatives furnishing essential processing and marketing services predominately to low-income rural families. One limitation on this authority appears in section 305(f) of the act, which prohibits loans to cooperatives organized for "manufacturing purposes." It is not believed that the Congress by this limitation meant to preclude loans to cooperatives serving low-income rural families in the processing and marketing of cheese, butter, ice cream, or similar dairy or edible farm products. Under established rules of interpretation, however, processing is regarded as manufacturing when a new or different substance is produced or created. The amendment is designed, accordingly, to provide an express basis for otherwise appropriate loans to cooperative dairy establishments and other cooperatives which process and market the edible farm products of their members.

B. ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES AND THEIR FAMILIES

Assistance for migrants has received relatively little attention until recently. The Committee is hopeful of improvements in this program.

Section 311 of the act, which authorizes the special program of assistance to migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees, has been altered to clarify such matters as the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which assistance may be granted. These revisions are technical in nature. Existing language, for example, while it refers to direct loans, does not otherwise specify the types of assistance that may be extended. The amendment would, in this respect, expressly provide for grants and loan guarantees. In addition, the amendment would make it clear that in order for a program to qualify for Federal grants or other assistance, it must be administered and operated by a State or local public agency, non-profit organization or cooperative, as opposed to programs that might be undertaken by an individual or growers' association.

The amendment would also clarify authority to assist local programs which supplement other efforts to assist migrants or which contain some services that appropriately complement assistance in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care. Proposals have been received, for example, which are centered upon migrant needs in these four specified fields but also contemplate supplementary services designed to enhance the effectiveness of the overall program. These additional services may involve relatively little added cost and may sometimes be provided by the same personnel and through use of the same basic facilities as are employed in meeting housing, education, sanitation, and day-care needs.

TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING

Title V of the 1964 act used as a base the successful operation of pilot community work and training programs authorized by the 1962 Amendments to the Social Security Act. This title has been most effective in meeting the immediate needs of large numbers of the hard-core unemployed and underemployed.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity advised during the course of hearings conducted in April that, as of March 31, 1965, 72 applications had been received, of these, 51 projects had been approved for nearly 36,000 participants with more than 107,000 dependents for the work-experience and training program. The approved projects were in 28 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The administration indicates that it expects to have projects serving more than 100 cities, counties, and Indian reservations funded before the end of fiscal year 1965.

Project applications for title V programs are developed by communities with help from State welfare departments and the Welfare Administration in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Participants in the program, many of whom would otherwise be receiving public assistance, are paid monthly sums based on family need. In all cases, this will be at least equal to the amount they would receive as welfare assistance payments; in some cases it is more.

The committee has adopted one substantive amendment to section 502 of title V by adding the sentence: "Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title." The addition of this language is not intended in any way to restrict the term "other needy persons" used in section 502 which permits participation by any needy person who can benefit from work experience and training. However, the committee is concerned that there are large numbers of extremely needy families subsisting on marginal farming operations which have a small amount of cash income. The limited resources of such farm operations do not permit the family to have the very basic elements of health care, clothing, shelter, and proper diet. Clearly, workers in such family should be considered as unemployed for the purposes of program participation, even though they are not "unemployed" as that term is normally defined.

TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA volunteers might well be considered the arms and legs of the antipoverty program. They provide a momentum in the overall poverty effort by working and living on Indian reservations, in Job Corps camps, in migrant worker communities, in the hollows of Appalachia, and in urban poverty areas. They serve as teachers in preschool and adult education programs, as counselors, recreation leaders, and youth leaders. They work in health, nutrition, and sanitation activities as well as provide advice in farming, construction, and other artisan activities. Upon request, they are also made available to assist State and local agencies in working out their problems of poverty.

During the course of hearings, the committee found that the various localities throughout the country could not get enough VISTA volunteers. There are waiting lists of many months throughout the country. This is certainly a good indicator of the worth of these people.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provided that a VISTA volunteer can be assigned only to limited categories of activities if he is to receive his subsistence and other costs from Federal funds. At the present time, the eligible categories of VISTA assignment include only work in meeting the needs of Indians on reservations, migratory workers, and residents of the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the territories and possessions; work in the care and rehabilitation of the mentally ill or mentally retarded under treatment at nonprofit facilities assisted by Federal funds. In addition, volunteers may be assigned to work in furtherance of youth, community action or adult basic education programs or activities authorized or supported under titles I and II of the act.

However, there are many situations where volunteers may have skills and backgrounds that would make them particularly helpful to local efforts to combat poverty but where assignment is not presently possible. Very often in these cases, local funds are not available to pay for the costs of using volunteers on a referral basis. This may result in the abandonment of useful and imaginative projects; it may also result in efforts to secure Federal funds under other provisions of the act to support activities that could be carried on more appropriately and very possibly at lower cost through the use of assigned volunteers.

Existing limitations on assignment produce many disparities that are, at best, difficult to justify. Volunteers, for example, may now be assigned to work with Indians living on reservations but not with Indians, however impoverished, living as a distinct community off a reservation; or to work in federally assisted mental hospitals but not in other federally assisted hospitals where needs may be as great. They may be assigned to work in connection with community action programs but not to work on otherwise eligible projects which have not yet been included in a community action program or on projects designed to deal with isolated ribbons or pockets of poverty in areas unable or unprepared to undertake community action programs. They may be assigned to work in connection with projects assisted under titles I and II, but in the absence of a community action program, they may not be assigned to assist the poor to set up and make going concerns of small businesses securing loans under title IV, or to aid low-income farm families in establishing cooperatives with loan assistance under title III-A, or to help in the training and counseling of needy adults participating in work-experience projects under title V.

This bill amends section 603(a)(2)(c) to read as follows:

in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.

It is the intention of the committee that this amendment would correct the rather arbitrary categories set up under the act by now making volunteers available for assignment in connection with any

kind of local program or activity which is receiving, or could receive, assistance under the act. The committee also wishes to assure that the relatively limited number of volunteers available for assignment could be employed most effectively in service to those localities which in fact have the greatest need for volunteer assistance on an assignment basis. However, in recognizing the importance of VISTA volunteers, the committee requests that the Director exert a maximum effort to insure expedited training programs that turn out sufficient numbers of such volunteers.

The committee felt that the loyalty oath as it applies to VISTA volunteers should be the same as the oath for the Job Corps, National Defense Education Act, and National Science Foundation Act. This objective is accomplished by section 15 of H.R. 8283.

Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, death or disability benefits for VISTA volunteers available under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act are determined on the basis that such volunteers are paid an entrance salary of a GS-2 under the Classification Act of 1949. The committee has amended section 603(d) so as to increase the wage base for VISTA volunteers so that their Federal Employees' Compensation Act death and disability benefits will now be determined on the basis of an entrance salary of GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949. The committee deems this a necessary change as they recognize the gross inadequacy of present death and disability payments for adult volunteers, many of whom have left responsible positions to serve at substantial sacrifice and who may, in addition, have family obligations.

Section 16 of this bill expands from 14 to 20 the number of members, in addition to the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, who could be appointed to the National Advisory Council established under section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The committee deems this appropriate as so many groups have demonstrated an active interest in Economic Opportunity Act programs that it has been difficult, within existing membership limitations, to structure the Advisory Council so as to assure that it will be reasonably representative. The addition of six new members, as proposed in the bill, is designed to provide the Council with a somewhat broader base without, however, making it so large as to impair its effectiveness.

Section 19 of this bill contains one amendment to the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to authorize a moratorium of up to 3 years on the repayment of student loans under that act to VISTA volunteers.

A substantial proportion of volunteers in the VISTA program are expected to be individuals who have just completed, or recently completed, their college education. Some of these may have received student loans under the National Defense Education Act with repayment obligations which may be difficult for them to meet during their period of VISTA service. Four of the first 68 volunteers have, for example, already inquired as to the possibility of a deferment or moratorium on repayment of such loans. The provision of the bill authorizing such moratoriums is based upon a similar provision applicable to Peace Corps volunteers.

This section, however, shall not be applicable to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this act without the consent of the then obligee institution.

AUTHORIZATIONS

The authorizations contained in the bill are designed to permit an acceleration of the war on poverty over the authorization levels included in the act for fiscal 1965. Consistent with the present pattern of the act, these authorizations would be on a title-by-title rather than a lump-sum basis.

The separate title authorizations now contained in the act reflect the committee's belief that the war on poverty must be supported in a manner consistent with the high national purpose that it represents and the need that exists. This level of authorization will permit a substantial effort to eliminate poverty among the nearly 35 million Americans who are poor. A maximum effort, of course, cannot realistically be achieved within an annual program level of \$1.895 billion, which is what the bill would authorize. It is recognized, however, that there are practical limits on what can be done and on the amount of funds that can be absorbed and properly used. The committee believes that the authorizations proposed are consistent both with the need and with sound and prudent administration. While some of these programs have started more slowly than others, all have now reached the point where additional funds may be channeled through organizations and procedures which are already established. Expansion of these programs to the levels proposed should present far fewer problems than were encountered during the first year in simply getting underway.

The authorizations contained in the bill are estimated as sufficient to support the following program levels:

Job Corps: 80,000 enrollees.

Community action: 1,100 grants in 700 communities.

VISTA: 5,000 volunteers in 200 communities.

Neighborhood Youth Corps: 300,000 teenagers in 500 communities, plus an additional 100,000 during the summer 1966.

College work-study: Approximately 145,000 students in 1,300 colleges.

Adult basic education: 70,000 trainees in 50 States and 4 territories.

Work experience: 224,000 participants in 50 States and 4 territories.

Rural loans: \$36,800,000 for 22,100 individual loans and \$8,200,000 for 410 co-op loans.

CONCLUSION

The war on poverty, scarcely 10 months old, has been well begun. On August 20, 1964, the President signed the bill which was a commitment by the Congress, by the Nation, to dedicate themselves to the elimination of deprivation and dependency in the United States. Rarely in peacetime have so many agencies, public and private, Federal, State, and local, addressed themselves to a single purpose. Surely never in peacetime history has such a large and complex program gotten underway in such a short period of time. Never in the history of this country has there been such a monumental effort to help people to help themselves.

The war on poverty is not directed at its symptoms but at its causes. It is a program which seeks not merely to ameliorate and alleviate but to prevent and rehabilitate. It seeks not to support the poor or make them dependent upon the generosity of others. It seeks to provide them with hope, with training, with a chance to help themselves.

The war on poverty gives some emphasis to the young. It puts substantial emphasis on education and training. There is provision, of course, for a great variety of other services, a great variety of other aids designed to help people lift themselves from poverty. The range of services, the range of types of assistance that are possible under this program and available to the poor is, in a very real sense, limited only by the ingenuity of those designing local programs for the poor.

In spite of its potential variety, however, the war on poverty is not and cannot be a final solution to all the problems of poverty. It can succeed only to the extent that the general economic health of the Nation is preserved and improved. The millions of dollars that are being spent on the training and on education, for instance, will have been wasted if the beneficiaries of the programs cannot find a place in the job market.

The committee is pleased to be able to acknowledge the tremendous acceleration that has recently marked the national economy. Unemployment in many areas is at its lowest point in a great many years, but the absorption of Job Corps enrollees, of youngsters from the Neighborhood Youth Corps, of adults from the work experience program, and many others into the national economy will be possible only if the rate of economic growth continues to increase. The Congress and the administration must be alert to this fact.

We feel confident that both will meet the commitment undertaken last August to eliminate want, deprivation, and need, and to insure the general level of economic well-being so necessary to the eradication of poverty.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 1. Short title

Section 1 provides that the act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965."

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

Section 2. Job Corps—Enrollee affidavits

This section amends section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (hereinafter referred to as the Act), which provides that Job Corps enrollees must execute affidavits disclaiming subversive beliefs and membership in subversive organizations and subscribe to an oath of allegiance. It would eliminate the requirement for disclaimer affidavits, but retains in substance the requirement for an oath of allegiance.

Section 3. Job Corps—Application of Employees' Compensation Act

This section amends provisions of section 106(c) of the Act to extend Federal Employees' Compensation Act coverage to certain activities of Job Corps enrollees while on pass and during travel to or from a Job Corps site.

Under specific language in paragraph (2)(A)(i) of section 106(c) of the present Act payment of disability or death benefits is precluded in the case of any enrollee who is injured or killed while on authorized leave or pass. In addition, section 106(c)(2)(A)(ii) provides that Federal Employees' Compensation Act coverage does not extend to injury or death of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, unless sustained while participating in an activity authorized by or under the supervision of the Corps. The amendment would modify and combine these provisions in such a way that an enrollee could be considered as engaged in an authorized or supervised activity, and thus covered, while on pass or traveling to or from a Job Corps site. This would not affect the regular exclusions established under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act for cases of willful misconduct.

Section 4. Job Corps—Enrollee work activities

This section amends section 110 of the Act which now requires 40 percent of all Job Corps enrollees to be in camps where their work activity primarily involves public natural resources or public recreational areas. As amended, the section would require that 40 percent of the male enrollees must be in such camps.

Section 5. Work-training programs—Limitation on Federal assistance

This section amends section 115 of the Act to extend for 1 year the period during which the Federal share of the cost of work-training programs will be 90 percent.

Section 6. Work-study program—Limitation on Federal assistance

This section amends section 124(f), relating to work-study programs to extend the period during which the Federal share of student compensation may be up to 90 percent through August 20, 1967, an extension of 1 year.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Section 7. Community action programs—Limitations on Federal assistance

Subsection (a) amends subsection (a) of section 208 to extend the period during which community action programs may regularly be financed with 90 percent Federal assistance from August 20, 1966, through August 20, 1967.

Subsection (b) adds a new subsection (b) to section 208 under which the Director would be specifically authorized to promulgate regulations relating to the reduction of assistance below 90 percent for community action programs or component programs which have been conducted with assistance under section 205 for more than a prescribed period. As with other determinations under section 208, reductions would be made pursuant to objective criteria established in such regulations.

Subsection (c) amends provisions of section 208 which require that the non-Federal share of a community action program be in addition to the aggregate of non-Federal expenditures or contributions made for similar purposes immediately prior to the extension of Federal assistance. Under the amendment, the Director would be authorized to promulgate rules and regulations establishing objective criteria

pursuant to which modifications of this requirement could be permitted in situations where its literal application would result in unnecessary hardship or would otherwise be inconsistent with the basic purpose to be served by the requirement.

Section 8. Disapproval of plans

This section amends section 209(c) which now provides that before the Director can initiate a program of assistance under title II or part B of title I, he must submit a plan for the proposal to the Governor of the State. The Governor may disapprove the plan within 30 days of its submission to him. The amendment permits the Director to reconsider a plan which has been disapproved by the Governor and to carry it out if, upon such reconsideration, it is found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of the part.

Section 9. Adult basic education programs—Payments: Federal share

This section amends section 216(b) of the act to extend for 1 year the period during which the Federal share of the costs of State plans shall be 90 percent.

Section 10. Adult basic education programs—Teacher training

This section authorizes use of up to 5 percent of the funds appropriated or allocated for the adult basic education program for the training of persons to act as adult basic education instructors.

Section 11. Voluntary assistance program for needy children

This section deletes part C of title II of the act which authorizes establishment, on a nationwide basis, of a program for voluntary financial assistance by individuals to needy children.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY
IN RURAL AREAS

Section 12. Cooperative associations—Prohibition of loans to assist manufacturing

This section amends section 305(f) to make clear that the prohibition against loans to cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes does not prevent loans, if otherwise appropriate, to cooperatives processing dairy products or similar edible farm products.

Section 13. Migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees

This section amends part B of title III of the act, requiring the Director to develop and implement a program to assist migrant workers and their families, so as to clarify the authority granted with respect to the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which that assistance may be extended.

AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

Section 14. Definition of unemployment

This section amends section 502 to provide that workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net annual family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of the title.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

Section 15. VISTA—Assignment; Application of other provisions and Federal laws

Subsection (a) authorizes the assignment of VISTA volunteers under section 603(a)(2) of the act to programs which are authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under the act. Under section 603(a)(2) of the act, assignment of volunteers in connection with other programs under the act is now limited to programs under titles I and II.

Subsection (b) makes specifically applicable to VISTA volunteers the same oath requirements as would apply to Job Corps enrollees under section 2 of this bill. In addition, it provides that for purposes of death or disability benefits under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, the pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949 (in lieu of the entrance salary for GS-2, as now provided for both Job Corps enrollees and volunteers).

Section 16. National Advisory Council

This section expands from 14 to 20 the number of members (in addition to the Director) who may be appointed to service on the National Advisory Council established by section 605 of the act.

Section 17. Affidavits

This section deletes section 616 of the Act, requiring a disclaimer affidavit applicable to VISTA volunteers and dairy farmers receiving indemnity benefits in view of the amendments made by section 14 to the VISTA program and the lapse of the indemnity payments program.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Section 18. Authorizations

This section amends the various sections of the act dealing with the duration of programs and the authorization of appropriations for each such program. The act now provides that the programs provided for in each title will be carried on through the end of the fiscal year 1967. The bill amends each of these provisions to extend the duration of the programs for an additional year.

The existing law also authorizes appropriations for the fiscal year 1965 on a title-by-title basis. The bill continues the authorizations on a title-by-title basis for the fiscal year 1966. The amounts authorized are the following: Title I—\$825 million; title II—\$680 million; title III—\$70 million; title V—\$300 million; title VI—\$20 million.

AMENDMENT TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT

Section 19. Moratorium on student loans to VISTA volunteers

This section amends the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to authorize a moratorium of up to 3 years on the repayment of student loans under that act to individuals in the VISTA program authorized under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW MADE BY THE BILL, AS REPORTED

In compliance with clause 3 of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (existing law proposed to be omitted is enclosed in black brackets, new matter is printed in italic, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman):

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

AN ACT To mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Act of 1964".

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. Although the economic well-being and prosperity of the United States have progressed to a level surpassing any achieved in world history, and although these benefits are widely shared throughout the Nation, poverty continues to be the lot of a substantial number of our people. The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society. It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. It is the purpose of this Act to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy.

TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS**PART A—JOB CORPS**

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 101. The purpose of this part is to prepare for the responsibilities of citizenship and to increase the employability of young men and young women aged sixteen through twenty-one by providing them in rural and urban residential centers with education, vocational training, useful work experience, including work directed toward the conservation of natural resources, and other appropriate activities.

ESTABLISHMENT OF JOB CORPS

SEC. 102. In order to carry out the purposes of this part, there is hereby established within the Office of Economic Opportunity (hereinafter referred to as the "Office"), established by title VI, a Job Corps (hereinafter referred to as the "Corps").

JOB CORPS PROGRAM

SEC. 103. The Director of the Office (hereinafter referred to as the "Director") is authorized to—

(a) enter into agreements with any Federal, State, or local agency or private organization for the establishment and operation, in rural and urban areas, of conservation camps and training centers and for the provision of such facilities and services as in his judgment are needed to carry out the purposes of this part, including but not limited to agreements with agencies charged with the responsibility of conserving, developing, and managing the public natural resources of the Nation and of developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas, whereby the enrollees of the Corps may be utilized by such agencies in carrying out, under the immediate supervision of such agencies, programs planned and designed by such agencies to fulfill such responsibility, and including agreements for a botanical survey program involving surveys and maps of existing vegetation and investigations of the plants, soils, and environments of natural and disturbed plant communities;

(b) arrange for the provision of education and vocational training of enrollees in the Corps: *Provided*, That, where practicable, such programs may be provided through local public educational agencies or by private vocational educational institutions or technical institutes where such institutions or institutes can provide substantially equivalent training with reduced Federal expenditures;

(c) provide or arrange for the provision of programs of useful work experience and other appropriate activities for enrollees;

(d) establish standards of safety and health for enrollees, and furnish or arrange for the furnishing of health services; and

(e) prescribe such rules and regulations and make such arrangements as he deems necessary to provide for the selection of enrollees and to govern their conduct after enrollment, including appropriate regulations as to the circumstances under which enrollment may be terminated.

COMPOSITION OF THE CORPS

SEC. 104. (a) The Corps shall be composed of young men and young women who are permanent residents of the United States, who have attained age sixteen but have not attained age twenty-two at the time of enrollment, and who meet the standards for enrollment prescribed by the Director. Participation in the Corps shall not relieve any enrollee of obligations under the Universal Military Training and Service Act (50 U.S.C. App. 451 et seq.).

(b) In order to enroll as a member of the Corps, an individual must agree to comply with rules and regulations promulgated by the Director for the government of the Corps.

(c) The total enrollment of any individual in the Corps shall not exceed two years except as the Director may determine in special cases.

(d) [Each enrollee must execute and file with the Director an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of

the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods, and (2) each] *Each* enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I [will] bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic." The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable [with respect to such affidavits] *to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection.*

ALLOWANCE AND MAINTENANCE

SEC. 105. (a) Enrollees may be provided with such living, travel, and leave allowances, and such quarters, subsistence, transportation, equipment, clothing, recreational services, medical, dental, hospital, and other health services, and other expenses as the Director may deem necessary or appropriate for their needs. Transportation and travel allowances may also be provided, in such circumstances as the Director may determine, for applicants for enrollment to or from places of enrollment, and for former enrollees from places of termination to their homes.

(b) Upon termination of his or her enrollment in the Corps, each enrollee shall be entitled to receive a readjustment allowance at a rate not to exceed \$50 for each month of satisfactory participation therein as determined by the Director: *Provided, however,* That under such circumstances as the Director may determine a portion of the readjustment allowance of an enrollee not exceeding \$25 for each month of satisfactory service may be paid during the period of service of the enrollee directly to a member of his or her family (as defined in section 609(c)) and any sum so paid shall be supplemented by the payment of an equal amount by the Director. In the event of the enrollee's death during the period of his or her service, the amount of any unpaid readjustment allowance shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of section 1 of the Act of August 3, 1950 (5 U.S.C. 61f).

APPLICATION OF PROVISIONS OF FEDERAL LAW

SEC. 106. (a) Except as otherwise specifically provided in this part, an enrollee shall be deemed not to be a Federal employee and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

(b) Enrollees shall be deemed to be employees of the United States for the purposes of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) and of title II of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 401 et seq.), and any service performed by an individual as an enrollee shall be deemed for such purposes to be performed in the employ of the United States.

(c)(1) Enrollees under this part shall, for the purposes of the administration of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act (5 U.S.C. 751 et seq.), be deemed to be civil employees of the United States within the meaning of the term "employee" as defined in section 40 of such Act (5 U.S.C. 790) and the provisions thereof shall apply except as hereinafter provided.

(2) For purposes of this subsection:

[(A) The term "performance of duty" in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee—

[(i) while on authorized leave or pass; or

[(ii) while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity authorized by or under the direction or supervision of the Corps.]]

(A) The term "performance of duty" in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps.

(B) In computing compensation benefits for disability or death under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, the monthly pay of an enrollee shall be deemed to be \$150, except that with respect to compensation for disability accruing after the individual concerned reaches the age of twentieth-one, such monthly pay shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-2 under the Classification Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 1071 et seq.), and section 6(d)(1) of the former Act (5 U.S.C. 756(d)(1)) shall apply to enrollees.

(C) Compensation for disability shall not begin to accrue until the day following the date on which the enrollment of the injured enrollee is terminated.

(d) An enrollee shall be deemed to be an employee of the Government for the purposes of the Federal tort claims provisions of title 28, United States Code.

(e) Personnel of the uniformed services who are detailed or assigned to duty in the performance of agreements made by the Director for the support of the Corps shall not be counted in computing strength under any law limiting the strength of such services or in computing the percentage authorized by law for any grade therein.

POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

SEC. 107. (a) No officer or employee of the executive branch of the Federal Government shall make any inquiry concerning the political affiliation or beliefs of any enrollee or applicant for enrollment in the Corps. All disclosures concerning such matters shall be ignored, except as to such membership in political parties or organizations as constitutes by law a disqualification for Government employment. No discrimination shall be exercised, threatened or promised by any person in the executive branch of the Federal Government against or in favor of any enrollee in the Corps, or any applicant for enrollment in the Corps because of his political affiliation or beliefs, except as may be specifically authorized or required by law.

(b) No officer, employee or enrollee of the Corps shall take any active part in political management or in political campaigns, except as may be provided by or pursuant to statute, and no such officer, employee or enrollee shall use his official position or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the result thereof. All such persons shall retain the right to vote as they may choose and to express, in their private capacities, their opinions on all political subjects and candidates. Any officer, employee, enrollee or Federal

employee who solicits funds for political purposes from members of the Corps, shall be in violation of the Corrupt Practices Act.

(c) Whenever the United States Civil Service Commission finds that any person has violated the foregoing provisions, it shall, after giving due notice and opportunity for explanation to the officer or employee or enrollee concerned, certify the facts to the Director with specific instructions as to discipline or dismissal or other corrective actions.

STATE-OPERATED YOUTH CAMPS

SEC. 108. The Director is authorized to enter into agreements with States to assist in the operation or administration of State-operated programs which carry out the purpose of this part. The Director may, pursuant to such regulations as he may adopt, pay part or all of the operative or administrative costs of such programs.

REQUIREMENT FOR STATE APPROVAL OF CONSERVATION CAMPS AND TRAINING CENTERS

SEC. 109. In carrying out the provisions of part A of this title no conservation camp, training center or other similar facility designed to carry out the purposes of this Act, shall be established within a State unless a plan setting forth such proposed establishment has been submitted to the Governor of the State and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission.

SEC. 110. Within the Job Corps there is authorized a Youth Conservation Corps in which at any one time no less than 40 per centum of the *male* enrollees under this part shall be assigned to camps where their work activity is directed primarily toward conserving, developing, and managing the public natural resources of the Nation, and developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas. Such work activity shall be performed under the direction of members of agencies charged with the responsibility of conserving, developing, and managing the public natural resources and of developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas.

PART B—WORK-TRAINING PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 111. The purpose of this part is to provide useful work experience opportunities for unemployed young men and young women, through participation in State and community work-training programs, so that their employability may be increased or their education resumed or continued and so that public agencies and private nonprofit organizations (other than political parties) will be enabled to carry out programs which will permit or contribute to an undertaking or service in the public interest that would not otherwise be provided, or will contribute to the conservation and development of natural resources and recreational areas.

DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS

SEC. 112. In order to carry out the purposes of this part, the Director shall assist and cooperate with State and local agencies and private nonprofit organizations (other than political parties) in developing

programs for the employment of young people in State and community activities hereinafter authorized, which, whenever appropriate, shall be coordinated with programs of training and education provided by local public educational agencies.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 113. (a) The Director is authorized to enter into agreements providing for the payment by him of part or all of the cost of a State or local program submitted hereunder if he determines, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, that—

(1) enrollees in the program will be employed either (A) on publicly owned and operated facilities or projects, or (B) on local projects sponsored by private nonprofit organizations (other than political parties), other than projects involving the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship;

(2) the program will increase the employability of the enrollees by providing work experience and training in occupational skills or pursuits in classifications in which the Director finds there is a reasonable expectation of employment, or will enable student enrollees to resume or to maintain school attendance;

(3) the program will permit or contribute to an undertaking or service in the public interest that would not otherwise be provided, or will contribute to the conservation, development, or management of the natural resources of the State or community or to the development, management, or protection of State or community recreational areas;

(4) the program will not result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services;

(5) the rates of pay and other conditions of employment will be appropriate and reasonable in the light of such factors as the type of work performed, geographical region, and proficiency of the employee;

(6) to the maximum extent feasible, the program will be coordinated with vocational training and educational services adapted to the special needs of enrollees in such program and sponsored by State or local public educational agencies: *Provided, however,* That where such services are inadequate or unavailable, the program may make provision for the enlargement, improvement, development, and coordination of such services with the cooperation of, or where appropriate pursuant to agreement with, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and

(7) the program includes standards and procedures for the selection of applicants, including provisions assuring full coordination and cooperation with local and other authorities to encourage students to resume or maintain school attendance.

(b) In approving projects under this part, the Director shall give priority to projects with high training potential.

ENROLLEES IN PROGRAM

SEC. 114. (a) Participation in programs under this part shall be limited to young men and women who are permanent residents of

the United States, who have attained age sixteen but have not attained age twenty-two, and whose participation in such programs will be consistent with the purposes of this part.

(b) Enrollees shall be deemed not to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

(c) Where appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act, the Director may provide for testing, counseling, job development, and referral services to youths through public agencies or private nonprofit organizations.

LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 115. Federal assistance to any program pursuant to this part paid for the period ending [two] *three* years after the date of enactment of this Act[, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,] shall not exceed 90 per centum of the costs of such program, including costs of administration, and such assistance paid for periods thereafter shall not exceed 50 per centum of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to regulations adopted and promulgated by him establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assistance in excess of such percentages is required in furtherance of the purposes of this part. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment, and services.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 116. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under this part among the States. In developing such criteria, he shall consider among other relevant factors the ratios of population, unemployment, and family income levels. Not more than 12½ per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal year to carry out the purposes of this part shall be used within any one State.

PART C—WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 121. The purpose of this part is to stimulate and promote the part-time employment of students in institutions of higher education who are from low-income families and are in need of the earnings from such employment to pursue courses of study at such institutions.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 122. (a) From the sums appropriated to carry out this title for a fiscal year, the Director shall reserve the amount needed for making grants under section 123. Not to exceed 2 per centum of the amount so reserved shall be allotted by the Director among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands according to their respective needs for assistance under this part. The remainder of the sums so reserved shall be allotted among the States as provided in subsection (b).

(b) Of the sums being allotted under this subsection—

(1) one-third shall be allotted by the Director among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in institutions of higher education in such State bears to the total number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in institutions of higher education in all the States,

(2) one-third shall be allotted by the Director among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of high school graduates (as defined in section 103(d)(3) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963) of such State bears to the total number of such high school graduates of all the States, and

(3) one-third shall be allotted by him among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of related children under eighteen years of age living in families with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 in such State bears to the number of related children under eighteen years of age living in families with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 in all the States.

(c) The amount of any State's allotment which has not been granted to an institution of higher education under section 123 at the end of the fiscal year for which appropriated shall be reallotted by the Director, in such manner as he determines will best assist in achieving the purposes of this Act. Amounts reallotted under this subsection shall be available for making grants under section 123 until the close of the fiscal year next succeeding the fiscal year for which appropriated.

(d) For purposes of this section, the term "State" does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

GRANTS FOR WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS

SEC. 123. The Director is authorized to enter into agreements with institutions of higher education (as defined by section 401(f) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (P.L. 88-204)) under which the Director will make grants to such institutions to assist in the operation of work-study programs as hereinafter provided.

CONDITIONS OF AGREEMENTS

SEC. 124. An agreement entered into pursuant to section 123 shall—

(a) provide for the operation by the institution of a program for the part-time employment of its students in work—

(1) for the institution itself, or

(2) for a public or private nonprofit organization when the position is obtained through an arrangement between the institution and such an organization and—

(A) the work is related to the student's educational objective, or

(B) such work (i) will be in the public interest and is work which would not otherwise be provided, (ii) will not result in the displacement of employed workers or

impair existing contracts for services, and (iii) will be governed by such conditions of employment as will be appropriate and reasonable in light of such factors as the type of work performed, geographical region, and proficiency of the employee:

Provided, however, That no such work shall involve the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship;

(b) provide that funds granted an institution of higher education, pursuant to section 123 may be used only to make payments to students participating in work-study programs, except that an institution may use a portion of the sums granted to it to meet administrative expenses, but the amount so used may not exceed 5 per centum of the payments made by the Director to such institution for that part of the work-study program in which students are working for public or nonprofit organizations other than the institution itself;

(c) provide that employment under such work-study program shall be furnished only to a student who (1) is from a low-income family, (2) is in need of the earnings from such employment in order to pursue a course of study at such institution, (3) is capable, in the opinion of the institution, of maintaining good standing in such course of study while employed under the program covered by the agreement, and (4) has been accepted for enrollment as a full-time student at the institution or, in the case of a student already enrolled in and attending the institution, is in good standing and in full-time attendance there either as an undergraduate, graduate, or professional student;

(d) provide that no student shall be employed under such work-study program for more than fifteen hours in any week in which classes in which he is enrolled are in session;

(e) provide that in each fiscal year during which the agreement remains in effect, the institution shall expend (from sources other than payments under this part) for the employment of its students (whether or not in employment eligible for assistance under this part) an amount that is not less than its average annual expenditure for such employment during the three fiscal years preceding the fiscal year in which the agreement is entered into;

(f) provide that the Federal share of the compensation of students employed in the work-study program in accordance with the agreement will not exceed 90 per centum of such compensation for work performed during the period ending [two] three years after the date of enactment of this Act, [or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,] and 75 per centum thereafter;

(g) include provisions designed to make employment under such work-study program, or equivalent employment offered or arranged for by the institution, reasonably available (to the extent of available funds) to all eligible students in the institution in need thereof; and

(h) include such other provisions as the Director shall deem necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this part.

SOURCES OF MATCHING FUNDS

SEC. 125. Nothing in this part shall be construed as restricting the source (other than this part) from which the institution may pay its share of the compensation of a student employed under a work-study program covered by an agreement under this part.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 126. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve such distribution of assistance under this part among institutions of higher education within a State as will most effectively carry out the purposes of this Act.

PART D—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 131. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the [two] three succeeding fiscal years. For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law, and the sum of \$825,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

PART A—GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 201. The purpose of this part is to provide stimulation and incentive for urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty through community action programs.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 202. (a) The term "community action program" means a program—

(1) which mobilizes and utilizes resources, public or private, of any urban or rural, or combined urban and rural, geographical area (referred to in this part as a "community"), including but not limited to a State, metropolitan area, county, city, town, multicounty unit, or multicounty unit in an attack on poverty;

(2) which provides services, assistance, and other activities of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty or a cause or causes of poverty through developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work;

(3) which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served; and

(4) which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a public or private nonprofit agency (other than a political party), or a combination thereof.

(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe such additional criteria for programs carried on under this part as he shall deem appropriate.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 203. (a) From the sums appropriated to carry out this title for a fiscal year, the Director shall reserve the amount needed for carrying out sections 204 and 205. Not to exceed 2 per centum of the amount so reserved shall be allotted by the Director among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands according to their respective needs for assistance under this part. Twenty per centum of the amount so reserved shall be allotted among the States as the Director shall determine. The remainder of the sums so reserved shall be allotted among the States as provided in subsection (b).

(b) Of the sums being allotted under this subsection—

(1) one-third shall be allotted by the Director among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of public assistance recipients in such State bears to the total number of public assistance recipients in all the States;

(2) one-third shall be allotted by him among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the annual average number of persons unemployed in such State bears to the annual average number of persons unemployed in all the States; and

(3) the remaining one-third shall be allotted by him among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of related children under 18 years of age living in families with incomes of less than \$1,000 in such State bears to the number of related children under 18 years of age living in families with incomes of less than \$1,000 in all the States.

(c) The portion of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for a fiscal year which the Director determines will not be required for such fiscal year for carrying out this part shall be available for reallocation from time to time, on such dates during such year as the Director may fix, to other States in proportion to their original allotments for such year, but with such proportionate amount for any of such other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum which the Director estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such year for carrying out this part; and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallocated among the States whose proportionate amounts are not so reduced. Any amount reallocated to a State under this subsection during a year shall be deemed part of its allotment under subsection (a) for such year.

(d) For the purposes of this section, the term "State" does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 204. The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies, or combinations thereof, to pay part or all of the costs of development of community action programs.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION OF COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 205. (a) The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, public or private nonprofit agencies, or combinations thereof, to pay part or all of the costs of community action programs which have been approved by him pursuant to this part, including the cost of carrying out programs which are components of a community action program and which are designed to achieve the purposes of this part. Such component programs shall be focused upon the needs of low-income individuals and families and shall provide expanded and improved services, assistance, and other activities, and facilities necessary in connection therewith. Such programs shall be conducted in those fields which fall within the purposes of this part including employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, and special remedial and other noncurricular educational assistance for the benefit of low-income individuals and families.

(b) No grant or contract authorized under this part may provide for general aid to elementary or secondary education in any school or school system.

(c) In determining whether to extend assistance under this section the Director shall consider among other relevant factors the incidence of poverty within the community and within the areas or groups to be affected by the specific program or programs, and the extent to which the applicant is in a position to utilize efficiently and expeditiously the assistance for which application is made. In determining the incidence of poverty the Director shall consider information available with respect to such factors as: the concentration of low-income families, particularly those with children; the extent of persistent unemployment and underemployment; the number and proportion of persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations; the number of migrant or transient low-income families; school dropout rates, military service rejection rates, and other evidences of low educational attainment; the incidence of disease, disability, and infant mortality; housing conditions; adequacy of community facilities and services; and the incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency.

(d) In extending assistance under this section the Director shall give special consideration to programs which give promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities to deal with their problems without further assistance.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 206. The Director is authorized to provide, either directly or through grants or other arrangements, (1) technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs, and (2) training for specialized personnel needed to develop, conduct, or administer such programs or to provide services or other assistance thereunder.

RESEARCH, TRAINING, AND DEMONSTRATIONS

SEC. 207. The Director is authorized to conduct, or to make grants to or enter into contracts with institutions of higher education or other appropriate public agencies or private organizations for the conduct of, research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of this part. Expenditures under this section in any fiscal year shall not exceed 15 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for such year to carry out the purposes of this part.

LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 208 (a) Assistance pursuant to sections 204 and 205 paid for the period ending ~~two~~ *three* years after the date of enactment of this Act ~~or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,~~ shall not exceed 90 per centum of the costs referred to in those sections, respectively, and thereafter shall not exceed 50 per centum of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to regulations adopted and promulgated by him establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assistance in excess of such percentages is required in furtherance of the purposes of this part. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment, and services.

(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations.

~~[(b)]~~ (c) The expenditures or contributions made from non-Federal sources for a community action program or component thereof shall be in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources which were being made for similar purposes prior to the extension of Federal assistance. *The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved.*

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 209. (a) The Director shall establish procedures which will facilitate effective participation of the States in community action programs.

(b) The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, appropriate State agencies for the payment of the expenses of such

agencies in providing technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs.

(c) In carrying out the provisions of *part B* of title I and title II of this Act, no contract, agreement, grant, loan, or other assistance shall be made with, or provided to, any State or local public agency or any private institution or organization for the purpose of carrying out any program, project, or other activity within a State unless a plan setting forth such proposed contract, agreement, grant, loan, or other assistance has been submitted to the Governor of the State[, and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission] *and such plan has not been disapproved by the governor within thirty days of such submission, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part: Provided, however,* That this section shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of the approval of this Act.

(d) No private institution or organization shall be eligible for participation under this part unless it (1) is itself an institution or organization which has, prior to its consideration for such participation, had a concern with problems of poverty, or (2) is sponsored by one or more such institutions or organizations or by a public agency, or (3) is an institution of higher education (as defined by section 401(f) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963).

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 210. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under this part within the States between urban and rural areas. In developing such criteria, he shall consider the relative numbers in the States or areas therein of: (1) low-income families, particularly those with children; (2) unemployed persons; (3) persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations; (4) school dropouts; (5) adults with less than an eighth-grade education; (6) persons rejected for military service; and (7) persons living in urban places compared to the number living in rural places as determined by the Bureau of the Census for the 1960 census.

PREFERENCE FOR COMPONENTS OF APPROVED PROGRAMS

SEC. 211. In determining whether to extend assistance under this Act, the Director shall, to the extent feasible, give preference to programs and projects which are components of a community action program approved pursuant to this part.

PART B—ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 212. It is the purpose of this part to initiate programs of instruction for individuals who have attained age eighteen and whose inability to read and write the English language constitutes a substantial impairment of their ability to get or retain employment commensurate with their real ability, so as to help eliminate such inability and raise

the level of education of such individuals with a view to making them less likely to become dependent on others, improving their ability to benefit from occupational training and otherwise increasing their opportunities for more productive and profitable employment, and making them better able to meet their adult responsibilities.

GRANTS TO STATES

SEC. 213. (a) **【From the sums appropriated to carry out this title】** *From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218,* the Director shall make grants to States which have State plans approved by him under this section.

(b) Grants under subsection (a) may be used, in accordance with regulations of the Director, to—

(1) assist in establishment of pilot projects by local educational agencies, relating to instruction in public schools, or other facilities used for the purpose by such agencies, of individuals described in section 212, to (A) demonstrate, test, or develop modifications, or adaptations in the light of local needs, of special materials or methods for instruction of such individuals, (B) stimulate the development of local educational agency programs for instruction of such individuals in such schools or other facilities, and (C) acquire additional information concerning the materials or methods needed for an effective program for raising adult basic educational skills;

(2) assist in meeting the cost of local educational agency programs for instruction of such individuals in such schools or other facilities; and

(3) assist in development or improvement of technical or supervisory services by the State educational agency relating to adult basic education programs.

STATE PLANS

SEC. 214. (a) The Director shall approve for purposes of this part the plan of a State which—

(1) provides for administration thereof by the State educational agency;

(2) provides that such agency will make such reports to the Director, in such form and containing such information, as may reasonably be necessary to enable the Director to perform his duties under this part and will keep such records and afford such access thereto as the Director finds necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports;

(3) provides such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the State under this part (including such funds paid by the State to local educational agencies);

(4) provides for cooperative arrangements between the State educational agency and the State health authority looking toward provision of such health information and services for individuals described in section 212 as may be available from such agencies and as may reasonably be necessary to enable them to benefit from

the instruction provided under programs conducted pursuant to grants under this part; and

(5) sets forth a program for use, in accordance with section 213(b), of grants under this part which affords assurance of substantial progress, within a reasonable period and with respect to all segments of the population and all areas of the State, toward elimination of the inability of adults to read and write English and toward substantially raising the level of education of individuals described in section 212.

(b) The Director shall not finally disapprove any State plan submitted under this part, or any modification thereof, without first affording the State educational agency reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

ALLOTMENTS

SEC. 215. (a) From the sums allocated for grants to States under section 213 for any fiscal year, the Director shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 2 per centum thereof, as he may determine and shall allot such amount among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands according to their respective needs for assistance under this part. The remainder of the sums so allocated for a fiscal year shall be allotted by the Director on the basis of the relative number of individuals in each State who have attained age eighteen and who have completed not more than five grades of school or have not achieved an equivalent level of education, as determined by the Director on the basis of the best and most recent information available to him, including any relevant data furnished to him by the Department of Commerce. The amount allotted to any State under the preceding sentence for any fiscal year which is less than \$50,000 shall be increased to that amount, the total thereby required being derived by proportionately reducing the amount allotted to each of the remaining States under the preceding sentence, but with such adjustments as may be necessary to prevent the allotment of any of such remaining States from being thereby reduced to less than \$50,000. For the purposes of this subsection, the term "State" shall not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands.

(b) The portion of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for a fiscal year which the Director determines will not be required, for the period such allotment is available, for carrying out the State plan (if any) approved under this part shall be available for reallocation from time to time, on such dates during such period as the Director may fix, to other States in proportion to the original allotments to such States under subsection (a) for such year, but with such proportionate amount for any of such other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum which the Director estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such period for carrying out its State plan approved under this part; and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallocated among the States whose proportionate amounts are not so reduced. Any amount reallocated to a State under this subsection during a year shall be deemed part of its allotment under subsection (a) for such year.

(c) The allotment of any State under subsection (a) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, shall, except to the extent reallocated under subsection (b), remain available until June 30, 1966, for obligation by such State for carrying out its State plan approved under this part.

PAYMENTS

SEC. 216. (a) From a State's allotment available for the purpose, the Federal share of expenditures, under its State plan, for the purposes set forth in section 213(b) shall be paid to such State. Such payments shall be made in advance on the basis of estimates by the Director; and may be made in such installments as the Director may determine, after making appropriate adjustments to take account of previously made overpayments or underpayments; except that no such payments shall be made for any fiscal year unless the Director finds that the amount available for expenditures for adult basic educational programs and services from State sources for such year will be not less than the amount expended for such purposes from such sources during the preceding fiscal year.

(b) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and [the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966,] *each of the two succeeding fiscal years*, the Federal share for each State shall be 90 per centum. For the succeeding fiscal year the Federal share for any State shall be 50 per centum.

OPERATION OF STATE PLANS; HEARINGS AND JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 217. (a) Whenever the Director, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State educational agency administering a State plan approved under this part, finds that—

(1) the State plan has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of section 214, or

(2) in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provision, the Director shall notify such State agency that no further payments will be made to the State under this part (or in his discretion, that further payments to the State will be limited to programs under or portions of the State plan not affected by such failure), until he is satisfied that there will no longer be any failure to comply. Until he is so satisfied, no further payments may be made to such State under this part (or payments shall be limited to programs under or portions of the State plan not affected by such failure).

(b) A State educational agency dissatisfied with a final action of the Director under section 214 or subsection (a) of this section may appeal to the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which the State is located, by filing a petition with such court within sixty days after such final action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Director, or any officer designated by him for that purpose. The Director thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code. Upon the filing of such petition, the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Director or to set it aside, in whole or in part, temporarily or permanently, but until the filing of the record, the Director may modify or set aside his order. The findings of the Director as to the facts, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive, but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Director to take further evidence, and the Director may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall file in the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise

be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence. The judgment of the court affirming or setting aside, in whole or in part, any action of the Director shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code. The commencement of proceedings under this subsection shall not, unless so specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of the Director's action.

TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine.

MISCELLANEOUS

SEC. [218] 219. For purposes of this part—

(1) the term "State educational agency" means the State board of education or other agency or officer primarily responsible for the State supervision of public elementary and secondary schools, or, if different, the agency or officer primarily responsible for supervision of adult basic education in public schools, whichever may be designated by the Governor or by State law, or, if there is no such agency or officer, an agency or officer designated by the Governor or by State law;

(2) the term "local educational agency" means a board of education or other legally constituted local school authority having administrative control and direction of public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or political subdivision in a State, except that if there is a separate board or other legally constituted local authority having administrative control and direction of adult basic education in public schools therein, it means such other board or authority.

[PART C—VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

[STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

[SEC. 219. The purpose of this part is to allow individual Americans to participate in a personal way in the war on poverty, by voluntarily assisting in the support of one or more needy children, in a program coordinated with city or county social welfare agencies.

[AUTHORITY TO ESTABLISH INFORMATION CENTER

[SEC. 220. (a) In order to carry out the purposes of this part, the Director is authorized to establish a section within the Office of Economic Opportunity to act as an information and coordination center

to encourage voluntary assistance for deserving and needy children. Such section shall collect the names of persons who voluntarily desire to assist financially such children and shall secure from city or county social welfare agencies such information concerning deserving and needy children as the Director shall deem appropriate.

[(b) It is the intent of the Congress that the section established pursuant to this part shall act solely as an information and coordination center and that nothing in this part shall be construed as interfering with the jurisdiction of State and local welfare agencies with respect to programs for needy children.]

PART [D] C—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. [221] 220. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the [two] *three* succeeding fiscal years. For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965[; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law], *and the sum of \$680,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.*

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 301. It is the purpose of this title to meet some of the special problems of rural poverty and thereby to raise and maintain the income and living standards of low-income rural families and migrant agricultural employees and their families.

PART A—AUTHORITY TO MAKE GRANTS AND LOANS

SEC. 302. (a) The Director is authorized to make—

(1) loans having a maximum maturity of 15 years and in amounts not exceeding \$2,500 in the aggregate to any low income rural family where, in the judgment of the Director, such loans have a reasonable possibility of effecting a permanent increase in the income of such families by assisting or permitting them to—

(A) acquire or improve real estate or reduce encumbrances or erect improvements thereon.

(B) operate or improve the operation of farms not larger than family sized, including but not limited to the purchase of food, seed, fertilizer, livestock, poultry, and equipment, or

(C) participate in cooperative associations; and/or to finance nonagricultural enterprises which will enable such families to supplement their income.

(b) Loans under this section shall be made only if the family is not qualified to obtain such funds by loan under other Federal programs.

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

SEC. 303. The Director is authorized to make loans to local cooperative associations furnishing essential processing, purchasing, or marketing services, supplies, or facilities predominantly to low-income rural families.

LIMITATIONS ON ASSISTANCE

SEC. 304. No financial or other assistance shall be provided under this part unless the Director determines that—

(a) the providing of such assistance will materially further the purposes of this part, and

(b) in the case of assistance provided pursuant to section 303, the applicant is fulfilling or will fulfill a need for services, facilities, or activities which is not otherwise being met.

LOAN TERMS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 305. Loans pursuant to sections 302 and 303 shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine, subject to the following limitations:

(a) there is reasonable assurance of repayment of the loan;

(b) the credit is not otherwise available on reasonable terms from private sources or other Federal, State, or local programs;

(c) the amount of the loan, together with other funds available, is adequate to assure completion of the project or achievement of the purposes for which the loan is made;

(d) the loan bears interest at a rate not less than (1) a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity, plus (2) such additional charge, if any, toward covering other costs of the program as the Director may determine to be consistent with its purposes;

(e) with respect to loans made pursuant to section 303, the loan is repayable within not more than thirty years; and

(f) no financial or other assistance shall be provided under this part to or in connection with any corporation or cooperative organization for the production of agricultural commodities or for manufacturing purposes: *Provided, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance.*

PART B—ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT, AND OTHER SEASONALLY EMPLOYED, AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES AND THEIR FAMILIES

[SEC. 311. The Director shall develop and implement as soon as practicable a program to assist the States, political subdivisions of States, public and nonprofit agencies, institutions, organizations, farm associations, or individuals in establishing and operating programs of assistance for migrant, and other seasonally employed, agricultural employees and their families which programs shall be limited to housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children. Institutions, organizations, farm associations, or individuals shall be limited to direct loans.]

MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.

PART C—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 321. The Director shall carry out the program provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the [two] three succeeding fiscal years. For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965[; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law], and the sum of \$70,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law. Not to exceed \$15,000,000 of the funds appropriated under other titles of this Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, may also be utilized for the purposes of part B of this title.

PART D—INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

SEC. 331. (a) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to make indemnity payments, at a fair market value, to dairy farmers who have been directed since January 1, 1964, to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government at the time of such use. Such indemnity payments shall continue to each dairy farmer until he has been reinstated and is again allowed to dispose of his milk on commercial markets.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(c) The authority granted under this section shall expire on January 31, 1965.

TITLE IV—EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT
INCENTIVES

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 401. It is the purpose of this title to assist in the establishment, preservation, and strengthening of small business concerns and improve the managerial skills employed in such enterprises; and to mobilize for these objectives private as well as public managerial skills and resources.

LOANS, PARTICIPATIONS, AND GUARANTIES

SEC. 402. The Director is authorized to make, participate (on an immediate basis) in, or guarantee loans, repayable in not more than fifteen years, to any small business concern (as defined in section 3 of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 632) and regulations issued thereunder), or to any qualified person seeking to establish such a concern, when he determines that such loans will assist in carrying out the purposes of this title, with particular emphasis on employment of the long-term unemployed: *Provided, however,* That no such loans shall be made, participated in, or guaranteed if the total of such Federal assistance to a single borrower outstanding at any one time would exceed \$25,000. The Director may defer payments on the principal of such loans for a grace period and use such other methods as he deems necessary and appropriate to assure the successful establishment and operation of such concern. The Director may, in his discretion, as a condition of such financial assistance, require that the borrower take steps to improve his management skills by participating in a management training program approved by the Director. The Director shall encourage, as far as possible, the participation of the private business community in the program of assistance to such concerns.

COORDINATION WITH COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 403. No financial assistance shall be provided under section 402 in any community for which the Director has approved a community action program pursuant to title II of this Act unless such financial assistance is determined by him to be consistent with such program.

FINANCING UNDER SMALL BUSINESS ACT

SEC. 404. Such lending and guaranty functions under this title as may be delegated to the Small Business Administration may be financed with funds appropriated to the revolving fund established by section 4(c) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 633(c)) for the purposes of sections 7(a), 7(b), and 8(a) of that Act (15 U.S.C. 636(a), 636(b), 637(a)).

LOAN TERMS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 405. Loans made pursuant to section 402 (including immediate participation in and guaranties of such loans) shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine, subject to the following limitations—

- (a) there is reasonable assurance of repayment of the loan;
- (b) the financial assistance is not otherwise available on reasonable terms from private sources or other Federal, State, or local programs;
- (c) the amount of the loan, together with other funds available, is adequate to assure completion of the project or achievement of the purposes for which the loan is made;
- (d) the loan bears interest at a rate not less than (1) a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity, plus (2) such additional charge, if any, toward covering other costs of the program as the Director may

determine to be consistent with its purposes: *Provided, however,* That the rate of interest charged on loans made in redevelopment areas designated under the Area Redevelopment Act (42 U.S.C. 2501 et seq.) shall not exceed the rate currently applicable to new loans made under section 6 of that Act (42 U.S.C. 2505); and

(e) fees not in excess of amounts necessary to cover administrative expenses and probable losses may be required on loan guaranties.

LIMITATION ON FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 406. No financial assistance shall be extended pursuant to this title where the Director determines that the assistance will be used in relocating establishments from one area to another or in financing subcontractors to enable them to undertake work theretofore performed in another area by other subcontractors or contractors.

DURATION OF PROGRAM

SEC. 407. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the two succeeding fiscal years.

TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 501. It is the purpose of this title to expand the opportunities for constructive work experience and other needed training available to persons who are unable to support or care for themselves or their families. In carrying out this purpose, the Director shall make maximum use of the programs available under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and Vocational Education Act of 1963.

PAYMENTS FOR EXPERIMENTAL, PILOT, AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

SEC. 502. In order to stimulate the adoption of programs designed to help unemployed fathers and other needy persons to secure and retain employment or to attain or retain capability for self-support or personal independence, the Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable him to make payments for experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects under section 1115 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1315), subject to the limitations contained in section 409(a) (1) to (6), inclusive, of such Act (42 U.S.C. 609(a) (1)–(6)), in addition to the sums otherwise available pursuant thereto. *Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title.* The costs of such projects to the United States [for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,] shall, notwithstanding the provisions of such Act, be met entirely from funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 503. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the [two] *three* succeeding fiscal years. For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965[; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law], *and the sum of \$300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.*

TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

PART A—ADMINISTRATION

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

SEC. 601. (a) There is hereby established in the Executive Office of the President the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Office shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. There shall also be in the Office one Deputy Director and three Assistant Directors who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Deputy Director and the Assistant Directors shall perform such functions as the Director may from time to time prescribe.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 5(b) of the Reorganization Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 133z-3(b)), at any time after one year from the date of enactment hereof the President may, by complying with the procedures established by that Act, provide for the transfer of the Office from the Executive Office of the President and for its establishment elsewhere in the executive branch as he deems appropriate.

(c) The compensation of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall be fixed by the President at a rate not in excess of the annual rate of compensation payable to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

(d) The compensation of the Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall be fixed by the President at a rate not in excess of the annual rate of compensation payable to the Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

(e) The compensation of the Assistant Directors of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall be fixed by the President at a rate not in excess of the annual rate of compensation payable to the Assistant Secretaries of the Executive Departments.

AUTHORITY OF DIRECTOR

SEC. 602. In addition to the authority conferred upon him by other sections of this Act, the Director is authorized, in carrying out his functions under this Act, to—

(a) appoint in accordance with the civil service laws such personnel as may be necessary to enable the Office to carry out its

functions, and, except as otherwise provided herein, fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 1071 et seq.);

(b) employ experts and consultants or organizations thereof as authorized by section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), compensate individuals so employed at rates not in excess of \$100 per diem, including travel time, and allow them, while away from their homes or regular places of business, travel expenses (including per diem in lieu of subsistence) as authorized by section 5 of such Act (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently, while so employed: *Provided, however,* That contracts for such employment may be renewed annually;

(c) appoint, without regard to the civil service laws, one or more advisory committees composed of such private citizens and officials of the Federal, State, and local governments as he deems desirable to advise him with respect to his functions under this Act; and members of such committees (including the National Advisory Council established in section 605), other than those regularly employed by the Federal Government, while attending meetings of such committees or otherwise serving at the request of the Director, shall be entitled to receive compensation and travel expenses as provided in subsection (b) with respect to experts and consultants;

(d) with the approval of the President, arrange with and reimburse the heads of other Federal agencies for the performance of any of his functions under this Act and, as necessary or appropriate, delegate any of his powers under this Act and authorize the redelegation thereof;

(e) utilize, with their consent, the services and facilities of Federal agencies without reimbursement, and, with the consent of any State or a political subdivision of a State, accept and utilize the services and facilities of the agencies of such State or subdivision without reimbursement;

(f) accept in the name of the Office, and employ or dispose of in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, or of any title thereof, any money or property, real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible, received by gift, devise, bequest, or otherwise;

(g) accept voluntary and uncompensated services, notwithstanding the provisions of section 3679(b) of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 665(b));

(h) allocate and expend, or transfer to other Federal agencies for expenditure, funds made available under this Act as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions hereof, including (without regard to the provisions of section 4774(d) of title 10, United States Code) expenditure for construction, repairs, and capital improvements;

(i) disseminate, without regard to the provisions of section 4154 of title 39, United States Code, data and information, in such form as he shall deem appropriate, to public agencies, private organizations, and the general public;

(j) adopt an official seal, which shall be judicially noticed;

(k) notwithstanding any other provision of law relating to the acquisition, handling, or disposal of real or personal property by the United States, deal with, complete, rent, renovate, modernize,

or sell for cash or credit at his discretion any properties acquired by him in connection with loans, participations, and guaranties made by him pursuant to titles III and IV of this Act;

(l) collect or compromise all obligations to or held by him and all legal or equitable rights accruing to him in connection with the payment of obligations until such time as such obligations may be referred to the Attorney General for suit or collection;

(m) expend, without regard to the provisions of any other law or regulation, funds made available for purposes of this Act (1) for printing and binding, and (2) for rent of buildings and space in buildings and for repair, alteration, and improvement of buildings and space in buildings rented by him; but the Director shall not utilize the authority contained in this clause (A) except when necessary in order to obtain an item, service, or facility, which is required in the proper administration of this Act, and which otherwise could not be obtained, or could not be obtained in the quantity or quality needed, or at the time, in the form, or under the conditions in which, it is needed, and (B) prior to having given written notification to the Administrator of General Services (if the exercise of such authority would affect an activity which otherwise would be under the jurisdiction of the General Services Administration) or the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing (if the exercise of such authority would affect an activity which otherwise would be under the jurisdiction of such Committee) of his intention to exercise such authority, the item, service, or facility with respect to which such authority is proposed to be exercised, and the reasons and justifications for the exercise of such authority; and

(n) establish such policies, standards, criteria, and procedures prescribe such rules and regulations, enter into such contracts and agreements with public agencies and private organizations and persons, make such payments (in lump sum or installments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in the case of grants, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments), and generally perform such functions and take such steps as he may deem to be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this Act.

VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA

SEC. 603. (a) The Director is authorized to recruit, select, train, and—

(1) upon request of State or local agencies or private nonprofit organizations, refer volunteers to perform duties in furtherance of programs combating poverty at a State or local level; and

(2) in cooperation with other Federal, State, or local agencies involved, assign volunteers to work (A) in meeting the health, education, welfare, or related needs of Indians living on reservations, of migratory workers and their families, or of residents of the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; (B) in the care and rehabilitation of the mentally ill or mentally retarded under treatment at nonprofit mental health or mental retardation facilities assisted in their construction or operation by Federal funds; and (C) [in furtherance

of programs or activities authorized or supported under title I or II of this Act] *in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.*

(b) The referral or assignment of volunteers shall be on such terms and conditions as the Director may determine, but volunteers shall not be referred or assigned to duties or work in any State without the consent of the Governor.

(c) The Director is authorized to provide to all volunteers during training and to volunteers assigned pursuant to subsection (a)(2) such stipend, not to exceed \$50 per month, such living, travel, and leave allowances, and such housing, transportation (including travel to and from the place of training), supplies, equipment, subsistence, clothing, and health and dental care as the Director may deem necessary or appropriate for their needs.

[(d) Volunteers shall be deemed not to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits, except that all volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to subsection (a)(2) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act.]

(d) (1) *Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.*

(2) *All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949.*

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COUNCIL

SEC. 604. (a) There is hereby established an Economic Opportunity Council, which shall consult with and advise the Director in carrying out his functions, including the coordination of antipoverty efforts by all segments of the Federal Government.

(b) The Council shall include the Director, who shall be Chairman, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Director of Selective Service, and such other agency heads as the President may designate, or delegates thereof.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 605. There is hereby established in the Office a National Advisory Council. The Council shall be composed of the Director, who shall be Chairman, and not more than ~~fourteen~~ *twenty* additional members appointed by the President, without regard to the civil service laws, who shall be representative of the public in general and appropriate fields of endeavor related to the purposes of this Act. Upon the request of the Director, the Council shall review the operations and activities of the Office, and shall make such recommendations with respect thereto as are appropriate. The Council shall meet at least once each year and at such other times as the Director may request.

REVOLVING FUND

SEC. 606. (a) To carry out the lending and guaranty functions authorized under titles III and IV of this Act, there is authorized to be established a revolving fund. The capital of the fund shall consist of such amounts as may be advanced to it by the Director from funds appropriated pursuant to section 321 and shall remain available until expended.

(b) The Director shall pay into miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury, at the close of each fiscal year, interest on the capital of the fund at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity during the last month of the preceding fiscal year. Interest payments may be deferred with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, but any interest payments so deferred shall themselves bear interest.

(c) Whenever any capital in the fund is determined by the Director to be in excess of current needs, such capital shall be credited to the appropriation from which advanced, where it shall be held for future advances.

(d) Receipts from any lending and guaranty operations under this Act (except operations under title IV carried on by the Small Business Administration) shall be credited to the fund. The fund shall be available for the payment of all expenditures of the Director for loans, participations, and guaranties authorized under titles III and IV of this Act.

LABOR STANDARDS

SEC. 607. All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in the construction, alteration or repair, including painting and decorating of projects, buildings and works which are federally assisted under this Act shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5). The Secretary of Labor shall have, with respect to such labor standards, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 64 Stat. 1267; 5 U.S.C. 133—133z-15), and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (48 Stat. 948, as amended; 40 U.S.C. 276(c)).

REPORTS

SEC. 608. Not later than one hundred and twenty days after the close of each fiscal year, the Director shall prepare and submit to the President for transmittal to the Congress a full and complete report on the activities of the Office during such year.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 609. As used in this Act:

(a) The term "State" means a State, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, or the Virgin Islands, and for purposes of title I and Part A of title II such term includes the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; and the term "United States", when used in a geographical sense, includes the foregoing and all other places, continental or insular, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

(b) The term "agency", unless the context requires otherwise, means department, agency, or other component of a Federal, State, or local governmental entity.

(c) The term "family", in the case of a Job Corps enrollee, means—
 (1) the spouse or child of an enrollee, and
 (2) any other relative who draws substantial support from the enrollee.

PART B—COORDINATION OF ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAMS

COORDINATION

SEC. 611. (a) In order to insure that all Federal programs related to the purposes of this Act are carried out in a coordinated manner—

(1) the Director is authorized to call upon other Federal agencies to supply such statistical data, program reports, and other materials as he deems necessary to discharge his responsibilities under this Act, and to assist the President in coordinating the antipoverty efforts of all Federal agencies;

(2) Federal agencies which are engaged in administering programs related to the purposes of this Act, or which otherwise perform functions relating thereto, shall—

(A) cooperate with the Director in carrying out his duties and responsibilities under this Act; and

(B) carry out their programs and exercise their functions in such manner as will, to the maximum extent permitted by other applicable law, assist in carrying out the purposes of this Act; and

(3) The President may direct that particular programs and functions, including the expenditure of funds, of the Federal agencies referred to in paragraph (2) shall be carried out, to the extent not inconsistent with other applicable law, in conjunction with or in support of programs authorized under this Act.

(b) In order to insure that all existing Federal agencies are utilized to the maximum extent possible in carrying out the purposes of this Act, no funds appropriated to carry out this Act shall be used to estab-

lish any new department or office when the intended function is being performed by an existing department or office.

PREFERENCE TO COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 612. To the extent feasible and consistent with the provisions of law governing any Federal program and with the purposes of this Act, the head of each Federal agency administering any Federal program is directed to give preference to any application for assistance or benefits which is made pursuant to or in connection with a community action program approved pursuant to title II of this Act.

INFORMATION CENTER

SEC. 613. In order to insure that all Federal programs related to the purposes of this Act are utilized to the maximum extent possible, and to insure that information concerning such programs and other relevant information is readily available in one place to public officials and other interested persons, the Director is authorized as he deems appropriate to collect, prepare, analyze, correlate, and distribute such information, either free of charge or by sale at cost (any funds so received to be deposited to the Director's account as an offset to such cost), and make arrangements and pay for any printing and binding without regard to the provisions of any other law or regulation.

PROHIBITION OF FEDERAL CONTROL

SEC. 614. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 615. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the [two] three succeeding fiscal years. For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965; and for the the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law].

[SEC. 616. No part of any funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under authority of this Act shall be used to make payments to any individual unless such individual has executed and filed with the Director an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.], and the sum of \$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

TITLE VII—TREATMENT OF INCOME FOR CERTAIN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PURPOSES

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

SEC. 701. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of titles I, IV, X, XIV, and XVI of the Social Security Act, a State plan approved under any such title shall provide that—

(1) the first \$85 plus one-half of the excess over \$85 of payments made to or on behalf of any person for or with respect to any month under title I or II of this Act or any program assisted under such title shall not be regarded (A) as income or resources of such person in determining his need under such approved State plan, or (B) as income or resources of any other individual in determining the need of such other individual under such approved State plan;

(2) no payments made to or on behalf of any person for or with respect to any month under such title or any such program shall be regarded as income or resources of any other individual in determining the need of such other individual under such approved State plan except to the extent made available to or for the benefit of such other individual; and

(3) no grant made to any family under title III of this Act shall be regarded as income or resources of such family in determining the need of any member thereof under such approved State plan.

(b) No funds to which a State is otherwise entitled under title I, IV, X, XIV, or XVI of the Social Security Act for any period before July 1, 1965, shall be withheld by reason of any action taken pursuant to a State statute which prevents such State from complying with the requirements of subsection (a).

Approved August 20, 1964.

SECTION 205(b)(2) OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958

TERMS OF LOANS

SEC. 205. (a) * * *

(b) Loans from any such loan fund to any student by any institution of higher education shall be made on such terms and conditions as the institution may determine; subject, however, to such conditions, limitations, and requirements as the Commissioner may prescribe (by regulation or in the agreement with the institution) with a view to preventing impairment of the capital of the student loan fund to the maximum extent practicable in the light of the objective of enabling the student to complete his course of study; and except that—

(1) * * *

(2) such a loan shall be evidenced by a note or other written agreement which provides for repayment of the principal amount, together with interest thereon, in equal annual installments, or, if the borrower so requests, in graduated periodic installments (determined in accordance with such schedules as may be approved by the Commissioner), over a period beginning one year

after the date on which the borrower ceases to pursue a full-time course of study at an institution of higher education and ending eleven years after such date, except that (A) interest shall not accrue on any such loan, and periodic installments need not be paid, during any period (i) during which the borrower is pursuing a full-time course of study at an institution of higher education or at a comparable institution outside the States approved for this purpose by the Commissioner, (ii) not in excess of three years, during which the borrower is a member of the Armed Forces of the United States, [or] (iii) not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under the Peace Corps Act, or (iv) *not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964*: *Provided*, That this clause shall apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of the Peace Corps Act only with the consent of the then obligee institution, (B) any such period shall not be included in determining the ten-year period during which the repayment must be completed, (C) such ten-year period may also be extended for good cause determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner, (D) the institution may provide that periodic installments need not be paid during any period or periods, aggregating not in excess of three years, during which the borrower is in part-time attendance at an institution of higher education taking courses which are creditable toward a degree, and may also provide that any such period shall not be included in determining the ten-year period during which the repayment must be completed, but interest shall continue to accrue during any such period, and (E) the borrower may at his option accelerate repayment of the whole or any part of such loan;

* * * * *

MINORITY VIEWS

We, the undersigned, oppose this legislation in its present form because it has not been properly considered by the committee and there are serious and admitted defects in the so-called war on poverty which must be corrected. Specifically, we call attention to the following:

The community action program—as stated by Chairman Powell and verified by testimony in the brief hearings—has been turned into a political pork barrel by big city machines whose only interest in the poor is to exploit them.

The entire act is the least coordinated, most confused tangle in recent memory, and this has been made even worse by removing the last vestige of State authority—giving the Director of OEO the power to override the Governor's veto.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, under a part-time poverty czar, is an administrative shambles in which a fantastic number of highly paid, casually selected amateurs frantically attempt to patch together programs that will reflect a favorable image to Congress and the public.

There has been no evaluation of the many aspects of the war on poverty by this committee—other than our brief glimpse of the community action section—yet this bill doubles appropriation authorizations without the faintest showing of merit in doing so. Accordingly, we urge certain steps with regard to this legislation as a matter of urgent need in the public interest and in the interest of impoverished people whom it was intended to serve.

(1) We strongly endorse the public suggestion of our colleague, Representative Celler, the Democratic dean of the House, that a bipartisan committee be appointed by the Speaker to investigate the entire operation of the poverty program.

(2) We urge, at the very least, restoration of an unfettered veto power by State Governors as provided for in the original act, and consideration of effective means to involve State coordination of community action programs.

(3) It is absolutely necessary that the entire program administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity be directed by a full-time administrator, and while the Congress cannot assure competence in that post, it can and should require by law that the Director hold no other Federal position.

(4) Since there has been no evaluation of the impact of these programs upon poor people whom they are meant to serve, all authorizations for funds should be held to present levels.

PLAYING POLITICS WITH POVERTY

When the so-called war on poverty was thrown together hastily last year and rushed to enactment, the Democrats themselves recognized many defects but were unwilling to make changes in an election

year. Nevertheless, these programs have had the effect of holding out additional hope to poverty-stricken people and of enlisting the efforts of many citizens of good will. The very least we could do is to try to make sure that the programs fulfill some of these hopes, and that they are coordinated effectively with the \$100 billion already being spent from Federal, State, local, and private sources to fight poverty and its effects each year. The political management of these programs is, we regret to conclude, a disgraceful fact.

The Congress—which has legislative responsibility for Federal programs expending about \$32 billion annually to combat the social and economic conditions associated with poverty—must act now to prevent the playing of crude power politics with poverty; otherwise the poverty programs will continue to waste human resources in controversy and scandal.

THE CHAIRMAN'S VIEW—"GIANT FIESTAS OF POLITICAL PATRONAGE"

Chairman Powell opened the hearings of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Poverty with a public statement containing these assessments of the war on poverty:

* * * In far too many communities, giant fiestas of political patronage have been encouraged.

* * * Compounding this political felony has been a debilitating friction between the State and local poverty programs with resulting tug-of-wars over who is going to control what.

* * * Salaries are excessively high and in some instances unreasonable and wildly unrealistic.

* * * There has been an obvious failure to carry out a most important objective—that of involving the poor in the war on poverty.

* * * There has been an overemphasis on planning and a dismal deemphasis of action programs.

Astute reporting by the press throughout the country had turned up and documented these same charges in city after city prior to the subcommittee's hearings. These hearings began to develop the same kinds of evidence, even though they were directed only to the community action program and neglected all other parts of the act. When the hearings appeared certain to bring public exposure of a scandal of national proportions, they were abandoned quickly (but apparently not before obtaining certain results in the intramural struggle between the chairman of this committee and the poverty czar).

The hearings were not worth very much in terms of any public interest in good legislation. Evidently that was not their purpose, as they were terminated at a time when a long list of reputable people who had long been fighting in the trenches of poverty were waiting to testify. Nor were such important administration officials as the Secretaries of Agriculture, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare called, although each of them has major program responsibilities under the Economic Opportunities Act.

THE COMMITTEE'S DELIBERATION—LEGISLATION BY LETTER

During 10 days of public hearings and several brief field trips by task forces, the ad hoc subcommittee gave exclusive attention to

only 1 of the 10 programs supposed to combat poverty. This was title II of the act, the community action program, and this scrutiny was focused almost entirely upon the chairman's allegations of political favoritism, lack of representation of the poor, and failure to fund activities which are not brought into an overall plan of community action.

But even this narrowed scope threatened to expose scandalous conditions in the administration of the act, with confusion of purpose, lack of coordination, and bitter charges of favoritism being hurled about by warring social agencies. In the testimony of Mayor Wagner, of New York, and the representatives of Mayor Daley, of Chicago, it became clear that "community action" was being engulfed by "political action" on a grand scale. The planning groups in both these cities read like a roster of the political faithful. Poverty programs, it seems, often have their rewards for others if not for the poor.

The hearings were abruptly halted—over the protests of the minority Members—on the grounds that time was of the essence. The chairman then proceeded with all deliberate speed to postpone executive sessions twice, presumably while conferring privately with the czar of all the impoverished. It was the publicly announced position of the chairman that drastic changes were required in the act.

These changes were not forthcoming. Instead, the chairman received two letters from Mr. Sargent Shriver outlining administrative procedures to be followed by OEO which allegedly would give the poor adequate representation on the political-social committees which run community action programs and restrict excessive salaries. Presto chango—no changes need be made now in the act; we have encountered the newest wrinkle in Great Society government: legislation by letter.

The sorry truth is that a great congressional committee has betrayed the legislative process and in doing so has turned its back upon Americans who have been led to hope that a determined and imaginative war on poverty would be waged.

This act, as some of us pointed out last year in our remarks in the minority views on the original bill, has some glaring weaknesses. It also has some real possibilities for attacking ancient problems, but these require our best efforts for their realization. The effort of this committee has been a pathetic burlesque of legislative action and merits rebuke by the whole House of Representatives.

THE GOVERNORS' VETO REMOVED—A BLOW TO STATE COOPERATION

The only fundamental change made by the committee in the Economic Opportunity Act was to strike out the last vestige of State power in programs carried out directly by Federal authorities within the States. The committee at first voted on the motion of Representative Brademas, to completely eliminate the veto power of the Governors with respect to community action programs. Upon receiving the anguished and angry messages of Governors of both parties from all parts of the country, the full committee gave back the veto power, but with a final "veto of the veto" resting with the poverty czar in Washington. This nonsense fools no one, of course; the power of the Governors has diminished even further so that now it is near the vanishing point.

This shortsighted action on behalf of naked Federal power came as the result of the veto exercised once each by the Democratic Governors of Texas and Alabama. There is no evidence that either of these vetos—the only ones to be exercised thus far—was tinged with malice or any unworthy motive. The Governor of Alabama, for example, had approved four out of five community action programs presented to him, all under the direction of racially integrated committees.

The fact is that the veto power of the Governor is the only leverage a State has for attempting to assure that community action programs are coordinated with the vast array of local-State-Federal programs administered by State agencies. The comment of Gov. John B. King, of New Hampshire, a Democrat, is typical of the many submitted to the committee.

Governor King wired Representative James C. Cleveland as follows:

Strongly oppose Brademas amendment to Economic Opportunity Act. Authority of Governors to veto projects under the act is essential to avoid duplications of State programs and local misunderstandings. Existence of veto power has already made it possible to tailor projects to specific needs of New Hampshire.

Gov. Robert E. Smylie, of Idaho (who is also chairman of the Conference of Republican Governors), reflected the same views in his wire to Representative Ayres:

I protest most vigorously the Brademas amendment. * * * Extreme action such as this would seriously jeopardize the orderly progress of the entire program and result in chaos and confusion in those States and communities where local efforts are already underway or meeting the needs. * * *

Far from removing this negative power of the Governors, we should amend this legislation to provide for positive participation in these programs by the appropriate agencies of the State. This is the only way to assure any coordination in planning and execution with basic programs in such fields as health, welfare, education, corrections, and employment. We introduced an amendment in committee which would have allowed the States a proper, positive role in program development. Following the precedents established in education legislation, local plans would be sent to the State for approval before submission to the Federal Government. Since this committee has neglected its duties, such action will have to come from the House itself.

THE POVERTY PROGRAM—DANGER OF COLLAPSE

By March 31 of this year only one of nine operating programs authorized by the act had been funded in excess of 35 percent, and this is the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Other programs ranged from a fraction of 1 percent (adult literacy) to 35 percent (Job Corps) for the fiscal year which ends June 30, 1965. But one item stands out above all others: The Office of Economic Opportunity had managed to spend a whopping 85 percent of the \$5,500,000 budgeted for personnel and administration.

In March OEO had 346 special consultants plus 574 regular employees in the Washington office and 74 employees in the field. The chaos and discord in the Washington headquarters, according to reliable individuals who actually worked there, has been little short of unbelievable. The personnel roster looks like an inverted pyramid, with squads of high-paid "chiefs" and consultants at the top and a relative handful of "indians" at the bottom. The Office has been so disorganized that the mail piled up, unanswered for months, until \$50 per day consultants were put to work handling routine correspondence.

It is our considered judgment that the entire poverty program (or those parts of it administered directly by OEO) is in danger of collapse if this bungling continues. We think that the President should consider very seriously the possibility of transferring all of the authorized programs to established agencies of Government which already have virtually identical functions to administer. An interagency coordinating committee could then provide for any required coordination, and the programs would be assured of experienced administration.

The purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act was to supply additional tools to combat poverty—not to create a large, new, and expensive bureaucracy primarily concerned with the "image" of any person or organization.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS IMPOSSIBLE TO ASCERTAIN

In ignoring all but one aspect of the poverty war, the committee majority made it impossible to assess the overall program. It has not been possible for us to ascertain whether any substantial accomplishments have been achieved, or if there are problems encountered which could be solved by amending the legislation. A number of dangers other than those inherent in the community action program have nevertheless become apparent.

With respect to the Job Corps, the Director stirred himself to try to fulfill his own optimistic predictions made last fall by conducting a massive publicity campaign to enlist enrollees. This resulted in tens of thousands of applications from youths looking for a way out of poverty, which had to be rejected because there was no place for them. Thus, in trying to enhance the "image" of OEO, Mr. Shriver succeeded in further battering the shattered self-image of often rejected youth.

The real question about the Job Corps is whether it will work as hoped in having a measurable effect in removing the causes of youth unemployment and delinquency. In fairness, the program could not be judged now, as it will be 6 months before the very first Job Corps graduates seek to enter the labor market.

We very much hope that the Job Corps will fulfill every expectation held out for it. As of March 31 the Corps was operating 77 conservation camps and 10 urban training centers. In view of the occupational needs of youth returning to an urban environment, this assignment of emphasis may be questioned, but this may be due to factors of which we are not aware. We do know that there is a very severe shortage of qualified teachers and counselors in this field, and that the OEO has had to "raid" other vocational programs for personnel. The personnel problem is a compelling reason for concentrating our efforts as much as possible.

We wish to emphasize that the Job Corps program is experimental. This is true of the entire act, but the point has special relevance when we are dealing with the hopes of youth and cannot honestly say that what we are doing will succeed. Instead of doubling the authorization for the Job Corps, as this bill proposes, we should maintain it at the level planned originally until we have substantial evidence that it will be successful.

We think that it is a thoughtless act to commit 54,000 more of these vulnerable young people to camps and centers until the results of this experiment can be analyzed. Then, if the existing program or one with suitable modifications is making a genuine contribution toward salvaging the lives of these young men and women, it might well be expanded.

When arguing for passage of the bill, the administration constantly referred to the poverty in rural America which it claims exceeds 50 percent. Yet, we received no testimony on programs in rural areas, apparently because the administration was embarrassed to make known how little has been accomplished there. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman admitted in a speech on April 6 that less than 5 percent of the poverty funds had been allocated to programs in rural areas.

Certainly, at this time there is no evidence to justify the doubling—or any increase at all—of existing authorizations. In every single aspect of the war on poverty the Congress needs more information than the majority on this committee have been willing to produce. That is why the suggestion of Representative Celler for a special investigation by a committee appointed by the Speaker has such merit.

A TIME FOR RESPONSIBILITY

A number of us severely criticized the legislation which authorized these programs. We felt, quite aside from the fact that the effort appeared to be inspired by politics rather than any genuine concern for the poor, that the legislation was so hastily and loosely drawn that it would invite precisely the sort of confusion and wasted effort that have ensued. Moreover, we believed then, as we do now, that any new program should be coordinated fully with the 42 existing Federal programs which combat poverty at a cost of \$32 billion annually.

These existing programs are mostly administered through the States in cooperative local-State-Federal efforts in which the relationships and responsibilities have been established carefully. This act ignores and deliberately bypasses governmental structures of proven worth, and this weakens the act immeasurably.

The act should have been completely rewritten to remove the reasons for its gross failure, and time surely should have been taken to examine such exciting possibilities for interrupting the poverty cycle as would be afforded by a massive preschool program conducted through the public school system.

Republicans on this committee first advanced such a proposal last year at the suggestion of some of America's leading experts in child development, and incorporated it into their own school assistance bill this year. Our proposal, in contrast to OEO's "Operation Headstart," would have been run by experienced educators in our school systems rather than through the intermittent effort of amateurs.

We also advanced the first action actually authorized by the Congress to provide residential schools for socially displaced urban youth. We proposed such a center for the District of Columbia as an experiment. This was incorporated in the Vocational Education Act of 1963, but funds had not been appropriated for the experiment when the idea was ballooned into a massive and untested program by the Economic Opportunity Act.

We hope that we shall be supported by many thoughtful Democratic colleagues in a constructive attempt to make the best aspects of the war on poverty effective.

There is time for the Congress to act responsibly, and in a bipartisan manner, on this legislation. The hopes and efforts and energies of citizens of good will, which have been poured into these programs, should not now be dashed and wasted. They surely shall be unless indicated corrective action is taken by the Congress.

The Congress can take at least the minimal action required to assure responsible administration of the act and a beginning of coordination with other programs. Some of the more flagrant abuses can be corrected. At the proper time, we shall offer amendments to the act intended to serve these constructive purposes.

It is our earnest hope that this committee can begin at once to reconsider the entire act in the light of the true facts regarding its operation and prospects for success. But that would not cure the deficiencies of this bill, and without some basic changes we cannot in good conscience recommend its enactment.

WILLIAM H. AYRES,
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN,
ALBERT H. QUIE,
CHARLES E. GOODSELL,
ALPHONZO BELL,
GLENN ANDREWS,
EDWARD J. GURNEY,
Members of Congress.

VIEWS OF REPRESENTATIVE JAMES H. SCHEUER

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in all its aspects can make important contributions toward reduction of poverty in the United States. But unless other measures in the war against poverty are enlarged in scope and increased in effectiveness, the high expectations generated not only by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, but also by the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1965, will lead to bitterness, disappointment, and disillusionment. For we will be motivating, educating, and equipping with employment skills many hundreds of thousands of men and women who will then face an economy which offers them no hope of employment.

Unemployment is probably our Nation's No. 1 problem, but it is surely the prime threat to the integrity of the war against poverty. For over 7 years, from 1958 through 1964, the unemployment rate has been over 5 percent, except for 2 months, February 1960 and July 1964, when the rate was 4.9 percent.

In 1965 unemployment has hovered just below 5 percent. Close to 4 million persons are now without jobs. An additional 2½ million can find only part-time work, and an estimated 1 million more have been discouraged from even looking for work. With heavy unemployment, the impact falls hardest on teenagers and Negroes. All teenage unemployment averaged 14.7 percent in 1964. Negro teenage unemployment was over 25 percent. White unemployment for all ages was 4.6 percent; nonwhite unemployment for all ages was 9 percent. The desperate current situation of high school dropouts in the job market is well known. More important, an equally desperate situation will apparently face many of those 2 or 3 years from now even who are equipped with considerable job skills.

Between 1964 and 1970 our economy will have to create 9 million new jobs—equal to 1.5 million per year—merely to accommodate the growing labor force. During the entire 1947–64 period actual employment increase averaged less than one-half that rate—less than 750,000 per year. Never since the end of World War II has our economy created 1½ million jobs a year on a sustained basis.

But we are faced with a prospect that between 1964 and 1970 there will be an increase of 1.3 million in the number of 16- to 19-year-olds in the labor force, and an increase of almost 3 million in the 20- to 24-year-old group. The net increase in the number of 18- to 19-year-olds in the year 1965 alone will exceed the net increase in the number of these young workers which occurred in all of the decade of the 1950's.

While our economy in 1964 enjoyed a 4.6-percent rise in gross national product, the unemployment rate fell only from 5.7 percent in 1963 to 5.2 percent. And even this 4.6-percent rate of growth required a major tax cut and other stimuli to the economy.

The increase of jobs needed for the ever-growing numbers entering the labor force must take place alongside another increase in the number of jobs, to take into account the approximately 2 million jobs

annually that will be eliminated by productivity increases and automation and technological improvements. If we assume a continuation of the long-term productivity improvement, without any stepup in the rate, the combined requirements for additional real growth in the gross national product to compensate for these two factors will require an annual increase well above 5 percent between now and 1970. Obviously, a dynamic, imaginative, far-reaching national economic growth policy is required if we are to avoid chronically increasing unemployment, with the profoundly disturbing implications which this holds for our entire antipoverty effort.

The only way to make sufficient inroads upon this immense problem of job creation is to expand those areas of output where the Nation's unmet needs are so great that appropriate and feasible expansion of output would far outrun the gain in technology and productivity in these particular areas. These deficit areas, also of top priority in a full-scale war against poverty and for the Great Society, include the rehousing of slum dwellers in, and a vast increase in the supply of low-cost public housing and moderate priced dwellings; a comprehensive urban renewal program involving a wide variety of public facilities and services including parks, playgrounds, museums, libraries, recreational programs, and facilities; enlarged physical plant and personnel for education at all levels from preschool through university training; improvement in mass transportation; development of our natural resources and wildlife heritage, including a national program for clean air and pure water; and a large expansion in social security, other welfare programs, hospital and health services.

Government construction of these various kinds creates many jobs directly—at the building site and in manufacturing, transportation, and warehousing as well. Government expenditures of \$1 billion for public building programs create approximately 40,000 on-site construction jobs and about 60,000 jobs in producing and distributing building materials and equipment. Government construction projects require more labor input than almost any other expenditure of equivalent size. They are labor-intensive, as they require relatively more labor and less capital per unit of output than other types of investment such as manufacturing. And the type of labor needed will always include a high proportion of male workers with relatively low skills, many of whom we can expect to emerge from the poverty training and work-study programs, and the Job Corps. This is the very type of labor for which employment opportunities, already a serious problem, will be increasingly scarce in the future.

Such additional Government spending and investment probably create almost as many new jobs indirectly, as Government construction creates directly. Since \$1 billion of Federal outlay directly creates about 100,000 jobs on and off the building site, the economic chain reaction probably creates indirectly and additional 50,000 to 100,000 job opportunities. Thus the total impact—spread throughout the economy—of \$1 billion of Federal investment in public service construction leads directly and indirectly to about 150,000 to 200,000 jobs. Many of these projects, moreover, have permanent, long-range job-stimulating effects; for example, irrigation projects, hydroelectric dams, and mass transit and highway programs attracting industry.

The improvement in economic activities from increased public works programs also reduces Government expenditures for unemployment insurance and for public assistance to families on welfare, and increases Government tax revenues from the expansion of jobs, incomes, and profits. The entire economy gets a lift from Federal public works expenditures.

And there is no question but that we have the resources to do the job. Indeed the present vitality and productivity of our economy is almost staggering. With out current level of taxation, the mere expansion of our economy along the line of its present potential produces a steady growth of \$6 to \$7 billion annually, in Federal revenues on a cumulative basis. Unless Government expenditures grow annually by a similar amount, or tax rates are reduced comparably, this increase in Government tax revenues would produce a growing fiscal drag on the economy. Yet, largely in response to an excessive reliance upon tax reduction, the spending side of the Federal budget, both on a per capita basis and relative to the total size of our gross national product, is trending consistently downward over the years. On a per capita basis (1963 dollars), Federal spending fell from \$558 in fiscal 1954 to \$482 in fiscal 1965, and \$470 as originally proposed for fiscal 1966. Measured in ratio to total national production of goods and services, total Federal budget outlays declined from 18.72 percent in fiscal 1954 to 16.32 percent in fiscal 1964, and 15.25 percent in fiscal 1965. The ratio apparently will be still lower in fiscal 1966.

Modified taxation, welfare, and social security retirement benefit policies could be employed with dramatic effectiveness to improve the plight of a high percentage of families living in poverty. Family units headed by women without husbands and with small children, comprising about 29 percent of all the poor in the United States, can be aided somewhat with improved education, training, and retraining programs. Nonetheless, a probably more effective approach would be to lift the nationwide system of welfare payments, with increased Federal participation, to levels more compatible with the current cost of living, and our productive capabilities as a nation.

About 27 percent of the U.S. poor are in consumer units with heads aged 64 and over. It is manifest that the overwhelming proportion of them cannot be helped much by education, training, or retraining programs, either under the Economic Opportunity Act or elsewhere. Preponderantly they can be helped only by rapid expansion of benefits under the old-age insurance system. These benefits are now painfully low, and have failed to keep up with advances in the cost of living over the years, or with our rapidly advancing productive powers. A major increase in public assistance programs, with enlarged Federal contributions, is desperately needed in the case of those senior citizens not covered by the nationwide old-age insurance system.

It should not be forgotten that one-quarter of our population living in poverty is composed of family units where the wage earner is employed, but at substandard wage levels, grossly insufficient to support even a marginal level of decency and comfort. The Fair Labor Standards Act should be widely extended to include those not now protected, and amended to insure that the national minimum wage established by the Congress is raised above the poverty level of income established by the Congress.

While both the administration and the Congress are considering major tax relief programs, it might well be appropriate to review a tax system which levies an estimated \$300 million in taxes annually from persons who are characterized by one Federal agency as living in poverty, and who are then reduced to further penury by the Federal tax collector who reduces their \$3,000 annual incomes by several hundred dollars per annum. This appears to be profoundly inequitable, and totally inconsistent with our war against poverty.

It should be noted that, considered purely as a fiscal matter, a combined Federal welfare and tax reform program which would place more dollars into the hands of individuals and families in the poverty brackets, through reduction or elimination of income or social security taxes, and increased welfare payments for single mothers with dependent children, and aged retirees, would have a measurably greater impact on the spending stream, and hence a measurably greater stimulating effect on the economy, than the program of excise tax reductions now being contemplated by Congress, appropriate as they undoubtedly are on grounds of equity, and ease and cost of administration.

A dollar saved by the average taxpayer is applied 93 percent to the spending stream, and about 7 percent to personal savings. Undoubtedly the beneficiaries of tax savings from the contemplated excise tax reductions enjoy a higher than average annual income. Therefore, a higher percentage of the dollars saved from reducing or eliminating excise taxes on furs, jewelry, country club dues, leather luggage goods, automobiles, and the like, will be applied to savings, and a lesser percentage will be spent by consumers for goods and services. It is self-evident that an additional dollar placed in the hand of a single mother with children, or an aging person, in the poverty bracket would be spent in its entirety in goods and services and would therefore reverberate throughout the economy.

A new admixture of Government tax and spending policies in the evolution of the Federal budget is imperative, therefore, to the interrelated wars against poverty and unemployment. Significantly, a comprehensive program of vitally needed public works, public facilities and services, tax reform, and increased payments for welfare and retirement benefits for persons and families in the poverty brackets would, by reason of stepped-up economic activity, and resultant increase of profits, and Government tax collections, produce a lower per capita tax burden than the currently prevailing one. Could not this be the most sensible tax reduction program of all—increasing incomes across the board through increased productivity and consumption so that a lower percentage of everybody's paycheck goes into Federal tax coffers.

It is clear beyond question that the Congress and the executive branch need more information than is now available to make intelligent policy decisions on the poverty program, on reform of our tax structure, and many other related Federal programs as well. We need to know more about the prospective job-producing deficiencies that are presently inherent in our economy, and the size and extent of the steps that should be required to correct them. Nor can we defer action. The problems are piling up at a geometric pace—faster by far than our current corrective efforts.

We must combine the talent and energies of experts in the legislative branch, the executive branch, and the private sector of our economy to explore together, and in depth the full implication of our present prospects for population growth and economic development, present trends in automation, and a broad-gaged survey of the full needs of the Great Society, as well as the great resources we have to meet these needs if we have the will. We must then begin the job of setting forth, in quantitative terms, what our national economic goals should be in the next decade.

A Presidential Commission on National Goals should be appointed promptly and charged with this responsibility. There has been no such comprehensive analysis and reporting on our national economic problems and policies since the report of the Eisenhower Commission on National Needs and Goals in 1960. The substantial quantitative and qualitative changes in the employment problem, in the volume of unmet national needs, in the rising expectations of the quality of life we all seek to enjoy, and in the enormous and unprecedented economic capability we now enjoy to meet those needs and produce a quality of life of great excellence for all Americans without straining our economic and human resources or the strength of the economy, make such immediate comprehensive review an urgent matter of top-priority concern.

Only with the aid of such a blueprint can lawmakers and the executive branch make adequate decisions on the economic questions of public spending, public investment, and public taxation.

Only then will Congress and the administration insure that our ongoing national program to educate and train the deprived and underprivileged does not become a tragic exercise in futility and frustration.

Only then will we achieve the job-producing economy which will satisfy the hopes and expectations of those who, through the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, we will have motivated, educated, and trained to participate fully in the mainstream of our national economic life.

The distinguished chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, Hon. Adam C. Powell, joins with me in this statement of views.

JAMES H. SCHEUER,
Member of Congress.

○

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

[Report No. 428]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 19, 1965

Mr. GIBBONS introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

MAY 27, 1965

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union
and ordered to be printed

A BILL

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity
4 Amendments of 1965".

5 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

6 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS

7 SEC. 2. Section 104 (d) of the Economic Opportunity
8 Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: "(d) Each
9 enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation
10 in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that
11 I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of

1 America and will support and defend the Constitution and
2 laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and
3 domestic'. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United
4 States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation
5 required under this subsection."

6 JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES'

7 COMPENSATION ACT

8 SEC. 3. Section 106 (c) (2) (A) of the Economic Op-
9 portunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

10 “(A) The term ‘performance of duty’ in the Federal
11 Employees’ Compensation Act shall not include any act
12 of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post
13 of duty, except while participating in an activity (including
14 an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such
15 post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and super-
16 vision of the Corps.”

17 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

18 SEC. 4. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act
19 of 1964 is amended by inserting the word “male” before the
20 word “enrollees” in the first sentence.

1 WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL
2 ASSISTANCE

3 SEC. 5. The first sentence of section 115 of the Eco-
4 nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out
5 “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking
6 out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

7 WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL
8 ASSISTANCE

9 SEC. 6. Section 124 (f) of the Economic Opportunity
10 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting
11 in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “or June 30,
12 1966, whichever is later,”.

13 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COM-
14 MUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

15 GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS
16 ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

17 SEC. 7. (a) The first sentence of section 208 (a) of
18 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
19 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by
20 striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

(b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new subsection (b) as follows:

4 “(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regula-
5 tions establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assist-
6 ance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such com-
7 munity action programs or components as have received
8 assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such
9 regulations.”

(c) Section 208 (c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved.”

19 DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

SEC. 8. Section 209 (c) of the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting “of part B” before
“of title I” and (2) striking out “and such plan has not been
disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission”
and inserting in lieu thereof “and such plan has not been dis-
approved by the Governor within thirty days of such submis-

sion, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part”.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS;

FEDERAL SHARE

SEC. 9. Section 216 (b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966,” and inserting in lieu thereof “and each of the two succeeding fiscal years,”.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER

TRAINING

SEC. 10. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended—

(1) by striking out “From the sums appropriated to carry out this title” in section 213 (a) and inserting in lieu thereof “From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218”; and

(2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following new section 218:

“TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

“SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any

1 fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to
 2 provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to
 3 colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies,
 4 or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or
 5 organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or
 6 preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described
 7 in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any
 8 (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons
 9 undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director
 10 may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

11 VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

12 SEC. 11. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 13 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof, and by re-
 14 designating part D as part C and section 221 as section 220.

15 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO 16 COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

17 COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO 18 ASSIST MANUFACTURING

19 SEC. 12. Section 305 (f) of the Economic Opportunity
 20 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the
 21 period at the end thereof the following proviso: “: *Provided,*
 22 That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing
 23 used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, includ-
 24 ing dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing

1 merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of
2 a new or different substance”.

3 ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED
4 AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

5 SEC. 13. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act
6 of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

7 “MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
8 EMPLOYEES

9 “SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and
10 implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to
11 assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions,
12 and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operat-
13 ing programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily
14 contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers
15 and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of
16 housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.”

17 AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

18 SEC. 14. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act
19 of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence
20 thereof the following new sentence: “Workers in farm fami-
21 lies with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be con-
22 sidered unemployed for the purposes of this title.”, and (2)
23 by striking out of the last sentence the following: “for the
24 fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,”.

1 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND
2 COORDINATION

3 VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF
4 OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS

5 SEC. 15. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the
6 Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking
7 out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause desig-
8 nation “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection
9 with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a
10 character eligible for assistance under this Act.”

11 (b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read
12 as follows:

13 “(d) (1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to
14 an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104
15 (d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title
16 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to
17 such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in para-
18 graph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed
19 to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the
20 provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including
21 those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and
22 Federal employee benefits.

23 “(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers
24 as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection

1 (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent
2 as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c),
3 and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the com-
4 putation described in paragraph (2) (B) of section 106 (c)
5 the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that
6 received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the
7 Classification Act of 1949.”

8 NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

9 SEC. 16. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act
10 of 1964 is amended by striking “fourteen” in the second
11 sentence and inserting in lieu thereof “twenty”.

12 AFFIDAVITS

13 SEC. 17. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of
14 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof.

15 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

16 SEC. 18. (a) (1) The first sentence of section 131 of
17 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
18 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

19 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
20 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
21 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
22 \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
23 the sum of \$825,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
24 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the

1 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
2 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

3 (b) (1) The first sentence of section 220 of such Act
4 (as so redesignated by section 11 of this Act) is amended
5 by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

6 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
7 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
8 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
9 \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
10 the sum of \$680,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
11 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
12 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
13 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

14 (c) (1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by
15 striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

16 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended
17 to read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this
18 title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum
19 of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,
20 and the sum of \$70,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June
21 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
22 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated
23 as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

24 (d) (1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act

1 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu
2 thereof "three".

3 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
4 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title,
5 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
6 \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
7 the sum of \$300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
8 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
9 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as
10 the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

11 (e) (1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is
12 amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof
13 "three".

14 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
15 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title
16 (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving
17 fund established by section 606 (a)), there is hereby author-
18 ized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal
19 year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$20,000,000 for
20 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year
21 ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such
22 sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter
23 authorize by law."

1 AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—
2 MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUN-
3 TEERS

4 SEC. 19. (a) Paragraph (2) (A) of section 205 (b) of
5 the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C.
6 425 (b) (2) (A)) is amended by striking out “or” before
7 “(iii)” and by inserting before the proviso and after “Peace
8 Corps Act” the following: “, or (iv) not in excess of three
9 years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer
10 under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of
11 1964”.

12 (b) The amendments made by this section shall not
13 apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this
14 Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.

A BILL

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

By Mr. GIBBONS

MAY 19, 1965

Referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

MAY 27, 1965

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Washington, D. C.

20250

Official Business

Postage and Fees Paid

U. S. Department of Agriculture

Issued
For actions of

OFFICE OF
BUDGET AND FINANCE

(For information only;
should not be quoted
or cited)

June 23, 1965

June 22, 1965

89th-1st; No. 112

CONTENTS

Animal disease.....15	Fish and wildlife.....6	Stockpile.....19
Appropriations.....5,8,9	Foreign aid.....20	Strawberries.....23
Area redevelopment.....32	Foreign trade.....10,13,30	Summer lunches.....31
Bartered materials.....19	Legislative program.....8	Surplus commodities.....20
Budget amendments.....19	Nomination.....18	Taxes.....21
Cigarette labeling.....1	Personnel.....26	Trade expansion.....30
Continuing resolution....5	Poverty.....3,8,25	Trade fairs.....13
Cotton.....7,27	Public works.....2,5	Transportation.....11
Disaster relief....7,19,28	Reclamation.....33	Veterans' benefits.....29
Economic development.....2	Recreation.....6	Water pollution.....17
Education.....14,24	Research.....12	Water projects.....6
Emergency conservation..19	Salaries.....26	Wheat.....7,28
Export control.....10	Science.....12	Wilderness.....22
Farm labor.....23	Soil conservation	
Feed grains.....4,7	programs.....16	

HIGHLIGHTS. House passed cigarette labeling bill. House committee reported public works and economic development bill. House Rules Committee cleared poverty bill. House committee approved feed grains title of farm bill.

HOUSE

1. CIGARETTE LABELING. Passed with amendment S. 559, to regulate the labeling of cigarettes. House conferees were appointed. pp. 13897-913
2. PUBLIC WORKS; ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. The Public Works Committee reported with amendment S. 1648, the proposed Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 (H. Rept. 539). p. 13943
3. POVERTY. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964. ~~p. 13943~~

4. FEED GRAINS. The Agriculture Committee "approved the feed grains title, as amended by the subcommittee" on H. R. 7097, the farm bill. pp. D557-8
5. APPROPRIATIONS. Passed with amendment H. R. 9220, the public works appropriation bill, which includes funds for St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, Tennessee Valley Authority, Delaware River Basin Commission, Bureau of Reclamation, etc. pp. 13870-90
Made it in order to consider a continuing resolution any day next week.
p. 13867
6. WATER PROJECTS. Received the conference report on S. 1229, to provide uniform policies with respect to recreation and fish and wildlife benefits and costs of Federal multiple-purpose water resource projects (H. Rept. 538). pp. 13867-70
7. DISASTER RELIEF. Rep. Culver spoke in favor of amending the Agriculture Acts to "take into consideration floods and other natural disasters in reference to the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965." p. 13942
8. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. The Majority Leader announced that the poverty bill would be taken up following the defense appropriation bill. pp. 13942-3

SENATE

9. D. C. APPROPRIATION BILL. Passed with amendments this bill, H. R. 6453. Conferees were appointed. pp. 13819-20, 13824-38
10. EXPORT CONTROL. The Banking and Currency Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 7105, to continue the Export Control Act for 4 years.
p. D555
11. TRANSPORTATION. The Commerce Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) S. 1098, to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to insure the adequacy of the national railroad freight car supply (amended); and S. 1727, to provide for strengthening and improving the national transportation system (amended).
p. D555
12. RESEARCH. The Commerce Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) S. 949, to promote economic growth by supporting State and regional centers to place the findings of science usefully in the hands of American enterprise (amended). p. D555
13. TRADE FAIRS. The Commerce Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 4525, to continue authority to develop American-flag carriers and promote the foreign commerce of the U. S. through the use of mobile trade fairs. p. D555
14. EDUCATION. Sen. Yarborough spoke in support of his bill, S. 9, the GI education bill, and inserted several letters commending the bill. pp. 13816-7
15. ANIMAL DISEASE. Sen. Aiken inserted a USDA release, "Vermont Holds Three National Records in Animal Disease Eradication, USDA Reports." p. 13802
16. SOIL CONSERVATION. Sen. Hill inserted an editorial, "Charging for SCS Service-- A Bad Move." p. 13807

CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 8283

JUNE 22, 1965.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

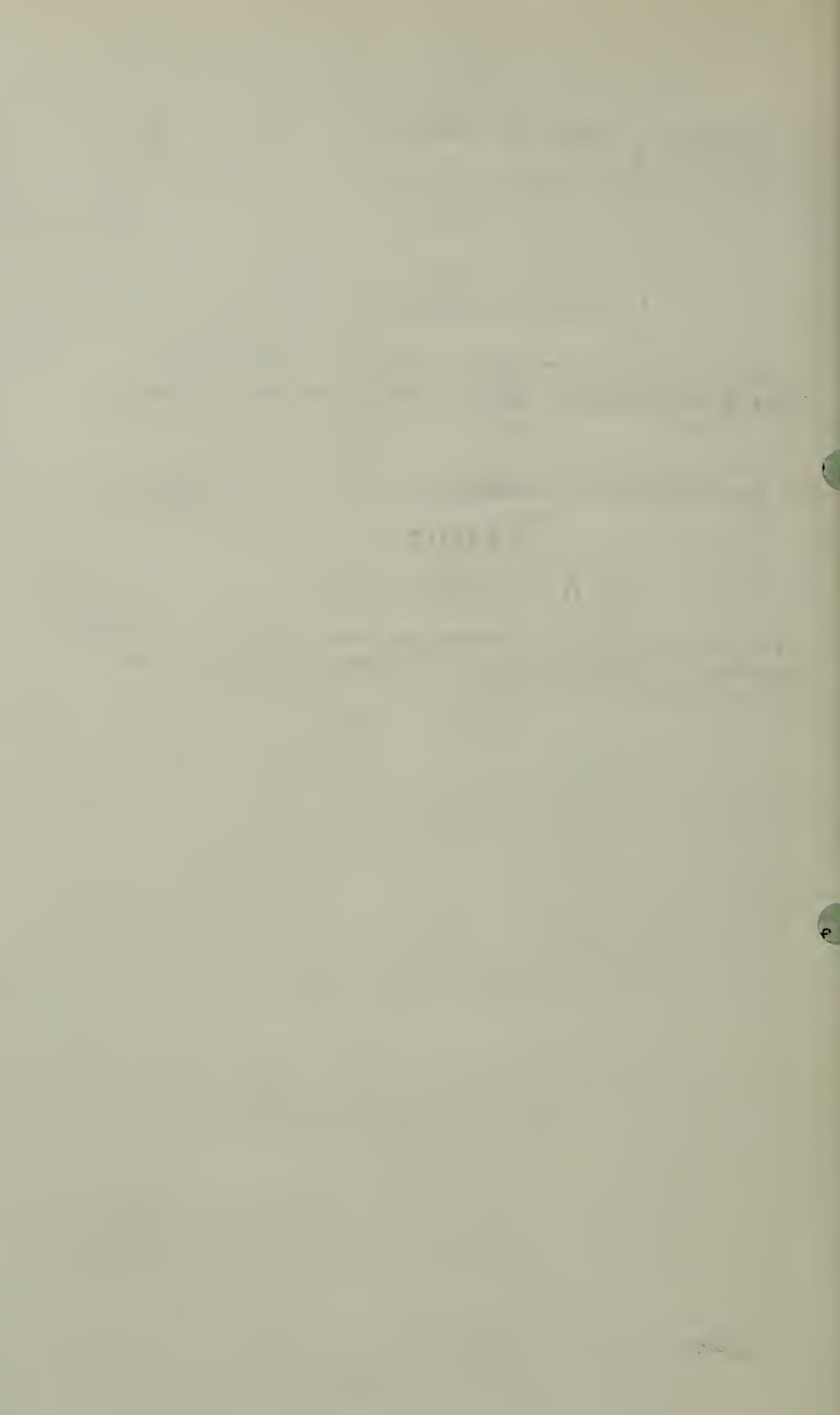
Mr. BOLLING, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

R E P O R T

[To accompany H. Res. 431]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution 431, report the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.





House Calendar No. 107

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 431

[Report No. 542]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 22, 1965

Mr. BOLLING, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution;
which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

RESOLUTION

1 *Resolved*, That, upon the adoption of this resolution, it
2 shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into
3 the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union
4 for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the
5 war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs
6 under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

7 After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill,
8 and shall continue not to exceed five hours, to be equally
9 divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority
10 member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill
11 shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At
12 the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment,

1 the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House
2 with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the
3 previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill
4 and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening
5 motion except one motion to recommit.

House Calendar No. 107

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 431

[Report No. 542]

RESOLUTION

Providing for the consideration of H.R. 8283,
a bill to expand the war on poverty and
enhance the effectiveness of the programs
under the Economic Opportunity Act of
1964.

By Mr. BORLING

JUNE 22, 1965

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be
printed

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

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OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
INFORMATION ONLY;
(NOT TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued June 28, 1965
For actions of June 25, 1965
89th-1st; No. 115

CONTENTS

Adjournment.....10	Fish and wildlife.....3	Recreation.....3
Agricultural	Food prices.....13	Soil conservation
appropriations.....1	Intergovernmental	programs.....6
Appropriations.....1,11	relations.....4	Water projects.....3
ASC committees.....14	Leave.....14	Water supply.....9
Education.....7	Manpower.....11	Wheat.....12
Farm labor.....11,13	Poverty.....5	Wildlife.....3
Farm program.....8,12	Reclamation.....2	

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate subcommittees approved agricultural appropriation bill and intergovernmental relations bill. House committee approved wheat title of farm bill.

SENATE

1. AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1966. A subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee approved for full committee consideration with amendments this bill, H. R. 8370. p. D579
2. RECLAMATION. Passed as reported S. 602, to expand the scope of the Small Reclamation Projects Act so as to increase the authorization from \$100 million to \$200 million, raise the limitations on Federal loans and grants for single projects from 5 million to \$7.5 million, make the interest rate the average rate payable to the Treasury rather than the average on long-term Government obligations; provide for fish and wildlife facilities; provide for affirmative committee action to accelerate projects, etc. pp. 14271-2
3. WATER PROJECTS. Agreed to the conference report on S. 1229, to provide uniform policies with respect to recreation and fish-wildlife benefits and costs of Federal multi-purpose water resource projects. This bill will now be sent to the President. pp. 14276-80

4. INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS. A subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee approved for full committee consideration with amendments S. 561, the proposed Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965. p. D579
5. POVERTY. Sen. Nelson submitted, for himself and others, an amendment to S. 1759 to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. pp. 14235-6
6. SOIL CONSERVATION. Sen. Murphy inserted a Calif. Legislature resolution urging Congress "to give the necessary and adequate support to the continuance of the agricultural conservation program and the Soil Conservation Service." p. 14258
7. EDUCATION. Sen. Yarborough inserted a letter supporting his GI education bill. p. 14258
8. FARM PROGRAM. Sen. Mondale stated, "We must not fail to find the way to permit our family farmers to operate on a business-like basis, with an adequate return on labor and capital," and inserted tables showing farm operating figures. pp. 14262-8
9. WATER. Sen. Kennedy, N. Y., inserted an article, "Water Ration in Northeast a Possibility." pp. 14268-9
10. RECESSED until Mon., June 28. p. 14309

HOUSE

11. APPROPRIATIONS. Received (June 23) supplemental appropriation estimates for the Labor Department as follows: \$126,070,000 for manpower development and training activities; and \$1,968,000 "to permit expansion of farm labor employment activities so that the Secretary of Labor may more quickly and accurately determine the need for temporary entry into the United States of foreign agricultural workers to aid in the planting and harvesting of crops." (H. Doc. 211)
12. WHEAT. The Agriculture Committee "approved the wheat title on H. R. 7097," the farm bill. p. D580

ITEM IN APPENDIX

13. FARM LABOR; FOOD PRICES. Extension of remarks of Rep. Talcott stating that "the manmade disaster caused by the withdrawal of competent labor is the true basic cause" of increased prices for food and inserting an article, "Food Prices--Where They're Headed." pp. A3345-6

BILL INTRODUCED

14. ASC COMMITTEES. S. 2206 by Sen. Monroney, to extend certain benefits of the Annual and Sick Leave Act, the Veterans' Preference Act, and the Classification Act to employees of county committees established pursuant to section 8 (b) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

0

COMMITTEE HEARINGS JUNE 28:

Farm bill, S. Agriculture. Extension of poverty program, S. Labor. Foreign Aid authorization, conferees (exec). Continuing resolution, H. Appropriations (exec).

were deprived of lands near Tokepa, Kans., a little over a century ago. These lands were tracts originally given to 23 persons by the Federal Government in the treaty of June 3, 1825. Although the Government had a managerial responsibility for these people and their heirs, and a duty to protect their financial interests, they were deprived of their land by various means over the next few years as settlers came to the region. Some allegedly were killed, some were driven away forcefully and some were swindled. Perhaps others were compensated, but not adequately.

This land is today in a state of confusion and titles for the present occupants who have no personal responsibility in this matter whatsoever, are not clear. There exists a state of confusion which should be subjected to careful scrutiny by the Government to accomplish two ends; first, to see that any governmental responsibility to the heirs of the original allottees be discharged if found valid, and, second, to quiet the titles to the disputed lands for the benefit of the present occupants.

The bill I propose would accomplish these things, in that it would permit the Congress, through its committees to study this matter carefully and systematically. It would be the vehicle through which the Bureau of Indian Affairs could render its position and the results of its research to the Congress for its deliberation. It would give a long overdue hearing to persons who have sought a judgment in this matter for years. I am hopeful of speedy action on this matter.

The bill directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the claims for loss of property to the heirs of the persons named in the bill, the amount of the claims to be determined by the congressional committee after hearing testimony. The bill is expected to be referred to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The Secretary of the Interior is directed to determine the heirs of the individuals named in the bill and the payments provided to them are to be in full and final satisfaction of all claims against the United States growing out of the loss of Indian land allotted to the original persons named in the bill.

My colleague, the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] joins me in cosponsoring the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2203) for the relief of Adel Lessert Bellmard, Clement Lessert, Josephine Gonvil Pappan, Julie Gonvil Pappan, Pelagie Gonvil Franceour de Aubri, Victore Gonvil Pappan, Marine Gonvil, Lafleche Gonvil, Louis Laventure, Elizabeth Carbonau Vertifelle, Pierre Carbonau, Louis Joncas, Basil Joncas, James Joncas, Elizabeth Datcherute, Joseph Butler, William Rodger, Joseph Cote, four children of Cicili Compare and Joseph James, or the heirs of any who may be deceased, introduced by Mr. HARRIS (for himself and Mr. MONRONEY), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

EXTENSION OF CERTAIN BENEFITS TO EMPLOYEES OF COUNTY COMMITTEES

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a bill to extend certain benefits of the Annual and Sick Leave Act, the Veterans' Preference Act, and the Classification Act, to certain employees of county committees under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, when these employees are appointed to positions under the Department of Agriculture.

This bill would grant these employees rights and privileges in regard to the accumulation of annual leave and sick leave, veterans preference, salary classification, and other benefits, by crediting to their account the service they have had as county committee employees. But it would do so only when these employees are appointed to positions in the Department of Agriculture. It would not apply if they go to work for any other department or agency.

Some of the best trained and most capable Department of Agriculture employees have had previous experience on county committees. In 1960, Congress extended to these people the benefits of Federal health insurance and life insurance, and civil service retirement. This bill goes a step further in recognizing their valuable experience and service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2206) to extend certain benefits of the Annual and Sick Leave Act, the Veterans' Preference Act, and the Classification Act to employees of county committees established pursuant to section 8(b) of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MONRONEY, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution with respect to funds for the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure. I ask that it be referred to the proper committee for consideration. At the same time, I ask that the text of the resolution and a letter to the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary relative thereto be published at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the resolution and letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The resolution (S. Res. 120) was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows:

Resolved, That the sum of money authorized for the expenditure of the Committee on the Judiciary, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, under S. Res. 39, eighty-ninth Congress, first session, be increased from \$150,000 to \$175,000.

The letter presented by Mr. Long of Missouri is as follows:

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, SUBCOMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE,

June 25, 1965.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: On this date, I have introduced a resolution requesting additional funds for use of the Committee on the Judiciary and any authorized subcommittee thereof, for study and investigation of administrative practices and procedures. The request is for an additional \$25,000. It is very likely that all of these funds will not be needed; any unexpended funds will return to the Treasury; but there are certain vital activities of the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure which should continue without letup during the congressional recess. These activities would have to be curtailed if the present funds were not supplemented.

These activities relate primarily to the investigation of invasions of privacy by the Federal departments and agencies. This investigation has been able to progress more slowly than many of us would like. It has been more difficult and costly than we had anticipated. We have had uncommon difficulty in getting at the facts. We have become increasingly aware of the necessity before recommending restraints on Government snooping, of examining into snooping by other segments of society. In this regard, we have scheduled out-of-town hearings which were not anticipated at an earlier date.

All of this necessitates additional funds. We have requested \$25,000. You may be assured that we will use these funds carefully and return to the Treasury any that are not vitally necessary to our subcommittee activities.

For your information, this request has been approved by all members of the subcommittee.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

EDWARD V. LONG,

Chairman, Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure.

AUTHORIZATION OF CERTAIN CONSTRUCTION AT MILITARY INSTALLATIONS—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 296

Mr. DOUGLAS (for himself and Mr. MILLER) submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (H.R. 8439) to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

THE WAR ON POVERTY—AMENDMENTS

PUTTING THE UNEMPLOYED TO WORK ON CONSTRUCTIVE JOBS

AMENDMENT NO. 297

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, for myself and Senators MORSE, YARBOROUGH, CLARK, RANDOLPH, WILLIAMS of New Jersey, PELL, KENNEDY of New York, and JAVITS, I send to the desk an amendment to S. 1759, a bill to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The amendment would eliminate the 21-year age limitation in the present Neighborhood Youth Corps provisions of the antipoverty program—title Ib.

The amendment is designed to accomplish two purposes: to give unemployed men and women constructive work experience; to simultaneously begin a substantial effort to preserve our wasting natural resources, to beautify the Nation, to increase the value of our recreational areas, and to clean up our cities.

It would provide an additional \$150 million for work-experience programs for "chronically unemployed poor adults." The programs would be administered by existing agencies at the local, State, and Federal level.

For local and State programs, funds are to be expended on a 90-10 matching basis. No more than \$50 million of the authorized funds are to be expended on Federal lands.

The program would be supervised by the Department of Labor under the broad authority of the Office of Economic Opportunity. This is the agency which has operated perhaps the most successful of the various antipoverty programs, the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Discussions with Department officials indicate that the experience already gained can be readily transferred to the parallel adult program envisioned by this proposal.

Today America faces twin crises: Through sheer failure to act we are wasting our natural resources at an ever-increasing rate; at the same time there are millions of men who want to work but cannot find jobs who are wasting their lives in poverty. I propose that we face both crises boldly and that we begin a massive program to put men to work and conserve our natural resources.

I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 297) was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as follows:

AMENDMENT No. 297

On page 3, beginning with line 1, strike out all through line 11 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—EXTENSION AND REVISION

"SEC. 5. (a) Section 111 of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 111. The purpose of this part is to provide useful work experience opportunities through participation in Federal, State, and community work training programs. These opportunities shall be afforded to unemployed young men and women and to chronically unemployed poor adult workers with poor employment prospects so that their employability may be increased or their education resumed or continued and so that public agencies and private nonprofit organizations (other than political parties) will be enabled to carry out programs which will permit or contribute to an undertaking or service in the public interest that would not otherwise be provided, or will contribute to the conservation, beautification, and development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, or local government parks, highways, or other lands."

"(b) Section 112 of such title is amended—

"(1) by striking out 'young people' and inserting in lieu thereof 'persons'; and

"(2) by inserting 'and on Federal property as' immediately after 'community activities'.

"(c) Section 113 (a) of such title is amended—

"(1) by inserting 'Federal,' immediately before 'State' in the matter preceding paragraph (1) thereof; and

"(2) by striking out 'or will contribute to the conservation, development, or management of the natural resources of the State or community or to the development, management, or protection of State or community recreational areas;' in paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof 'or will contribute to the management, conservation, beautification, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, or local government parks, highways, or other lands;'

"(d) Section 114(a) of such title is amended—

"(1) by striking out 'limited' and inserting in lieu thereof 'open'; and

"(2) by substituting for the period at the end thereof a comma and adding the following: 'and to chronically unemployed poor employed adults with poor employment prospects provided that not more than \$150,000,000 of the funds appropriated for work training programs under this title may be used to pay the salaries of such adult enrollees.'

"(e) Section 114(c) of such title is amended by striking out 'youths' and inserting in lieu thereof 'enrollees'.

"(f) Section 115 of such title is amended by striking out the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'Federal assistance to any person pursuant to this part shall not exceed 90 per centum of the costs of such program, including costs of administration, unless the Director determines, pursuant to regulations, adopted and promulgated by him establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assistance in excess of such percentage is required in furtherance of the purposes of this part. The limitation contained in this section shall not apply to projects for the purpose of improving Federal lands or other property but no more than \$50,000,000 of the funds appropriated for work training programs under this title shall be available for projects on Federal lands or property.'

"(g) The title of such title I is amended to read as follows:

"TITLE I—YOUTH AND WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS"

On page 9, line 23, strike out "\$1,500,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$1,650,000,000".

On page 9, line 25, strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof the following: "Provided, That \$150,000,000 of the sum appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, shall be used for adult work programs under title I of this Act."

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Under authority of the order of the Senate of June 16, 1965, the names of Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. ERVIN, Mr. FONG, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. TYDINGS, and Mr. YARBOROUGH were added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 2152) to amend title 18 of the United States Code to enable the courts to deal more effectively with the problem of narcotic addiction, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. DODD (for himself and Mr. HARTKE) on June 16, 1965.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. SCOTT:

Editorial entitled "Good Works by the Sons of Italy," published in the Philadelphia Inquirer.

By Mr. THURMOND:

Editorial entitled "Facts, Not Myths, on Reds," published in The State, of Columbia, S.C., of June 12, 1965; and Senator THURMOND's newsletter of May 31, 1965, entitled "The Radical Left."

Article on error by the Supreme Court in the Brown desegregation case, written by John J. Syron and published in the Manchester (N.H.) Union-Leader of June 1, 1965.

Excerpts from sermon on the church, delivered by Rev. Marlin C. Hardman, pastor of the Barcroft Community Bible Church, of Arlington, Va.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

Article entitled "The Story," being a summary of the history of the American Road-builders Association, including a brochure published in connection with the dedication of its national headquarters building.

SENATOR BREWSTER URGES SETTLEMENT OF NCAA-AAU DISPUTE

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I am disturbed to note that there is continuing dissension between the Amateur Athletic Union and the National Collegiate Athletic Association. Such squabbling has been going on for a number of years, despite the efforts of two presidents to resolve it.

The feuding takes on new importance now. The time is approaching for the San Diego track and field competition, which will also be the qualifying trial for the Russian-United States meet to be held later this summer.

Many of our finest collegiate athletes will probably decide not to compete at San Diego because they cannot get NCAA sanction for the meet. Even such top athletes as Gerry Lindgren, the 10,000-meter runner, and 800-meter runner Tom Farrell will compete only at the risk of reprisals by the NCAA. Such a situation will undoubtedly lower the quality of the American team which will compete against the Russians.

There can be no question that sports contests have an important effect on the prestige of the nations involved. Our record against the Russians is especially important for this reason. We must send our finest athletes to compete.

Especially in track and field, which is perhaps our strongest point, we cannot allow petty bickering to affect the quality of the team which will represent the United States.

I therefore strongly urge the parties involved to resolve the dispute as soon as possible, and settle down to the more important task of putting together the best possible group of American athletes. And if the NCAA and the AAU cannot resolve their longstanding difficulties, then I believe that the Congress of the

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
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OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
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Issued July 21, 1965
For actions of July 20, 1965
89th-1st; No. 131

CONTENTS

Appropriations.....	3,11	Flood control.....	13	Opinion poll.....	15
Census.....	4	Food prices.....	18,22	Poverty.....	2,17
Cigarette labeling.....	19	Foreign trade.....	6	Reclamation.....	7
Conservation.....	14	Forestry.....	14	Research.....	5,24
Consumers.....	18	Highways.....	21	Trade fair.....	25
Electrification.....	26	Lands.....	8	Transportation.....	9
Farm labor.....	12,23	Natural resources.....	24	Water pollution.....	20
Farm program.....	1,16	Nomination.....	10	Wheat.....	16

HIGHLIGHTS: House committee reported farm bill. House debated bill to expand poverty program. Rep. Purcell defended farm bill against charges it would raise bread prices. Rep. Callan praised USDA's information bulletins listing foods in heavy supply. Rep. Rosenthal commended USDA regulatory services.

HOUSE

1. FARM PROGRAM. The Agriculture Committee reported with amendment H. R. 9811, the farm bill (H. Rept. 631). p. 16939
Rep. Purcell defended the wheat provisions of the farm bill against criticism that it would cause an increase in the price of bread and stated that "the wheat certificate program would increase the cost of all wheat products to the American consumer by about \$1.60 per capita in an entire year." p. 16934
2. POVERTY. Began debate on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. pp. 16851-912, 16928-9

3. LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1966. Received the conference report on this bill, H. R. 8775, which includes items for the Government Printing Office and the Library of Congress (H. Rept. 630). pp. 16937-8
4. CENSUS. A subcommittee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee voted to report to the full committee with amendment H. R. 6183, to provide a mid-decade census of population, unemployment, and housing. pp. D674-5
5. RESEARCH. Rep. Cleveland inserted a letter in support of his bill, H. R. 5647, to establish humane standards for the treatment of experimental animals used in research financed by the Federal Government. p. 16929
6. FOREIGN TRADE. Received from GAO reports on "displacement of commercial dollar sales of tallow to the United Arab Republic, Department of State, Department of Agriculture, Agency for International Development." p. 16939

SENATE

7. RECLAMATION. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported with amendment S. 34, to make certain provisions in connection with the reconstruction of the Garrison diversion unit, Missouri River Basin project (S. Rept. 470). p. 16747
8. LANDS. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported with amendments S. 1413, to provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Confederated Tribes of Colville Indians located in Wash. State and the individual members thereof (S. Rept. 490). p. 16747.
The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported without amendment S. 1190, to provide that certain limitations shall not apply to certain land patented to Alaska for the use and benefit of the Univ. of Alaska (S. Rept. 496). p. 16747
The "Daily Digest" states that the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 903, to add certain lands to the Kings Canyon National Park, Calif. p. D672
9. TRANSPORTATION. The "Daily Digest" states that the Commerce Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) S. 1588, to authorize research and development in high-speed ground transportation. p. D671
10. NOMINATION. The nomination of Harry R. Anderson, Calif., to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, was confirmed. p. 16846
11. APPROPRIATIONS. Received from this Department a report on an "overobligation" within the Department. p. 16747
12. FARM LABOR. Sen. Nelson inserted an article calling attention to "unfortunate" living conditions of many migratory workers and acknowledging the efforts being made by Labor Secretary Wirtz in attempting to better these conditions. pp. 16774-5
13. FLOOD CONTROL. Sen. Symington spoke of the flood damage in the midwest and in support of the enactment of the rivers and harbors bill. p. 16779

Scheuer	Stubblefield	Walker, Miss.
Schmidhauser	Sullivan	Walker, N. Mex.
Schneebell	Sweeney	Watkins
Schweiker	Talcott	Watson
Secrest	Taylor	Watts
Selden	Teague, Calif.	Weltner
Senner	Tenzer	Whalley
Shriver	Thomas	White, Tex.
Sickles	Thompson, N.J.	Whitener
Sikes	Thompson, Tex.	Whitten
Sisk	Thomson, Wis.	Widnall
Skubitz	Todd	Williams
Slack	Trimble	Willis
Smith, Calif.	Tuck	Wilson, Bob
Smith, Iowa	Tunney	Wilson,
Smith, N.Y.	Tupper	Charles H.
Smith, Va.	Tuten	Wolff
Springer	Udall	Wright
Stafford	Ullman	Wyatt
Staggers	Utt	Wydler
Stalbaum	Van Dierlin	Yates
Stanton	Vanik	Young
Steed	Vigorito	Younger
Stratton	Vivian	Zablocki

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—23

Bonner	Keogh	Scott
Bow	Lindsay	Shipley
Clawson, Del	Macdonald	Stephens
Cohelan	Mailliard	Teague, Tex.
Flynt	Martin, Mass.	Toll
Halleck	Murray	Waggonner
Hansen, Idaho	Roncalio	White, Idaho
Jacobs	Schisler	

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Keogh with Mr. Halleck.
 Mr. Waggonner with Mr. Hansen of Idaho.
 Mr. Toll with Mr. Mailliard.
 Mr. Roncalio with Mr. Lindsay.
 Mr. Stephens with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts.
 Mr. Shipley with Mr. Del Clawson.
 Mr. Macdonald with Mr. Bow.
 Mr. White of Idaho with Mr. Murray.
 Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Schisler.
 Mr. Cohelan with Mr. Bonner.
 Mr. Scott with Mr. Flynt.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 431 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That, upon the adoption of this resolution, it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill, and shall continue not to exceed five hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BOLLING] for 1 hour.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield one-half my time to the gentleman from

California [Mr. SMITH], and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution, House Resolution 431, makes in order consideration of the bill H.R. 8283, providing for the continuation of the Office of Economic Opportunity and increasing its authorization.

I believe every Member knows this is a very controversial matter and a very complicated matter. For that reason the Committee on Rules has provided a long period of general debate—5 hours.

Mr. Speaker, at the moment I have no requests for time and therefore reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may use.

(Mr. SMITH of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 431 provides an open rule, 5 hours of debate for the consideration of H.R. 8283, Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 carried an authorization for an appropriation 1 year; \$785.4 million was appropriated for fiscal 1965; \$947.5 million had been authorized in Public Law 88-452. As of the end of May 1965, about \$650 million had been obligated, and the Office of Economic Opportunity indicated that they would end the fiscal year with only a small deficit.

More than half of the total appropriation last year was funded for title I—Jobs Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and work studies programs—and title II—community action and adult basic education programs.

Although the committee report on page 1 states that it was not possible to completely judge some of the programs of this great new approach to the elimination of poverty, because the program is only in its initial stages of operation, the bill authorizes an appropriation of \$1.895 billion. It is interesting to note that OEO had asked for \$1.5 billion for fiscal 1966, but it was increased by the majority of the committee to \$1.895 billion. This is broken down as follows:

Title I, \$825 million; title II, \$680 million; title III, \$70 million; title V, \$300 million; and title VI, \$20 million.

The brief hearings on the community action program were shut off abruptly over the protests of committee Republicans. The Republicans then set up a task force and, with the cooperation of the Republican policy committee, have prepared information setting forth the more serious defects in the program and have drawn a number of conclusions which they believe will help the program. I assume that they will be presented in detail during the general debate.

H.R. 8283 follows pretty much the bill as passed last year with the exception of asking for more money and with the seriously objected to major change removing the only effective State control over Federal poverty programs, to wit: the veto power of the Governor. H.R.

8283 gives authority to the Poverty Director to veto the veto of a Governor. This action has been strongly opposed by Governors of both parties inasmuch as it takes away from them their only check on the Federal Government and its determination as to what is good for a State.

While information concerning the programs of the war on poverty is difficult to find, some is available which raises very serious doubts about the programs. Some programs are clearly in deep trouble. The solution is not more money but a careful evaluation of the programs.

As an example, the Job Corps has been praised as a successful program. Although no accurate information has been made available by either the committee or the OEO, as to the dropout rate at the camps, newspapers report that 35 percent have dropped out at the Catocin, Md., camp, and this has not been denied. As to the Neighborhood Youth Corps, as yet no programs for job training have been given to the enrollees. They are merely being kept off the streets at \$1.25 per hour, this by the direction of the Secretary of Labor, though the act requires pay to be based on the area's prevailing wage rates. The community action programs seems to be in a considerable state of confusion because of the lack of clear guidelines and definitions. There are none as to how a community action board is to be established, and so jurisdictional squabbles have developed. There is no definition of "community" so there is confusion over who or how many people from an area may apply for grants. The result is a struggle for "control" of the poor.

So, Mr. Speaker, at a time when the administration's war on poverty is proving a monstrous boondoggle, Congress is being asked to appropriate twice the amount of money for the next fiscal year as was approved for fiscal 1965, despite the fact that no meaningful evaluation of the effect of the program has been offered Congress.

Public criticism of the conduct of the "war" is aplenty. From all across the land, we hear of local Project Head Starts, first official undertaking of the community action program, being beset with conflict over power between rival welfare and political groups. Big city politicians are handing out Federal funds on a patronage basis to a large number of highly paid administrators, consultants, coordinators, teachers, office workers, and so forth. There is little evidence of money getting down to the poor, nor of the funds being used to help them get jobs.

Local welfare agencies, both public and private, which in general perform satisfactorily, are concerned over losses of their trained social workers to newly established groups supported by Federal funds. The Federal programs come along, offer more money, and the local agencies lose their qualified personnel. This is just one more example of the Central Federal Government intruding into areas of local responsibility and seizing control. It is one more step in the drive of the welfare-staters toward com-

plete erosion of State and local authority.

It has now been established that young people are not interested in the war on poverty programs as planned for them. For example, Job Corps applicants in Washington, D.C., who have accepted appointments, have numbered 36, as against a quota of 500 set by the District of Columbia office of the war on poverty agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity. The agency had represented Washington as being an area where the poverty problem was particularly acute, and where the Job Corps could accomplish big things.

To make the new bill for extending the "war" another year all the more unpalatable, it eliminates an original requirement that no funds may be used for payment to any person who refuses to make an affidavit that he is not a member of any organization that advocates overthrow of the U.S. Government by force or violence.

The best that may be said of the program's first year of operations is that it has not proved its worth to the extent of deserving nearly \$2 billion for expanded activities in the second year. The worst to be said is that it has proved to be a costly blunder, which never should have been undertaken in the first place, and which should now be abandoned.

The Republican members of the Rules Committee are opposed to the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of California. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman was "dead right" when he spoke of the high salaries being paid to administrative officials in this alleged poverty office.

I have hastily put together a few figures. In the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare there are 226 supergrades, which means 1 supergrade paid from \$19,000 to \$24,500, for every 372 employees. In the Commerce Department there are 326 supergrades, which means 1 supergrade employee for every 101 employees. In the Department of Agriculture there are 198 supergrades, which means 1 supergrade for every 525 employees. In the Department of Defense there are 873 supergrades, or 1 supergrade for every 1,175 employees.

In the Office of Economic Opportunity there are 65 supergrades paid up to \$24,500 a year under civil service, or 1 supergrade employee for every 18 employees in the alleged poverty setup.

If this is an austere, poverty operation, then I do not know the meaning of the words. On the basis of employees to top officials this is one of the lushest payrolls in the Government and I have not even included the several directors who are paid up to \$28,000 per year.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his interesting statistics.

I now yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES].

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, first I would like to say that there is no opposition to the adoption of the rule. We have been given an open rule which will make it possible for any Member to offer any amendments to the legislation that he so chooses.

Mr. Speaker, my record in this Congress will show that I have never been one to rise in opposition for opposition's sake. I do not do so now.

We, in the United States of America, enjoy the highest standard of living ever known to man. I would that every person living in our boundaries could share in the bountiful life that is possible here.

As one who knew poverty as a youth, I have compassion for the impoverished and favor all constructive measures that would improve their situation.

When the President made his antipoverty speech last year, I concurred in his objectives and looked forward toward joining in his battle to clean up poverty. I thought that his advisers had devised some new, well-thought-out method that would raise the income of those on the lowest level.

In the previous Congress, we had attacked this problem through educational and retraining acts. We had done this in a nonpartisan manner.

I was hoping that the President would adopt this same approach. I guess this was too much to expect in a national election year.

It was with a deep sense of regret that I read the administration bill. Instead of a well engineered method of attacking the primary causes of poverty, here was a conglomeration of old ideas wrapped together with a bright antipoverty label. Many of these proposals had previously been discarded as unworkable.

Unworkable, they have proved to be. Despite the efforts of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunities to dress them up in Madison Avenue glitter and gold, they have failed. I do not express this as my judgment alone. It is the judgment of those best able to evaluate the program. I speak of the poor.

The hearings held by the subcommittee on the poverty war program, of the House Education and Labor Committee, were brought to an abrupt conclusion. The reason was evident. The image of the administration as a champion of the poor was suffering irreparable damage because of the testimony being offered. The attacks were the most severe that I have ever heard in my many years in the Congress.

Let me assure you that these attacks did not come from the minority side of the committee. Without exception, they were presented by either the majority side or by witnesses invited by them.

Many of these pointed out the outright capture of the community action phase of the program by big city political bosses. These bosses were using it as a means of recreating a series of Tammy halls in their cities.

On August 7, I called to the attention of this House a letter written by Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky, then the principal proponent of the Antipoverty Act. This letter, never meant for the public's eye,

detailed the political motivation behind the bill then before us.

Mr. Yarmolinsky was promptly disavowed by the bill's author and we were assured by that distinguished gentleman that he had been promised by the "highest authority" that Mr. Yarmolinsky would have no place in the operation of the antipoverty program.

I took this to mean that he had been publicly discredited for bringing politics into the war on poverty.

Mr. Yarmolinsky is not part of the program but most certainly the political motivations behind the program are plainly visible for all to see.

The enactment of the antipoverty bill was of great aid to the administration during the past national elections. As a campaign project, it was almost without equal. It undoubtedly brought hundreds of thousands of the poor into the Johnson-Humphrey ranks.

A beautiful picture was painted for the poor. Director Shriver stood upright using the long bow to shoot an arrow in the war on poverty. The arrow has begun to turn, and lo and behold, it will turn into a boomerang that will destroy those who launched it.

The Antipoverty Act as now constituted cannot effectively attack the basic causes of poverty. Many of our people are now aware of this fact and as the program develops, more will be so.

The American people will resent the use of the antipoverty program for political purposes. Just this week, I received a letter from a constituent from my district. This party stated that his local post office was authorized to hire five summer helpers under the national youth program. When I was a youngster, I had to work summers, so I am sympathetic toward this idea. Certainly we should help the poor youngsters. However, according to my constituent, no search was made for the most needy youngsters. Instead, the jobs were given to five boys recommended by the Democratic county leader. None of these boys could be ranked among the needy. Incidentally one of them was the son of the local Democratic political boss. Yes, he is supporting the reenactment of the Economic Opportunity Act. His son wants the job next summer, too.

Now they are before us with a demand for the practically doubling of funds. In no place have I seen any plan for the constructive spending of these moneys.

Last year, I offered a bill that would have created a commission to evaluate the programs affecting the impoverished. It would also have defined the unmet community and individual needs to which new programs might be directed. It then would have evolved programs to meet these needs. It provided for an appropriation sufficiently large for us to have availed ourselves of the best technical minds so as to create a program that would not only declare war on poverty but carry on that war to a successful conclusion.

This is the method by which any organization carries a program to success. If my bill had been adopted last year, we would now be in a position to pass on

legislation that we could all endorse—legislation for which we would be proud to accept the responsibility.

This logical approach to this important problem received no proper recognition. The reason for this is obvious. It was not a vote-getting bill, and the national elections were in the offing.

I still hope that we can salvage something from this program. I would like to see a Job Corps patterned after the Manpower Retraining Act. The responsibility for its performance placed in the experienced hands of the Department of Labor.

The minority will submit many constructive amendments here today. We would not abandon any solution to maintain an issue.

When the President started the cleanup poverty campaign, he named Sargent Shriver as "Mr. Clean." That astute gentleman has been able to devote but half of his time to its administration. We are now asked to double the appropriation and still have it retain a half-time Director. We should rectify this situation today.

We have seen unwarranted attacks on some of the Governors of our States. The Office of Economic Opportunity, through its Director, was accusing them of "foot dragging" on projects for which his own Office was at fault. Certainly we should not put our State Governors at the mercy of such an inefficient, politically oriented agency. The final decision on all programs should be continued in the hands of the chief executives of the States.

Mr. Speaker, in 1964, when this bill was first brought out of committee, I did not sign the minority report. I wanted to give it every chance. It has now been tried and found wanting.

Let us recognize it for what it truly is—an attempt to "romance" the poor.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER].

(Mr. COLMER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I approach this subject with some misgiving. I do not think there is anything that I could say here that would have any effect upon the final vote on this bill. But I am assuming that the bill is going to pass. Therefore, I wanted to—and I feel I owe it to my constituents and to the country—discuss briefly one phase of the administration of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I did not support this bill in the beginning and I cannot support its expansion. I do not feel that it is a proper approach to the problem its proponents say we face.

Mr. Speaker, the thing that I particularly wanted to call to the attention of this House is a letter that I received in which I feel the Members would be interested from a constituent down in my district, a Negro woman.

Mr. Speaker, this woman is possessed of two college degrees. She is a teacher in the public schools of the city of Hattiesburg, Miss.

When this program "Head Start" was announced, she applied for a position as

one of the teachers in the program locally there.

She was refused employment upon the ground that she had not been active in the community in the civil rights movement. If that sounds a bit harsh to you, let me say that it is substantiated by the fact that the questionnaire submitted asked, among other things, indicating the background of the applicant, "What has been your experience in the civil rights movement?"

She was turned down. In discussing it with one of her neighbors, another Negro woman, a woman with an eighth-grade education, she found this woman had been employed in this movement. Whereupon, she went back to the interviewer and told him that here was a woman with only an eighth-grade education who had also not been active in the civil rights movement but had been employed.

What happened? The woman with the eighth-grade education was also denied an opportunity to work in the movement; in other words, she had been employed and she was fired.

Who was doing the interviewing? According to my constituents, the school teacher with two degrees from colleges was interviewed by a Mr. Fawcett. I wrote Mr. Shriver, and I furnished the woman's letter. I have had the privilege of knowing Mr. Shriver. I think he is one of the able men in this administration. I know he has one of the most pleasing personalities and the ability to sell his product. So I am not directing my criticism to Mr. Shriver, although he is responsible for the administration of this program. I know in a thing as big as this it is pretty difficult to keep up with all of the matters involved.

But nearly 3 weeks elapsed and I had not received a reply to my letter to Mr. Shriver. This bill came up before the Rules Committee and I thought I had an obligation to the people, to this woman who was well qualified for this job, my constituent, and the public generally. So I explored this matter in the Rules Committee. I referred to the fact that I had not had a reply to my letter. This was about noon. Well, I got a reply that evening before the sun went down, an interim report. Mr. Shriver then asked a member of his staff, and the man who is running the program down in the State of Mississippi to come to my office. They reported that the qualifications are not based upon this matter of engagement in the civil rights movement. I say that in fairness to them.

But I do not know to this day, and I talked to them for an hour and one-half, who this Mr. Fawcett was. They said he was not an employee; he was not on the Government payroll. But what was he doing down there, making or taking these applications and employing these people. They tell me he was from the great State of Oregon and that now he has returned to the great State of Oregon. That is just part of the story.

What happens here? \$1,200,000 or was it \$1,400,000 was allocated for this head start program in Mississippi—to a small Negro college in north Mississippi. I doubt, and I say this in all seriousness,

that this college ever had \$1,200,000 or \$1,400,000 in its total existence.

I am not casting any aspersions on the college or on those people who run it. I am trying to show you how this thing is administered.

What happens then? A man from New York, a Ph. D., a Dr. Levin, comes down to Mississippi and he contracts with the college to administer this program. And where did Dr. Levin have his headquarters? He has his headquarters out at Edwards, Miss., a very small town on some ground there that is—I do not know—the National Council of Churches has something to do with it. Upon that ground or campus or whatever it is is centered—COFO, SNCC and all of these—what I am pleased to term, left-wing organizations. Edwards is located just outside of the capital of Mississippi, Jackson, and it was from this little town of Edwards that all of these demonstrators moved upon the capital of Mississippi here recently. You read about it. You saw it on TV. Where 850 of them were arrested for marching upon the capital in violation of the ordinance of the city and statutes of the State. To do what? To protest the repeal of the laws that they say are obnoxious, the voting laws, that the Governor had called the legislature into special session to repeal. Bear in mind, the legislature was in session to repeal these laws that they say are so obnoxious. They said the Governor had some ulterior motive. As I say, they marched upon the capital and they were arrested. Oh, yes, as usual, you heard a lot about police brutality, but they were unable to show any evidences of it.

That is the old slogan.

I am interested—and some people here believe it, and some people sitting over there believe it—in the progress of the Negro race.

I said that I did not support this program, or this legislation, but since the recipients are largely, if not totally, in my State, the small Negro children, I believe it could be developed into a worthwhile program. I want to see them make progress. As I have said before, the answer to the Negro problem is evolution, not revolution. But if it is going to be administered in that kind of an atmosphere it cannot be a successful program.

I saw a primer which was put out by some of these organizations to which I referred, which conducted seminars or schools, that was critical of the President of the United States and which quoted rabid statements that had been made by irresponsible civil rights leaders. I do not know that that primer is going to be used for these children of tender age. Perhaps they will get up a new one. I do not know what it will be.

I say to you what I said to Dr. Levin in my office the other day: You cannot have a successful program in that kind of an atmosphere. You cannot bring the Dr. Levins and Mr. Fawcetts from New York, from Oregon and from other States into a local community and put across a program of that nature with the backing of these leftwing organizations.

Mr. Speaker, that is my story. I know I will be criticized for having told it, but

I believe it is something Members ought to know about.

I have not touched upon the basic philosophy of the overall bill, but even had I supported this legislation in the beginning I could not support it now, considering the experience and the observations I have had of it in my district.

Perhaps I have served no good purpose. Perhaps it has been a good thing, if it does nothing other than to forcibly call the attention of those who are responsible for the expenditure of these billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money to the way some of it is being administered.

Mr. Speaker, the letter to which I referred is as follows:

HATTIESBURG, MISS.,
May 24, 1965.

Congressman WILLIAM COLMER,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN COLMER: I am a Negro resident of Hattiesburg, Forrest County, and have resided in Hattiesburg 37 years. At present I am employed by the Hattiesburg Public School System as a classroom teacher on the elementary level. My parents, Rev. and Mrs. R. W. Woullard have resided in Hattiesburg for 44 years. I am a graduate of Lincoln University, Missouri, with a major in sociology. I have also had 20 hours of education at our State institutions. I am known in Hattiesburg by most of the older residents, in particular, Mr. Earl Roseberry, as he was the person that referred me to contact you to seek the answers to questions that I shall outline to you.

Congressman, I am interested in the operational phase of "Operation Headstart" in the city of Hattiesburg. As you know the Hattiesburg area will operate under the auspices of the Mary Holmes Center of West Point. A Mr. Fawcett (white) was sent into the Hattiesburg area to serve as coordinator for the five centers that have been approved here. His headquarters, or rather the only place I know of to contact him, is at the Ministers Project on Mobile Street. I contacted him to inquire of employment in the social work aspect of the program here. He informed me that he would secure the information for me after a meeting in Edwards. Meanwhile, a widespread rumor developed in the community that only local Negroes that had been active in the civil rights movement were eligible for these jobs. I questioned him about this and he vehemently denied it. Later, I was asked by one of my neighbors who operates a kindergarten and had been selected to serve on the committee for my precinct, to work as an instructor. This person was the only one placed on the committee that did not have a record with the civil rights movement as a worker. Later, Mr. Fawcett came to my neighbor and asked for her resignation from the committee because of her nonparticipation in civil rights work and because she was recommending a teacher who did not enter civil rights activities. This local committee approves or rejects all names submitted for work in Operation Headstart in my district. The entire committee is composed of persons that have been active in the civil rights movement in Hattiesburg. The average education level of the committee is 8th grade with the highest academic level reached by a member of the committee being the 10th grade. In a later conversation with Mr. Fawcett, he admitted that lack of par-

ticipation in the civil rights movement is legitimate grounds for rejecting an applicant by the committee.

Congressman, this is what I would appreciate very much if you would answer for me: first, has this Federal money that has been appropriated for the Mary Holmes Center and the Hattiesburg area specifically been designated to be used as rewards for local Negro residents that work with the civil rights movement without regards to qualifications academically, or was it designed for the underprivileged child to help eradicate emotional and other problems stemming from poverty in giving to the child a readiness program preparatory for beginning public school.

The next question I would like answered is, Do not the people who are to serve on these committees and work as instructors need have some qualifications regardless of their participation in movement work?

I am sure you can see what a grave injustice will be done to the children of Hattiesburg who are eligible for this program if it continues in the hands of people who do not have the slightest idea of what the expected outcomes are to be.

Congressman, I would very much appreciate it if you would spare time from your busy schedule to answer the above-stated questions.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. NAREATHA W. NAYLOR.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Moss). The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 8283, with Mr. ROONEY of New York in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

(Mr. POWELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill H.R. 8283, the 1965 amendments to the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, the enabling legislation for the war on poverty.

I would like to thank all of my colleagues on this side of the aisle for their great contributions and to thank the one or two on the other side of the aisle on the committee who have helped in putting this through. I would like to pay

special tribute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] for his excellent work. He has the authorship of the bill.

Mr. Chairman, this new attack on want has carried the country to a higher threshold of compassion for those imprisoned by poverty.

In his moving inaugural address of just a short 19 months ago, President Johnson touched us all with these words:

In a land of wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty. In a land rich in harvest, children must not go hungry.

If there is any irreducible minimum of standards for the Great Society, it is framed within those declarations.

Slowly, almost obstinately, we have come to an embarrassing realization: for a society that can orbit men around the earth today in an electrifying demonstration of technological excellence, poverty is an inexcusable shame.

Even with the proud mastery of outer space, the Great Society translates into little more than a catch phrase for 9½ million white and black families who survive—not live—but barely survive on the tattered edge of poverty. Their hunger, their want, their despair, and their deprivation should continue to haunt us all.

Only this great legislative body has within it the power to undo the heavy burdens of the poor and break every yoke that consigns them to a lifetime of poverty.

As we meet today to consider H.R. 8283, that is our moral commitment.

I candidly admit that the war on poverty has not been without its share of birth pains. Indeed, the embryos of social welfare power struggles, political friction, and public controversy have been spawned. But in the all too short a span of just 9 months—not even 1 full year—the fertile accomplishments of this program have yielded a far richer harvest. Over 3 million men, women, boys, and girls who were drifting aimlessly through shabby lives have already been uplifted and given new hope.

This new hope has come through more than 15,000 community action programs, Job Corps projects, Neighborhood Youth Corps programs, Head Start projects, small-business loans, migrant-worker services, work-study programs, and work-experience programs. Together, these 15,000 programs have become the tools for America's Operation Uplift. By using these tools, our communities are reclaiming their most sacred natural resource—people. So the discords of controversy do not dismay me.

Rather, we should remember that whenever this country sought to sculpture new and happier tomorrows for its people, ardent clashes of opinion attended those changes. Such dialogs only strengthen democracy.

And just as the Wagner Act has been hailed as the Magna Carta of organized labor, so the Economic Opportunity Act will one day be exalted as the Magna

Carta of the poor—the unorganized and invisible poor.

With the war on poverty, we now seek to organize this poor into a new visibility. No longer need the poor be stigmatized as children of charity when they can be respected as workers with dignity.

From the dark subculture of their nobodiness, they are becoming somebody—the somebodiness of local board members, neighborhood workers, administrative aids, social planners, advisory committee members, Job Corps assistants and volunteers.

With little fanfare, this transition is taking place almost overnight. The abundant good life of America is not yet a reality for all families, but many more are beginning to taste its sweetness.

Still, in far too many homes today, the sour staleness of hunger is present. A small child cries pitifully for one glass of milk. A father hangs his head in shame because he cannot buy bread. A mother suffers a silent agony at her helplessness. A school dropout lashes back in criminal violence at a society which dropped him the day he was born.

We speak to them all today—the least in our society—and we reaffirm their human dignity by remembering the message of One who loved us all that:

Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND THE NEW EDUCATION PREAMBLE

The keystone of the Great Society is integration, in its broadest and most profound sense.

No society which is not fully integrated can sustain greatness. No society in which people are alienated from one another—by race, by religion, by educational and economic opportunity—can continue to grow and prosper.

America has progressed in the first half of the sixties to towering heights of prosperity. This prosperity, however, cannot long endure while major groups of Americans struggle behind in the onward march of American society.

The one-fifth of a nation that is steeped in poverty has, until very recently, been consistently excluded from the mainstream of American society—barred, in effect, from its fair share in the work and hopes that propel America forward.

But this last year has seen the emergence of a new force which is integrating these alienated people into the Great Society. This new force, embodied in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the present legislation which seeks to extend and improve upon this act, can be called the new education.

The new education is not confined to curriculums and textbooks. It is an education of America's well-to-do to recognize their long-forgotten countrymen among the poor. More important, it is an education to inspire the poor themselves to claim their birthright and assume their rightful place in this productive and prosperous society.

The new education is geared to enlist the poor in making the Nation's communities not only decent places in which to live but broad channels through which to direct their own and the Nation's progress as well. It is geared to equip the poor with the sense of purpose and sense of belonging that comes with responsible jobs. It is geared to allow for the diversity of the many groups among the poor and to integrate them into American society.

The new education makes pupils of us all—those of us who are trying to help as well as those who must be helped. We are no longer relying solely on the tried and true methods of the past. We are, instead, innovating, blazing new and unmapped trails. This is a challenge which has stimulated the most dedicated concern, the most thoughtful experimentation, the most creative efforts from all who are involved in this fight.

But before the battle can be fully mounted and successfully completed, we must first chart our course and sight our goals. We must ask ourselves questions: What is poverty? Who are the poor? Where must we focus our efforts to help the most numbers of people and the most seriously affected people? How can we integrate our resources and coordinate our efforts to achieve maximum results for the poor specifically and for society as a whole generally?

POVERTY DEFINED

No more eloquent definition of poverty exists than the personal account of Mrs. Janice Bradshaw of Pueblo, Colo.:

Poverty is taking your children to the hospital and spending the whole day waiting with no one even taking your name—and then coming back again the next day, and the next, until they finally get around to you.

Poverty is having a landlady (who is also a public health nurse) who turns off the heat when she leaves for work in the morning and turns it back on at 6 when she returns. It's being helpless to do anything about it because by the time the officials get around to it, she has turned the heat back on for the day and then it will be off the next.

Poverty is having the welfare investigators break in at 4 o'clock in the morning and cut off your welfare check without an explanation, and then when you go down and ask, they tell you it is because they found a pair of men's house slippers in the attic,

where your brother left them when he visited a month ago.

Poverty is having a child with glaucoma and watching that eye condition grow worse every day, while the public officials send you to the private agencies, and the private agencies send you back to the public, and when you ask the public officials to refer you to this special hospital, they say they can't—and when you say it is prejudice because you are a Negro, they deny it flatly—and they shout at you, "Name 1 white child we have referred there"; and when you name 25, they sit down, and shut up, and they finally refer you but it is too late then, because your child has permanently lost 80 percent of his vision; and you are told that if only they had caught it a month earlier, when you first made inquiry about the film over his eyes, they could have preserved his vision.

Mrs. Bradshaw's definition is couched in human terms that none of us can ignore. Her words arouse a sense of indignation and outrage in even the most cynical of persons.

The statisticians have not been as poetic as Mrs. Bradshaw in developing a working definition of poverty, but they have been increasingly precise in creating an accurate profile of the poverty population in order to show us where our efforts must be directed.

Last year, the Council of Economic Advisers used annual income of less than \$3,000 for a family and \$1,500 for an individual to define the poverty level. This crude, but approximate measure has since been succeeded by another standard—the economy level income—established by the Division of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Administration. The economy level index considers other factors besides income; it makes allowances for food, rent and other expenses as well as the size and location of poor families.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has adopted the findings of the Social Security Administration research staff in redefining poverty income levels. The new definition does not significantly change the estimates of the number of the poor—it still embraces approximately 35 million people or roughly one-fifth of our population—but it does somewhat alter the composition of the poor population. For example, under the more precise calculations it becomes clear that more of the poor than we realized are children, since more large families are poor than originally calculated.

At this point, I would like to insert charts showing the calculations of the incidences of poverty in 1963 in the United States among families and individuals, according to the two methods of measuring poverty, the Council of Economic Advisers index, and the more refined Social Security Administration measure:

Incidence of poverty by two measures: Families with 1963 incomes below \$3,000 and below the economy level of the SSA poverty index, by specified characteristics

[Numbers in millions]

Characteristic	Total number of families	Poor—with incomes under \$3,000 ¹		Poor—with incomes below economy level ²		
		Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	Percent-age distribution of all poor families
All families.....	47.4	8.8	19	7.2	15	100
Residence:						
Farm.....	3.1	1.3	43	.7	23	10
Nonfarm.....	44.3	7.5	17	6.5	15	90
Race of head:						
White.....	42.7	6.8	16	5.2	12	72
Nonwhite.....	4.7	2.0	43	2.0	42	28
Age of head:						
14 to 24.....	2.7	.8	30	.7	26	10
25 to 54.....	30.6	3.6	12	4.0	13	54
55 to 64.....	7.4	1.3	18	1.0	13	14
65 and over.....	6.7	3.1	45	1.5	24	22
Type of family:						
Husband-wife.....	41.3	6.2	15	5.0	12	70
Wife in paid labor force.....	13.4	1.0	8	.9	7	13
Wife not in paid labor force.....	27.9	5.2	19	4.1	15	57
Other male head.....	1.2	.3	23	.2	17	3
Female head.....	4.9	2.3	47	2.0	40	27
Number of persons in family:						
2.....	15.3	4.6	30	2.5	16	34
3.....	9.8	1.5	16	1.0	11	14
4.....	9.4	1.0	10	1.0	10	14
5.....	6.3	.7	11	.9	14	13
6.....	3.3	.4	12	.6	19	9
7 or more.....	3.3	.6	18	1.2	35	16
Number of related children under age 18:						
None.....	19.1	4.7	25	2.4	13	34
1.....	8.7	1.4	16	1.1	12	15
2.....	8.6	1.0	11	1.0	11	13
3.....	5.5	.7	14	1.0	17	14
4.....	2.9	.4	15	.6	23	9
Number of related children under age 18—Continued						
5.....	1.4	0.3	18	0.5	36	7
6.....	1.2	.3	30	.6	49	8
Numbers of earners:						
None.....	3.7	2.8	76	2.0	53	27
1.....	20.8	3.9	19	3.3	16	46
2.....	17.3	1.8	10	1.5	9	21
3 or more.....	5.6	.3	6	.4	7	6
Employment status and occupation of head:						
Not in labor force ³	8.8	4.3	49	3.0	34	42
Unemployed.....	1.4	.4	28	.4	28	6
Employed.....	37.2	4.1	11	3.7	10	52
Professional, technical, and kindred workers.....	4.7	.1	3	.1	3	2
Farmers and farm managers.....	1.8	.9	48	.5	29	8
Managers, officials, and proprietors (except farm).....	6.0	.4	6	.3	5	4
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers.....	4.9	.2	6	.2	4	3
Craftsmen, operatives, and kindred workers.....	14.5	1.1	8	1.2	8	17
Service workers, including private household.....	3.0	.7	23	.6	20	8
Laborers (except mine).....	2.3	.7	33	.7	30	10
Work experience of head in 1963: ⁴						
Worked in 1963.....	40.7	5.1	13	4.6	11	64
Worked at full-time jobs.....	37.9	3.8	10	3.6	10	50
50 to 52 weeks.....	30.7	2.1	7	2.0	7	28
Worked at part-time jobs.....	2.8	1.4	49	1.0	36	14
Did not work in 1963.....	6.7	3.7	54	2.6	38	36

¹ Prepared by the Bureau of the Census from P-60, No. 43, Income of Families and Persons in the U.S., 1963.² Derived from special tabulations by the Bureau of the Census for the Social Security Administration. For definition of poverty criteria, see text.³ Includes approximately 900,000 family heads in the Armed Forces, of whom about 100,000 have incomes under \$3,000.⁴ All work-experience data, including data for year-round, full-time workers, limited to civilian workers.

Incidence of poverty by two measures: Unrelated individuals with 1963 incomes below \$1,500 and below the economy level of the SSA poverty index, by specified characteristics

[Numbers in millions]

Characteristic	Total number	Poor—with incomes under \$1,500 ¹		Poor—with incomes below economy level ²		
		Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	Percent-age distribution of all poor unrelated individuals
All unrelated individuals.....	11.2	4.9	44	4.9	44	100
Residence:						
Nonfarm.....	10.8	4.7	43	4.7	44	97
Farm.....	.4	.2	67	.2	40	3
Race:						
White.....	9.7	4.1	42	4.1	42	83
Nonwhite.....	1.5	.8	56	.8	58	17
Age:						
14 to 24.....	1.0	.5	47	.5	48	10
25 to 64.....	5.9	1.8	31	1.9	32	38
65 and over.....	4.3	2.6	62	2.5	59	52
Sex:						
Male.....	4.3	1.4	33	1.4	34	30
Female.....	6.9	3.5	51	3.5	50	70
Earners status:						
Earner.....	7.0	1.8	26	1.8	26	37
Nonearner.....	4.2	3.1	75	3.1	74	63
Work experience in 1963: ³						
Worked in 1963.....	6.7	1.8	26	1.8	26	36
Worked at full-time jobs.....	5.5	1.1	20	1.2	21	23
50 to 52 weeks.....	3.7	.5	12	.5	13	10
Worked at part-time jobs.....	1.2	.7	55	.6	54	13
Did not work in 1963.....	4.5	3.1	72	3.1	70	64

¹ Prepared by Bureau of the Census from P-60, No. 43, Income of Families and Persons in the U.S., 1963.² Derived from special tabulations by the Bureau of the Census for the Social Security Administration. For definition of poverty criteria, see text.³ All work-experience data, including data for year-round, full-time workers, limited to civilian workers.

POVERTY PERSONALIZED

The new standards have helped us to clarify our picture of poverty in America. It has shown us, too, that by any definition, from the simplest to the most refined, one-fifth of our population lives in poverty and that all our efforts to date have merely been a preliminary skirmish before the full-sized battle that we must inevitably launch.

As we are all well aware by now, poverty afflicts certain groups of the population more heavily than others.

Of the 34.6 million poor, about 5 million are aged 65 and over. While this represents only 15 percent of the total poor, it includes almost one-half of all poor individuals who live alone or with

unrelated persons and one-half of all poor two-person family units.

Children under 18 account for 15 million of the poor—more than 43 percent.

Nonwhites—who comprise about 10 percent of our total population—represent 30 percent of the poor. Conversely, half of all nonwhites in this country are poor.

Families headed by women are another group inordinately weighed down by poverty. Nearly one-half of all families with women as heads are poor.

These groups—children, the aged, nonwhites, and families headed by women—are all high risk potentials. They all exist in vulnerable circumstances which are especially propitious for poverty. But there are two groups that I would like especially to discuss—the youth and the aged. These two groups often possess other characteristics of poverty. They are often nonwhite and often in families with female heads. Yet, it is their youth and their age—both dependent positions—which interests us here.

Together the young and the old account for almost 60 percent of our Nation's poor. In addition to the significant fact that together they represent the largest number of the poor, we must also note that these two population groups are growing proportionately faster than the rest of the population. The age structure of our population is changing radically. And these two population groups—each dependent upon society by their nature—will demand increasing attention and sustained support in the years ahead.

YOUTH: EDUCATION FOR LIVING

American young people today face a future which is by no means unclouded and worry-free. They were born into a highly technical society which has little use for the underskilled and the undereducated. They were born into an era of vastness—big business, big education, big Government—which idealism and individualism often seem all but totally submerged. They have grown up at a time when jobs are being eliminated by machines more rapidly than they are being created by human ingenuity. And perhaps, as a result of all these circumstances, they are often cynical and negative and careless of the future.

Youth crime continues to increase at an alarming rate. Youth arrests rose 13 percent in 1964 over 1963 and the crimes committed are more often violent in nature.

Students continue to drop out of school at a fairly consistent rate of 30 percent, in spite of the handicaps that a lack of a high school diploma entails.

Youth unemployment is persistently high—sometimes as much as three times as high as the national unemployment rate. And unemployment among drop-outs is 50 percent higher than among high school graduates.

Poor youth, of course, suffer proportionately more than their more fortunate contemporaries. Their environment does not prepare them to compete, to cope with the demands and the pressures of life in 20th century America. They are the malleable raw material of their environment and, by the time they leave childhood, they are often warped and forged into misshapen tools, incapable of functioning efficiently in our society.

The Economic Opportunity Act is attempting to face squarely the special problems of young people born into pov-

erty. The new education is being adapted to fill their varied and special needs.

There are the needs of the poor youths who strive to obtain a college education which, until now, was far beyond their limited reach. Even the extensive student loan programs and scholarships available have not extended their assistance to them. College work-study programs now provide them with a new chance—a chance to be employed at jobs related to their studies while they are working for their degrees. Almost 700 institutions now offer the opportunity of work-study to students from low-income families. With such sustained assistance, poor young people will be provided with the strength and knowledge to hoist themselves out of the subbasement of the American household. They who grew up in poverty will be able to provide a better start for their own children.

There are the needs of the children who have grown up in slums and dropped out of school. The Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps extends a hand to them. Through these programs, they can acquire skills and training that will earn them a place in the employment marketplace. Through these programs, they might have a better chance to avoid a lifetime of menial tasks at best and total joblessness at worst.

Perhaps most pointedly there are the very young children—those too young even to have attended school. For them, Project Head Start has been developed. Head Start recognizes that being poor is a state of mind as well as an economic condition.

Children of the poor are cheated from the very beginning. Poverty is little different from other birth defects. It stunts growth of children—if not physically, then certainly spiritually and mentally. By the time the average child from a low-income family enters school, he is 6 months behind the middle-class child; and by the time he enters the fifth grade he will be as much as 2 years behind his less deprived classmates.

Head Start makes an attempt to offset the handicaps of being born poor. It is a preschool program to provide a child with learning activities, with medical and dental care, with field trips out of the slums into a brighter world, with balanced meals, and with contact with interested adults. It prepares him for the totally foreign experience of entering a classroom.

These are all programs to teach children who have not been reached by our conventional methods. And a big part of the new education is the reexamination of a system which has not taken into account the special needs of 15 million children of the poor. Our educational system has been geared to the normal child—that is, the normal child with normal parents with normal incomes and normal jobs. It has somehow not communicated with the child whose circumstances are not normal—a child whose parent is called upon daily to make a painful decision as to whether the child will eat that day or whether he will

receive some other necessity, such as clothing or medical care.

The war on poverty is not just a war on the oppressions which afflict the poor and the mentality which develops with poverty. It is no less a war on the preconceptions and prejudices of the society in which this poverty exists. We must teach the poor children with the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps and with work-study programs and with Project Head Start. But we must learn from them as well. We must learn what their needs are, and minister to those needs. We must learn how they think, and deal with them in terms of their values, not ours. We must learn what they want, and direct the programs toward those goals, not toward the goals, not toward the goals that we would necessarily choose.

This will necessitate our changing along with the poor. Efforts are now afoot to refocus many of our school curricula so that they will have some application to the backgrounds of the students and the futures which they hope to build. Only through mutual understanding and compromise will success be attained. And this success can only be measured in terms of young lives freed from the shackles of poverty, of young futures saved from the waste of failure and despair.

THE AGED: EDUCATION AND LEISURE

The aged among the poor present a much more complicated problem for society—a problem for which there is no easy solution. The aged are defined as those 65 years old and up, those who have reached retirement age and have withdrawn from productive life. Although they basically have a retirement income, they are as dependent in the broad sense, as youth, since they no longer work. And they are a rapidly growing segment of the population. In the 15 years since 1950, for example, the aged population increased 50 percent from 12 million to almost 18 million people. Modern science has lengthened the lifespan but it has not come up with a cure for the social and economic problems that beset the aged.

Age brings with it a drop in income for all but a fortunate few. Our system of social insurance which provides retirement income to those no longer in the labor force does not often satisfy the minimum requirements of the elderly person. The ranks of the poverty-stricken aged are also swelled by those who managed to keep a step ahead while working, but who fell behind when accumulated savings and reduced retirement income did not offset the financial losses incurred by retirement.

The aged Negro is doubly cursed, since even during his earning years his family normally earns half as much as the average white family. Retirement from the labor force strikes him still more severely and curtails an already grossly inadequate income.

He is less likely to have social security coverage than a white man since the employment areas where he concentrated—agricultural labor and service occupa-

tions—still lie outside the scope of social insurance. He is less likely to have any savings since he has probably been poor all his life. He is less likely to own a home or have a decent place to live. He is more likely to face old age and its troubles alone.

For too many of the aged, old age has not brought golden leisure and dignity and relaxation. It has brought, instead, greater problems of ill health without the funds for proper treatment; endless empty hours without the interests or the activities to fill them; and bitter regrets and remorse for having spent a life that could not provide them with peace and comfort in their old age.

Up to the present we have done little to assist this portion of our population in dealing with their problems. Indeed, we barely know how to help. And until very lately we have not accepted that fact that their problems are our problems as well. Many of the solutions to the problems of age fall outside the scope of the legislation before us—such as medical care for the aged, increased retirement benefits to fall more in line with current living costs and the like.

Yet this legislation can provide some aids to the elderly. It can show them how to adjust to their new position in society. It can educate them to accept and enjoy and be productive in their later years. And it can include the elderly in its comprehensive planning for a better society. Sargent Shriver has recently appointed a Task Force on the Older Poor to explore more ways of acting in behalf of the elderly.

Programs of adult education could certainly be adopted to serve the aged poor—although little attention has been paid to this group up to the present time—and this would certainly be done under the Economic Opportunity Act.

Such education programs geared to the aged poor could help them enrich their plentiful free time and maintain their mental alertness; continue successful employment; keep up to date, in touch with reality and the modern world; expand their interests and their mental horizons; and provide a more satisfying home and family life through attention to consumer education, family relations, housing, and other aspects of daily living.

Elderly people have been the forgotten class in a youth-oriented America. And the elderly are too often on the outside of community activity and development. Even in the poverty program they have been relatively ignored in the emphasis on programs for youth. The new education has shown us that we have ignored a valuable source of wisdom, of experience, and of talent in our exclusion of the aged from an active part in our society.

There is much that we can do for the aged and I hope that we shall do these things in the near future. But, under the programs of this legislation, there is much more that they can do for us—the poor especially and the Nation generally.

Community action programs provide the best medium for reaching the elderly. The aged are too often only in the community but not of it. They exist out-

side the main current of community life, apart from the activities and interests that hold the community together.

The community loses by this alienation and separation as much as the elderly themselves. For, just because a person is deemed too old to be a member of the labor force, his talents and his interests are still very much alive and usable. The elderly can serve as volunteers, either through the national VISTA program or through local organization. They can help local children in Head Start projects or visit other elderly persons who are confined to their homes. They can devote their ample free time to working as community organizers and coordinators in community action programs. And they can impart their skills and their experience to guide younger and less experienced people in making decisions.

To ignore their presence and their abilities is to ignore a goldmine in the backyard.

THE NEW EDUCATION: LIFE-CENTERED LEARNING

A gaping chasm separates the two Americas. And all of our efforts have had little more effect than dropping handfuls of pebbles to fill in the Grand Canyon. Poverty is still conspicuously evident in the world's most affluent society and complex modern conditions are conspiring to maintain it at its present high rate.

We are learning new ways to cope with poverty, one of the oldest problems on the face of God's earth. We hope to use these new methods to bridge the gap between the affluent society and the other America.

The preparation for this task is almost as rigorous as the task itself. It requires us to admit our humility and ignorance in the face of this deeply entrenched social problem. It requires us to surrender many of our treasured preconceptions, assumptions, and generalizations about poverty and the poor. It requires us to leave our comfortable neighborhoods and our distant perspectives to confront poverty and the poor directly, to open a dialog that will be a very revealing one for both sides in the debate.

To achieve success in the war against poverty, a new strategy must replace the tried and not-so-true methods of the past. We must first reach a consensus of opinion and activity among ourselves and the poor. The poor themselves must take an active and prominent role in devising an antipoverty program.

In the past, we have made decisions on how to eliminate poverty without consulting the experts on poverty—the poor themselves. This is ironic in the face of America's reliance on expert consultation and consensus before embarking on any major program. Yet, we have not often consulted the poor.

Nothing more clearly illustrates this glaring omission than the heated controversy that has arisen over the concept of maximum participation of the poor in current antipoverty programs. Had no one ever thought of asking the poor what they needed and where it hurt the most? Had no one considered that the goals and needs and aspirations of the poor may not take exactly the same form

as those of less deprived members of society?

There can be no delay in creating a dialog between ourselves and the poor—and a two-sided dialog in which we listen and learn as much as we talk and teach.

Next we must establish broadly based programs—programs which provide a wide variety of services and draw on the talents of a multitude of groups and individuals. Poverty is rarely a single misfortune, but more often a syndrome of interrelated problems. Programs which aim at alleviating the employment problem of the poor, without facing the fact that the poor attend bad schools and live in substandard housing and encounter more mental and physical health problems—such programs are going to have little impact on the culture of poverty. The totality of poverty must be confronted and all of its aspects must come under close scrutiny.

The Economic Opportunity Act provides the medium of multifaceted action in low-income areas through the community action programs. The action organizations will provide a wide variety of services to offset the variety of elements which make up the problems of the poor.

Not only must antipoverty efforts engage the efforts of the poor as well as the affluent and call on the services of different kinds of agencies and assistance; they must operate on a large-scale as well.

Isolated experimentation makes little more than a dent in the facade of the poverty subculture. Programs must be initiated on a scale comparable to the size and difficulty of the problems involved.

It is essential that we learn how to apply what we are learning about the poor to as many of the poor as our resources and talents will allow. There are many communities across the land which have devised imaginative schemes for eliminating deprivation, yet they have not had the resources to implement their ideas. The Economic Opportunity Act can finance these efforts and make them more efficient and effective.

One of the most effective means for diffusing the new education is the existing educational system in this Nation. No institution is more strategically placed, more standardly available, than the neighborhood school.

The schools are the link between the two Americas, yet they have too often been the weakest link. The law requires children to go to school, but it cannot require them to learn. The environment of low-income communities have generally perverted the purpose of education in such communities rather than the schools influencing positively the atmosphere of the communities.

Success in such schools has normally been measured in terms of the degree of discipline maintained. One teacher in my district was quoted as saying that "You do not worry about teaching these kids here. You just keep them from killing each other and from killing you."

In imaginative communities the schools are taking on a newer and truer purpose. Creative thinking is finding

new uses for the old institution of the neighborhood school. Creative thinking has reshaped the curriculums to fit the needs of the students. It has changed the attitude of the faculty from that of disciplinarians to that of educators. It has lengthened the school day beyond the class hours and varied the school activities beyond the sphere of the academic. And, above all, it is nurturing hope and youthful enthusiasm in children whose attitudes were negative and cynical.

In many communities the neighborhood school is becoming more like a community center. After school hours, its classrooms are used for meetings and adult education. Its facilities are left open out of hours to provide recreation to the neighborhood. It offers remedial teaching to its students and other residents of the neighborhoods and involves parents in the educational process of their children.

In essence, schools are becoming an integral and integrated part of the community rather than foreign and alien elements in its midst.

The schools are only an example of the activities that the Economic Opportunity Act permits in drawing the poor closer to the main body of American society. Although the emphasis in the antipoverty effort is on new techniques, these will often have to be applied through conventional channels and existing institutions.

Schools are representative of the greater society—a society that has too often been indifferent to the burdens of the poor. They must now serve in low-income communities as symbols of that society's efforts to eliminate poverty from the lives of the poor.

The possibilities of schools serving as links have not been properly utilized nor fully explored in the past. But through expanding their activities and enlarging their horizons, they can reach the poor and broaden their narrow vision as well.

Few of us realized 1 short year ago that the Economic Opportunity Act will ultimately affect all our lives as intimately as it affects the poor. Yes, we knew that if poverty could be eliminated we could achieve new heights of productivity and prosperity. And we knew that we would be changing the structure of our society so as not to permit one-fifth of our people to live in need.

But we did not realize that in examining the poor we would also have to examine ourselves and change our attitudes as well. We did not realize that the alienation of the poor was not wholly a product of their misfortunes but partially a result of our own lack of understanding.

We are learning—and we must learn. For only a highly educated citizenry will be able to cope with these problems in an intelligent and mature and effective way.

Through its programs, the Economic Opportunity Act is attempting to bridge the gulf between the prosperous and the poor. It is a program which demands as much as it gives. But the promise it holds for the American poor makes it well worth the efforts it requires.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Florida, the distinguished au-

thor of this bill [Mr. GIBBONS], such time as he may desire.

(Mr. GIBBONS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, it is with a great deal of humility that I stand here today to talk about a bill that I feel certain will become law during this first session of the 89th Congress. We in America have been a most successful nation. Certainly we should not lose sight of that success as we discuss this program today. But with all the success that we have had, we have had the paradox of the continuing and almost unending poverty, of a relatively small segment of our society. And as long as that blight continues it is a spot of shame not only for freemen, but a spot of potential hatred among freemen; it is a blight upon our conscience and a blight upon the Great Society that we aspire to achieve.

In the short 9 months that the Office of Economic Opportunity has been in existence I feel certain that a sound, constructive program to eliminate poverty by attacking it at its roots has been launched.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, we hear criticisms, for that is a part of this great free system that we enjoy. I sometimes worry because the criticism always seems to come from the same source and I sometimes wonder if that source can do anything but criticize.

Mr. Chairman, the people that we heard during the debate on the adoption of the rule today are the same voices of doom that have haunted this Chamber in the brief time since I have been here. The tales that they have told and the statistics they have cited are the same old stories and the same old things they have said before.

But, Mr. Chairman, the real issue in this Chamber today is whether we are going to turn back and go back into the past and adopt a do-nothing attitude, a do-nothing program, but whether or not a strong vibrant nation such as America can move forward with a strong, sound, productive program to eliminate the causes of poverty.

Mr. Chairman, your House Committee on Education and Labor has brought forth such a program. That program is in operation and I believe we should spend some time talking about what has been accomplished in the brief 9 months of its existence.

Of course, starting from scratch or starting from zero; yes, as it was necessary to do in this new program, it was first necessary to recruit a staff. The supergrades that have been mentioned here in debate are of course the first people that you want to get into your program. Who is going out and hire all of the privates in an army if you first do not have the leaders? And, besides, this is a program that is being carried on in the field. It is being carried on in the existing schools. The soldiers in this program are the people who are in our school system, who are in other training programs, and the Office of Economic Opportunity here in Washington is in effect a coordinating agency to help us bring together the public and the private, the

State, the National, and the local interests who should be mobilized to fight this battle.

So, Mr. Chairman, as you tool up, as you begin to mobilize your forces, you bring in a higher percentage of those people you need to direct and aim the program. But it was necessary to write programs and all of you know who have had any experience at all in Government operations that you just cannot set up a program and start talking about it and all of a sudden turn it into action. You have got to comply with the law, this particular law, and all the other laws on the books. You have to recruit the staff and train the staff and direct the staff and try to write the regulations and to follow the sound procedures that are necessary in order to get a program into operation.

Mr. Chairman, when one considers all that and when one considers the magnitude of this program, I believe real miracles have been accomplished in the first 9 months of the life of this program.

In the Job Corps alone there are presently 10,241 youths who are receiving training in education and work training. These are youths from disadvantaged homes, disadvantaged environments, and youths accustomed to a lifetime of failure and, perhaps, have really never known success not only in their lifetime or in the lifetime of their predecessors.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I just wonder if the gentleman is going to put into the RECORD the places where the Job Corps training is going on and the number of enrollees at each, since this is not available to anyone to date.

I believe the gentleman would lend assistance to the debate if he would submit this for the RECORD.

Mr. GIBBONS. I do not have that data immediately available today, but I shall attempt to get it and put it in the RECORD. However, I repeat, the figure is 10,241 enrollees to date who are presently at 48 Job Corps centers scattered throughout the United States and that we plan to have within the not too distant future an additional 50 Job Corps centers in operation.

There are over 300,000 applicants, some of whom are qualified and some of whom are not qualified to go to these centers. At the same time all this was going on, a very large program for disadvantaged youths still in school, who could receive profit by training at home, who could stay in school because they could obtain part-time jobs, who were able to obtain these jobs through the neighborhood Youth Corps, title I(b) of this act. There are presently in 639 projects involving some 276,000 participants.

And in addition to that, and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER], referred to this, although he apparently doubts the wisdom of the administration of this program, he apparently supports the wisdom of the headstart approach, I think all of us support head start because we realize to get the best start in life we have to start as early as pos-

sible. But there are in the schools and in the school systems, most of them public, some of them private, some 556,000 students, young students below the age of 16 years. These students are getting what we think will be the type of head start they need to go forward in life.

There are many things that have been accomplished. I do not want to spend all of the time on our side telling you about all of the fine things that have happened in this program. But many fine things have happened. I think we have here a soundly administered, a soundly financed, and constructive program for eliminating poverty by attacking it at its roots and continuing the war to a successful conclusion.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. First, I want to commend the gentleman from Florida for an outstanding presentation and for such an outstanding job he did in connection with this legislation.

I agree wholeheartedly with everything the gentleman has stated. I personally feel that we should have gone a lot further in the legislation and provided for economic development. But, be that as it may, I think the gentleman will agree that we cannot afford to turn our backs on a million youngsters at the point when we have authorized a constructive and promising program, which is just getting started and has raised the hopes of many families and communities throughout the Nation.

Mr. GIBBONS. I thank the gentleman for his generous remarks. I think it is worth repeating again the point the gentleman has made of the approximately 1 million youngsters in these United States whose families live in poverty and who inherited poverty as their way of life, we have now in the short length of time this program has been in operation provided over half of those children a head start which will give them also a head start in school. This will give them a better chance.

Mr. PERKINS. In connection with the job corps program, the gentleman recited that over 10,000 had been enrolled. I will ask the gentleman if it has not been the policy of the director that the camps be set up on government property for the training centers. Did we not have to start from scratch in many instances and provide the necessary facilities and acquire the necessary equipment and is it not a fact that the activating of these camps has run the cost high in the beginning and that within the next year the cost will level off and the cost will be much lower?

Mr. GIBBONS. That is very true. If you take an abandoned military installation and have to rehabilitate it even for military troops, you are going to have a high-cost factor. Many of these camps have had to be rehabilitated. They have been left abandoned because there was no military use for them so the cost of training will come down as the camps are put to use. I think when we talk about the cost of training, we must realize that while we have all heard that you can get better education for less

money at Vassar or Harvard, you must realize we are not dealing with the most successful graduates of the high schools. We are dealing with the ones who have been the least successful and it is going to be extremely hard to train and to retrain them. But if we fail to train and to retrain them, we have helped to condemn them to a lifetime of welfareism on the welfare rolls. While the training cost may be a little higher than the cost of some of the institutions where some of our most successful youngsters are privileged to go and are able to go, we cannot in any true sense compare this program with that situation.

To erase the social damage that has been done to those people that we seek to help in the Job Corps is going to require a lot of money. Fortunately, as I say, this is a small segment of our society but it is an expensive segment and I think we have a program that is going to do something about the situation.

Mr. PERKINS. As a sponsor of the legislation and considering your membership on the ad hoc committee conducting hearings in different sections of the country, you heard the gentleman from Ohio refer to the involvement of political machines in an effort to cost doubts about some of the programs. Was there any evidence of any corruption insofar as the administration of this program is concerned?

Mr. GIBBONS. No, there was not. And I want to say this clearly and unequivocally, and I am looking at my colleagues over here to the left of me, and realizing in the opportunity that all of us had to go out in the field that only two of them participated. One of them made one short trip and the other one was very studious in his attendance at the meetings. There was no evidence that I uncovered and no evidence that anyone uncovered. We went out to actually see at the time we did in April whether anything was going on as has been alleged by our minority group.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. AYRES. I heard the gentleman from Kentucky, at least I think I heard him state that I had said there was corruption in the program. I do not find that in my remarks.

Mr. PERKINS. Maybe I misunderstood the gentleman. I just heard the gentleman making reference to "Tammany Halls" being established through this program.

Mr. AYRES. Is Tammany Hall necessarily corrupt?

Mr. PERKINS. Well, no, it is not necessarily corrupt. I certainly agree they are not corrupt. But I disagree with the gentleman.

Mr. AYRES. Why would you infer from my mentioning Tammany Hall that there was corruption?

Mr. PERKINS. I did not make that inference. You were trying to imply and insinuate that we are establishing political machines.

Mr. AYRES. Is that not true? Did we not have much testimony with reference to that?

Mr. PERKINS. Well, I am delighted

to hear the gentleman from Ohio retract in substance what he stated a few moments ago.

Mr. AYRES. Why leave the substance there?

Mr. PERKINS. Well, just retract what he said a while ago. I am delighted to hear the gentleman state there is no corruption and no political machines being established under the administration of this program.

Mr. AYRES. The gentleman knows what Chairman POWELL says so far as political machines are concerned because I have heard his testimony and one of his objections was that he did not want these political machines developed which were being developed.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. JOELSON. I merely want to observe, it seems very strange to me that the opponents of this program are always expressing alarm that there might be political appointees or political considerations may enter into the staffing, and on the other hand when a local body such as the community that I represent hires a competent man and pays him a good salary in keeping with his standing as a professional, they say it shows that the man is being overpaid.

So I believe they are trying to get it both ways. On the one hand, they do not want to pay professionals the way professionals should be paid; and, on the other hand, they do not want what they call "political hacks." I believe they just do not want the program but are not willing to say so.

Mr. GIBBONS. I believe the gentleman is correct.

The arguments against this program break down to those who say it is too little and to those who say it is too much and to those who say, "We have always been against it, so we are still against it."

I have not heard any new arguments, and I have listened to all of them.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The question as to whether or not a political machine might be building up in this program has been brought up. I do not know whether the gentleman heard the remarks of my colleague the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] a few minutes ago.

I happen to know that at Mount Beulah, near Edwards, Miss., about 12 miles from my home, there has been a cancerous growth on the State of Mississippi for 20 years, having been used by the "pinks" and the "punks" and "fellow travelers" from the campaign of Henry Wallace back in 1948 right on up to date. Mount Beulah, which is the headquarters of this so-called Head Start and VISTA operation in the State of Mississippi, which has been invaded by from 400 to 500 people from outside the State, financed by this program, who marched on the city of Jackson in our State and have caused trouble all over our State, is not only the headquarters for this operation but is also the headquarters for the COFO organization and

is also the headquarters for the National Council of Churches in Mississippi. Yes, and it is the headquarters for the so-called Freedom Democratic Party in the State of Mississippi.

If the gentleman can separate politics from that, he is a wizard.

Mr. GIBBONS. I say to my friend from Mississippi that I regret the problem which the people of Mississippi find themselves with. I have lived in the South all of my life and so have all of my forefathers. I know of some of the problems of which he speaks.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the gentleman really regrets it, instead of trying to subsidize it with Federal funds he would be trying to help quiet it.

Mr. GIBBONS. May I say to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] I am not trying to subsidize it with Federal funds.

I have talked to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] about the allegations he makes. I have attempted to get him information. I have supplied him with information. I have seen him on the floor here, I suppose, 15 or 20 times since the time I tried to get him the information, and he has never raised the question since that time.

I do not know how many times I have seen the gentleman from Mississippi on the floor here, but this is the first time I have heard these charges.

I believe this has been fairly friendly. We enjoy a good relationship. I regret that if you had these misgivings about the program you did not see fit to bring them to my attention before.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not know the gentleman was in charge of the program. I have brought it to the attention of Sargent Shriver.

May I add that the headquarters of the so-called head start program in McComb, Miss., is in the so-called COFO house in McComb, and uses the same telephone number.

Mr. GIBBONS. I will say, about the head start program in Mississippi, that when the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] first brought this to my attention, I felt that perhaps in Mississippi things had been so turbulent that none of the local school boards there wanted to participate in the head start program. I found, upon examination, that a great many school boards in Mississippi had made applications for head start grants and public school boards in many Mississippi counties and cities are participating in the head start program.

The allegation which the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] makes about Head Start being infiltrated by some small Negro college is involved. I am not familiar with the college, but I found out it is a small Presbyterian, perhaps Negro-related, church college. I do not doubt it is Negro.

They are doing a good job, so far as I know. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] has not since a month ago, when we talked about this, said anything to me. While I do not doubt the gentleman from Mississippi's [Mr. COLMER] motives or integrity, if it has been such a burning question in Mississippi, I believe it would have been brought up again.

I regret that the people of Mississippi have so many problems.

I hope they can be resolved without any further bloodshed or any further ill feeling. However, I am a realist. I know it is going to be tough, but I do not see anything sinister about Head Start, because I think they are doing a terrific job in Head Start for Mississippi, from all of the reports that I get. I am sorry that a program as well intentioned and as well meaning as this has been dragged into the mire of this debate.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the gentleman will listen a little bit later when I will have time, I will get documented proof for what I have just said.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MIZE. Is it not true that the reason why people are poor is that they cannot find a productive job to support themselves and their families, or they are not capable for some reason, either physical reasons or lack of education or lack of training, to hold a productive job? Is that not generally true?

Mr. GIBBONS. Well, there are many reasons why people are poor. The gentleman has mentioned a few of them. A lot of the reasons stem from lack of opportunity; that is, a lack of opportunity brought about by the surroundings in which they live and the economic conditions of the community and the economic conditions of the particular people they associate with and have associated with all through life. These are all factors. There are so many factors as to why a person is poor that it is hard to generalize in any one or several areas.

Mr. MIZE. I will agree with my colleague, but let us assume that this program is eminently successful and it eliminates all of these unfortunate physical, environmental, and educational deficiencies and that everybody, young and old and so forth, is capable of holding down a productive job. Is it not still absolutely essential that enough jobs be available then so that they can earn a satisfactory living to take care of themselves and their families?

Mr. GIBBONS. What you say is certainly true. If the gentleman feels that we are going to be able to educate all of these people in a year or two and motivate and train them all in a year or two, then there is real cause for worry as to whether there will be sufficient jobs to take care of them. However, this program, even in the opinion of its most avid supporters, could not possibly succeed in so short a period of time.

We are facing in a war here man's oldest and toughest enemies—the lack of opportunity, the lack of training, the lack of motivation, as well as disease and want. These are the things we are trying to overcome. It will take a long time to do it and it is going to take innovating programs and innovating approaches to do it. We cannot possibly put everyone in a job, because no one is that unrealistic. However, we can reduce to a bare minimum the number of people now living in poverty. When you think

that in this great country there are 35 million people who do not produce enough to take care of themselves even though they are of an age to be productively employed, I think you begin to see the magnitude of the problem. In this Economic Opportunity Act we have a section here that we have not yet talked about today, and I hope some of the people on your side of the aisle will talk about it constructively, because there are programs there designed to create a healthier financial condition in this country.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be accused of exercising the old southern style of filibuster, so I will yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

(Mr. QUIE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, as we start this debate today I wish I could come before you and say that the warnings we pointed out a year ago in the minority views of the minority party and in the debate by many of us on this side of the aisle—I wish we could come to you and say that we were wrong, that this program has worked well, that it does the job that it was planned to do. I am sorry I cannot say such a thing because for all its exalted motives and glamorized goals the so-called "war on poverty" is a mess and the Office of Economic Opportunity is an administrative shambles; the program it administers are sad shadows of press releases which describe them.

This bill, H.R. 8283, does nothing to clean up the mess. Its main point is to double the money available to the Office of Economic Opportunity for this fiscal year's stroll through the maze of bureaucratic ineptitude. This doubling of money is to come on top of the money obligated but not spent in 1965. It means that the Office of Economic Opportunity is to have more than twice the money with which to make mistakes.

The money is not the solution to the mess in OEO. Better legislation providing for better methods of planning and administration is the answer to the problems that have unfolded during this first year of groping operation.

What are the causes of this chaos?

The so-called war on poverty has been given first priority in Administration publicity, but it is not even considered worthy of a full-time director. Can the part-time Poverty Director care adequately for his duties both as Peace Corps Director and Director of Poverty?

I have copies of two letters that I have written to Director Shriver which have gone unanswered and unacknowledged. The first one I wrote to him on May 28 as follows:

MAY 28, 1965.

MR. SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHRIVER: After making several unsuccessful attempts to obtain information from the research department of the Office of Economic Opportunity, I am directing my questions to you. I am certain you will be able to obtain the information for me.

I would like to know: (1) the number of civil service employees at the Office of Eco-

conomic Opportunity in Washington; (2) the number of civil service employees in the regional offices of the Office of Economic Opportunity; (3) the number of TAPER appointments at the Office of Economic Opportunity; and (4) the number of consultants that have been and are presently in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In addition, I would like to know the funds that the Office of Economic Opportunity has expended, to date, for each of the major programs such as Job Corps and the number of persons enrolled in those programs.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT H. QUIE,
Member of Congress.

To date not only have I not had an answer to this letter, but Director Shriver has not even acknowledged that he received it.

Then on June 18 I wrote again and I said:

JUNE 18, 1965.

MR. R. SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHRIVER: The hearings of the Republican task force on economic opportunity and the Education and Labor Committee have raised numerous questions about the operations of the war on poverty. It has been very difficult for the Members of Congress to obtain information about some of the programs. In order that I may clarify some of my questions about the operations of the Office of Economic Opportunity I hope you will be able to provide me with the following information, some of which I have previously requested but not received.

1. I would like a copy of the application submitted by the University of Michigan to obtain a demonstration grant to conduct a community action program for the village of Willow Run, Mich.

2. I would like cost figures for the operation of each of the types of Job Corps camps.

3. I would like a personnel list. What I am interested in knowing is the names of the people who are heads of the various divisions (i.e., recruiting and training and project evaluation) so that I may be able to avail myself of further information without having to bother your Office with routine questions.

4. I would like to know how many regional offices there are, the number of proposed offices. In addition I would like to know what are the functions and jurisdictions of these offices and the top personnel in each of the offices already in operation.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT H. QUIE,
Member of Congress.

Again, I have not even had an acknowledgment of this letter, to say nothing of an answer to the letter. This has been the problem time and time again.

What are they doing down there? They ought to hire a few stenographers to answer a few letters down there.

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. QUIE. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN. I am sure that the gentleman from Minnesota knows that I put some correspondence which I had had with the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Mr. Shriver has answered each one of my letters, but I might say I have received no more satisfaction from him than if he had not answered me at all. Each time I say we would like to get him up on the Hill for a frank discussion, off the rec-

ord or on the record, at his convenience, he has suggested that he will be glad to do so and then he seems to say that he will not come to see us. So I think this is all a part of a pattern. They either do not know what is going on in the Office themselves or they do not want anyone else to know. It is quite clear that the only way we can proceed in any orderly fashion is to require that certain questions be answered, with respect to these varied and controversial programs, before we authorize a doubling of the program.

I thank the gentleman for yielding. I did want to call his attention to the fact that answers from Mr. Shriver will not necessarily contribute much. If we could get some responsible answers to our questions, we might be able to know more about the success, and the failures, of the programs for which he is responsible, than if we get no answers at all as is presently the case.

MR. QUIE. The gentleman from New Jersey has surely raised the main point pending before us today. We are asked to double the money and yet we do not know what has been done in this last year.

MR. NELSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

MR. NELSEN. What is the date of your inquiry?

MR. QUIE. The first inquiry was dated May 28, 1965, and the second was dated June 18, 1965. We have had more than a month, practically 2 months, on one of them in which to receive a reply.

MR. NELSEN. I would call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that I have made inquiries of the Justice Department relative to the documented violations of the Corrupt Practices Act, asking for an interview with representatives of the Justice Department. I have received no interview nor have I even received a reply. You are fortunate at least to have had some replies coming back but I have had none.

MR. QUIE. As the gentleman will note, I have not had an acknowledgment, but the gentleman from New Jersey [MR. FRELINGHUYSEN] stated that he has received an acknowledgment and a reply.

MR. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

MR. ROBISON. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The gentleman's remarks leave me rather troubled because evidently the information he was after represents the basic type of information that should have been brought out during the course of the hearings on this bill.

Is the gentleman indicating to the committee that it was not possible during the hearings to obtain this kind of information as to how many regional offices there were or how many employees there were in the regional offices?

MR. QUIE. That information was never secured. The gentleman can check the hearings and none of that was available.

I might say, however, that the program has been developed since the time of the hearings. We have not had hearings for some time. During that time that information would not have been available even at the time of the hearings. But even the scant information which we received, most of the time that information was spent on the community action program and very little on the Job Corps or virtually none of any of the other titles of the bill.

We had hearings on title II of the program only. The question that came to my mind is, Does the part-time Director think that Congress should not know about these things, that he should not give this information to the Congress? Or perhaps doesn't he know the answers?

I defy anyone to say he has seen a telephone directory of the Office of Economic Opportunity. They do not print one.

We have these directories in our offices so we can pick them up and look at the personnel employed here and if necessary call them up. Yet we do not have such a directory available from the Office of Economic Opportunity. They do not print one down there. You cannot find out who is there. The only thing I can assume is that they do not want us to know how many people they have as public information. They surely have been putting out a lot of stuff as to public relations because they have put out a real good-looking brochure with a poor child appearing on the front thereof to pull at our heartstrings, but not anything about the program of any real value.

MR. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

MR. GIBBONS. If the gentleman would like a telephone directory, I will get one for him.

MR. QUIE. OK, you get me one. I would like to see it, and bring it down here, if you would.

MR. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

MR. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

MR. GOODELL. Judging from the response given to the gentleman from Minnesota by the gentleman from Florida, he has one and has been given a breakdown of who is in charge and what their responsibilities are down there.

I think it would be helpful if we put it in the record since we have not been able to get any response. Members of Congress receive requests from the districts from people who are anxious to help in this program. We have to know who to talk to, who to confer with. Many of us are interested in these programs. Several of the programs now a part of the Office of Economic Opportunity were originally suggested by the gentleman now in the well and myself. We have a great interest in these programs. We are unable to determine who is in charge of the program or who is running it. In many instances, they have no regional offices that have any structure at all so far as responsibility is concerned.

I had a similar instance from my own State of New York where individuals were interested in participating in this program. They went to the New York office, supposedly the regional office of the Office of Economic Opportunity. They were unable to find any answers there at all. They came to me and said, "This is the most chaotic situation I have ever seen." So I advised them to come to Washington. They went to Washington and came back and told me Washington is worse than New York. That is the kind of situation these people are facing who are directing the organization programs.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. I am sure the gentleman from New York, Mr. GOODELL, realizes that different sections of this bill are administered by different departments. We have some of the greatest administrators in America administering the present legislation, in my judgment. Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Anthony J. Celebrezze, are all involved and are doing an outstanding job of administering their various responsibilities for the programs authorized by this act.

I never heard any complaints of the type detailed here by the gentleman from New York. On the other hand, I just heard complimentary reports from many people throughout the country in the administration of this act.

Mr. QUIE. I will put plenty in the record which will detail all of the complaints and they will be from all over the country as well as here in Washington. You will have ample opportunity to see these.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, I have been listening to this colloquy with interest. I would like to report a personal experience my own office had. We received from the Community Action Committee in one of the counties in my district a letter to check on the applications they had made.

My executive secretary called over to the office of the poverty war headquarters and explained she was calling on behalf of this local committee. The answer she received, I wish you would listen to because it is fascinating as well as intriguing. When she posed the question, the answer was this: "Relax, won't you relax?"

My executive secretary had worked on the Hill for many years. She had worked for Senator Capehart before she came to my office. She was utterly taken aback. She thought she had got some flunky in the department and posed her question again. The answer came back, "Relax, what is your hurry?" She was talking to one of the the key people of the poverty war headquarters.

Finally, when she could get no response at all she called another agency

of the Government, I think it was HEW, someone she had been working with for many years. They gave her the same information. They said, "We have just as much trouble as you have; however we are a Government agency and we may be able to help you out more."

We managed to get the information we wanted on this particular matter.

What has happened to us since? Instead of finding out what we want from the Office of Economic Opportunity, when occasion arises, we work through some other Government headquarters. That is a personal experience my own office had about a month ago.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself an additional 15 minutes.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GOODELL. I think for the record—and I have great respect for the gentleman from Kentucky—that he completely misses the point, to try to divert this discussion into a question of the integrity and the ability of Mr. Wirtz as Secretary of Labor and other officials in the Cabinet. We are not talking about the officials in the Cabinet. We are talking about the organization and administration in the Office of Economic Opportunity. We do not expect that we are going to call Mr. Shriver for every detail when a group from every different section in this country comes in and wants guidance. We do not expect we are going to talk to Mr. Wirtz and other Cabinet level officers. That is the basis for the agency being organized into a structure that makes some sense so that you can have some delegation of authority and receive some clear answers. I would say from my experience from the hearings that were held by the separate task forces and from the hearings that were held by this committee that this up to date is the worst administered program that I have seen in Washington. I use those words very advisedly and state them to the Congress of the United States—I think it is the worst administered program. That does not mean that many of the objectives of this program are not good or that many of the specific programs do not have great potential. As I indicated before, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] and I have long been advocates, prior to it being adopted in this administration, of the Head Start programs, the preschool and early school training. We originated a proposal for a type of Job Corps that would tie in with your existing facilities and existing agencies and we chose the title "Urban Service Corps" so that it could be coordinated with all of your various agencies now working in the urban areas to help youngsters who do not have jobs and who need further education and training and assistance.

These proposals, and many others, we favor, but we point out that the administration of the programs, as was clearly pointed out in debate last year, under the structure of this act, could not be much worse.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PERKINS. Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that I regret that the gentleman feels that I missed the point that the gentleman is driving at, but I nevertheless believe my answer was pertinent. The gentleman from New York should state which programs are not being properly administered.

Mr. QUIE. If the gentleman from Kentucky will just wait, I will do that.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GIBBONS. I have asked the gentleman to yield long enough to give you a directory of the regional telephone directory from the Office of Economic Opportunity dated May 14.

Mr. QUIE. That is great. I have been trying for a long time to get one of those, and I am surely happy to get it from the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GIBBONS. The gentleman just came to the right place.

Mr. QUIE. From now on I will go to the gentleman from Florida for that kind of information.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I wonder if the telephone directory would include that operation that we are hearing so much about down at St. Petersburg, Fla.?

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield so that I may answer the question?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GIBBONS. If there is any trouble with that operation down there—and I sincerely doubt that there is any trouble with it, I say to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS]—I think that your party would be more interested in correcting it than would our party. I think it ought to be pointed out that the school board down there is a contracting agency and is a Republican-controlled school board. I think they are doing a good job. They got a little skittish down there and some of the old people started complaining that a bunch of new people were moving into the neighborhood. But from my talking with the people who are responsible and working on that program down there, I believe the program is now proceeding on an even keel and I think it is going to be successful. We are dealing with people who are very hard to train. We are dealing with people who are the most unsuccessful in our whole society. These people are the lost sheep of our society and we should be going out and trying to find them.

We ought to be going out, trying to find them. We ought to be trying to bring them back into society, not pouncing on them like a bunch of wolves.

I believe the good people of St. Petersburg have come to that conclusion. I live near that particular headquarters, which is not in my district.

I believe this is moving along in a sound and constructive manner.

Mr. GROSS. Is this the institution where six women either were dismissed or dropped for drunkenness?

Mr. GIBBONS. Six women were dismissed, if the gentleman will yield further. I am glad to answer that. They were dismissed by the Job Corps there. They were apparently troublemakers. All of this has appeared in the newspapers, even in the Wall Street Journal.

I can remember that in my college days, involving those even more successful, unfortunate occurrences such as this occurred. I talked to the chief of police down there at St. Petersburg.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I do not believe there is very much comparability with the gentleman's experience in college days. As I understand it, he probably paid his way when he went to college. These people are living on the backs of the taxpayers of this country.

Mr. GIBBONS. Yes, sir; unless we teach them to do better.

Mr. GROSS. To carry this a step further, I understand they were provided maid service, to give them ample time to carry on their drinking. Their meals were provided for them. Their meals were prepared for them and all that sort of thing.

Can this possibly be true?

Mr. GIBBONS. No.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the Members read some of the newspaper accounts which I put into the Record of yesterday, on page 3875 of the Appendix. There Members can find out what happened when Etta went over the wall.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to talk about this telephone directory. What if you went to a strange city and wanted to get a doctor, yet no place in the telephone directory was there mentioned who was a doctor? What if they had doctors, by name, but did not mention that they were doctors?

That is what a telephone directory should do. This does not say what any of these people do. If you want to check, where do you find out? They have the names listed alphabetically, but nothing is said about what they do or in what department they work. You cannot find out a thing from the OEO directory. If you happen to know what someone does, then you can know, but they left all of that out.

They omitted a column listing the individuals' occupation. I suggest that if this is to be of some value to us they should put in such a column. At this point I want to have printed in the Record a copy of this directory, permission which I will secure when we are back in the House.

This directory is indicative of other reports, which say that OEO is an administrative shambles. Personnel turnover is reported to be fantastically high for a Federal agency. Many people who have been hired with the utter disregard of civil service regulations.

I believe an investigation is warranted, for reports indicate that square pegs are being made to fit round holes. People are being placed into OEO jobs for which they lack qualification. No wonder there is an administrative shambles.

The directory follows:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY—HEAD-
QUARTERS AND REGIONAL OFFICES TELEPHONE
DIRECTORY, MAY 14, 1965

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Consolidated telephone directory: This directory shows headquarters' personnel on pages 1 through 34. Regional office personnel are listed on pages 35 through 42 by region.

2. Headquarters telephone exchange numbers: Unless otherwise indicated, all telephone extensions are on interdepartmental code 128. The exchange number when calling from a non-Government telephone is 382 plus the extension. OEO has been assigned both four- and five-digit telephone extensions by GSA; when a five-digit extension is encountered, it is not in error.

3. Regional office exchange numbers: Interdepartmental codes are not used outside the Washington, D.C., area. The correct area code and exchange is shown on the first page of each regional office listing.

4. Headquarters room numbers: Headquarters' personnel are housed in three buildings. The name of the building, address and letter prefix used in this telephone directory to differentiate identical room numbers in these three buildings are shown below:

Building name, building address, and room number prefix:

New Colonial Hotel, 1156 15th Street NW. (N).

Brown Building, 1200 19th Street NW. (B).

Malatico Building, 806 Connecticut Avenue NW. (M).

5. Telephone locator service: Telephone directory information can be obtained by calling extension 3777, located in the lobby of the Brown Building.

6. Entry and exit to the Brown Building: A building pass will be necessary to enter the building between the hours of 7 p.m. and 8 a.m. on weekdays and all day and night on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. A GSA guard is on duty at all times except from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. on weekdays.

7. Entry and exit to the New Colonial Hotel: A building pass will be necessary to enter the building between the hours of 7 p.m. and 7:30 a.m., on weekdays, and between the hours of 5 p.m. Saturday until 7:30 a.m. Monday. A GSA guard is on duty 5 p.m. until 1 a.m. on weekdays and all day Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. In the event it is necessary to enter or leave the New Colonial Hotel when there is no GSA guard on duty, you can do so by calling code 148, extension 2787 or, if outside, by calling 389-2787. A guard will come to the building from the Veterans' Administration building, located at 810 Vermont Avenue NW., to let you in or out.

8. Registration of consultants or delegation personnel: Consultants and personnel visiting OEO for prolonged periods of time on official business will not be issued building passes. A responsible official of the office involved should notify the Chief, Personnel Division, by memorandum, in duplicate, listing the names of such personnel and the dates that admittance to the building is required. A copy of the memorandum will be furnished by the Personnel Division to the guard on duty in the lobby.

9. Shuttle service between Brown Building and New Colonial Hotel: The following

shuttle-bus schedule will be observed Monday through Saturday for the pickup and delivery of mail to the New Colonial Hotel from the Brown Building:

Monday through Friday schedule

Leave Brown Building: 9:30 a.m.; 11 a.m.; 2 p.m.; 4 p.m.

Leave New Colonial Hotel: 10 a.m.; 11:30 a.m.; 2:30 p.m.; 4:30 p.m.

Saturday schedule

Leave Brown Building: 9:30 a.m.; 1 p.m.; 4 p.m.

Leave New Colonial Hotel: 10 a.m.; 1:30 p.m.; 4:30 p.m.

The purpose of the shuttle will be primarily to deliver and pick up mail. However, personnel can utilize the mail-shuttle at the same time.

TIMELY TELEPHONE TIPS

When you receive a telephone call, always remember to—

1. Answer as promptly as possible. Try to answer before second ring.

2. Identify yourself when answering: "Mr. Brown's office, Miss Andrews." "Personnel, Mason."

3. Speak distinctly and pleasantly. Hold mouthpiece well up in front of lips.

4. Avoid trite or abrupt phrases: "Who's calling?" "Just a moment." "He's busy." "He's in conference." "He's tied up." "He isn't in."

5. Volunteer the whereabouts and whereabouts of an absent person: "He can be reached in Mr. Jones' office, extension 2094." "He is out of the building until 3 o'clock." "May I locate him and ask him to call you?"

6. Volunteer your own assistance: "Is there something I could do?" "Could I help you?" "Or anyone else?"

7. Request identity of caller only when necessary, and in a tactful manner: "May I have your name?" "May I ask who this is, please?"

8. Explain off-the-line delays: "It's in files. Can you wait a moment?"

9. Take messages willingly. Write essential details on a suitable message form; deliver promptly.

10. Transfer elsewhere only when you know definitely the correct person or number. Give caller these facts before transferring.

When you make a telephone call, always remember to—

1. Plan an effective conversation. Get your thoughts in order before calling.

2. Place the call yourself, except in special circumstances. Make sure you are on the line ready to talk when the called person is reached.

3. Have the correct number (or extension) in mind. Consult your directory, or personal number list.

4. Listen for dial tone—dial carefully. See general information page in your directory.

5. Identify yourself immediately to the first person answering the called telephone: "This is Mr. Johnson. May I speak to Mr. Hodges, please?"

6. Identify also, when helpful, your office and purpose in calling: "Mr. Brown, in accounts, returning Mr. Green's call."

7. Ask whether called person has time to talk now if call is likely to be lengthy.

8. Try to complete your business on one call by securing information or leaving a message.

9. Volunteer your extension and the best time to reach you in case you request a callback.

10. Keep your conversation brief and businesslike.

Headquarters

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Abbott, Ethelyn	7273	B614
Adams, Alonia	3243	B811
Adams, Barbara	6014	B607
Adler, James N.	4887	B708-B
Agner, Bonnie	6456	B707
Aguirre, Humberto	6391	N625
Alestock, Yvonne B.	6891	B514
Alexander, Allan A.	28644	B630
Allott, Patricia A.	3275	B814-U
Alston, Orilla	28817	B628
Alt, Terry	5671	B636
Ammidow, Robert L.	3755	B704-A
Andersen, Robert A.	5671	B636
Archer, Steve	6391	N625
Armstrong, Jannett	7047	B631
Arnold, Lucille	5871	B604
Arthur, Ralph W.	6070	B428
Atkinson, Gordon	6051	B708-J
Baer, Joscelind B.	3897	B717
Baer, Sammie	5755	B501
Baggerly, Vaughn H.	3961	B715-G
Bailey, John	6044	B712-F
Baker, Donald M.	6871	B808-A
Baker, Robert N.	6433	B715-F
Baldwin, Fred D.	6391	N625
Ball, R. Markham	5871	B807
Bamberger, Lisbeth	7321	B543
Bane, Mary C.	3861	B715
Barker, Dorothy	6017	B624
Barlas, Eleanor	6021	B812
Barron, Fraser	6165	B817
Bass, William H.	4388	B511
Beach, Thurman T.		B446
Beattie, Mary Ann	6046	B812
Bechtold, Hertert A.	3447	B560
Bell, John Price	3121	B814-D
Bell, John	5853	B807
Belt, Victor L.	6623	B726
Bender, Paul C.	3966	B701-B
Berg, Susan G.	3755	B704
Bernstein, Jerome S.	7278	B551
Berry, Mildred	6089	B808
Berry, Theodore	4876	B535
Black, Irvin D.	6054	B715-H
Blackburn, Glenn	6017	B624-A
Blanton, Mary Jane	6421	B712
Blatt, Ethel	5762	B564
Blick, Naomi	6134	B625
Blinderman, Audrey V.	7321	B578
Boasberg, Emanuel	6093	B811-D
Boettger, Evelyn I.	3751	B431-A
Bonds, Katreen H.	3387	B576
Bookbinder, Hyman H.	6001	B809-A
Booker, John	5277	B705-B
Boone, Richard	3601	B536
Borcher, Jessie	6825	B410
Bott, Lawrence	5891	B634
Bowman, Catherine S.	3755	B704
Bowman, William S.	28951	B424-A
Boxall, George W.	5040	B715-B
Bozman, William H.	6194	B525
Bradigan, Ellen J.	6025	B812
Brady, Catherine	6071	B803
Brashears, Benjamin S.	4378	B727
Braun, Margaret	5867	B428
Brechner, Jennie L.	7438	B403
Breed, Dudley	7471	B817
Brenden, Jesse L.	6054	B715-H
Bresnick, Fred	5466	B546
Brewer, Harold E.	6421	B712-A
Bridgeford, Mildred	28951	B425
Brooks, Florence	7323	B580
Brown, Arsula C.	5927	B711
Brown, Ellen	6131	B562
Brown, Holmes	6877	B814-A
Brown, Joyce	5891	B604
Brown, Walter	6017	B621
Browne, Wayles E. (Dr.)	6226	B506
Brownstein, Sidney	6110	B428
Brun, John	6933	B618
Brussel, Juliet R.	6421	B712-D
Bullock, Gwendolyn A.	3411	B549
Burke, Edward J.	5718	B712-G
Burns, John F.	3961	B715-G
Butts, Maureen J.	3231	B408
Buxbaum, Jean	3803	B626
Byas, Kay A.	3366	B529
Cahill, Patricia	5927	B709-F
Cahn, Edgar S.	6064	B802
Calloway, Joyce E.	3041	B416
Calvert, Ellen F.	3387	B575
Cantrell, Robert	3956	B719-A
Capiga, Geraldine	7047	B631
Caprio, Ralph	3601	B537
Capron, Charles E.	6456	B707
Cardwell, Warren	3447	B559
Carley, John W.	7353	B712
Carlile, Judy	3027	B814-B
Carnivale, Carolyn	6134	B625
Carroll, Catherine T.	6064	B803
Carrozza, Mary V.	6933	B617
Carter, Barbara	6501	B526
Carter, Charles	6933	B618

Headquarters—Continued

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Carter, Lisle	6631	B811-A
Carter, Tom	4016	B516
Cassell, Elaine	6421	B712-D
Casserly, Agnes	21821	B441
Cassidy, Robert	7612	B422
Cassidy, Thomas A.	7018	B810
Castelberry, G. P.	3421	B448
Cawley, James F.	7951	B440
Charles, Ronald	6651	B639
Chayes, Kitty	7321	B549
Cheston, John	6421	B712-B
Chong, Charles	6017	B622-A
Christlan, Joyce	28817	B628
Church, Catherine	5687	B632
Clampitt, Robert H.	6226	B503
Clark, Nellie	5676	B631
Cloney, Micheline O.	3751	B431-A
Clurman, Rodney H.	7278	B550
Coakley, Charline K.	3751	B432
Cole, Charles C.	6054	B715-H
Cole, Sheldon	3923	B632
Coleman, Katherine A.	4305	B703
Coles, Lucille	4305	B704
Collier, Wayne F.	6057	B8th floor lobby
Colligan, Jean	5766	B823
Collins, Arline	5827	B517
Collins, Mary D.	28951	B424
Colombo, Russell	3041	B416
Compton, Jean	6825	B410
Concannon, Mary G.	6017	B622
Condeles, Dora	5881	B807
Conn, Philip	6017	B623
Conroy, Ralph J.	3961	B715-C
Cook, Kay	3411	B549
Constable, Elinor	5687	B601
Conway, Jack T.	6085	B805
Corbett, Alfred	3381	B568
Cosgrove, Thomas	3366	B532
Cosler, Mary	22365	B629
Courtney, Mary C.	6165	B816
Crawford, Robert C.	4347	B811-C
Crawford, Robert D.	6051	B708-D
Crawley, Donna M.	3751	B432
Cremers, Joyce M.	28951	B425
Crosby, Margaret H.	6458	B707
Culpepper, Elizabeth	7951	B440
Cummins, Robert V.	5655	B417
Cunningham, Edwin S.	7331	B411
Cupp, Anne	22365	B629
Curns, Diane	6165	B816
Curtis, Anita	6085	B805
Cutler, Nathan	6186	B405
Cutler, Theodore	3421	B448
Czaplewski, Robert	6014	B605
Dacus, Benjamin T.	3352	B401
Daggett, Lois	5853	B807
Dail, Francis R.	3897	B717
Daschbach, John A.	3041	B416
Davis, Alpha L.	3961	B715-G
Davis, Dwight	6391	N625
Davis, Julia	7253	B611
Dawkins, Daniel B.	3352	B401
Dawkins, Maurice	3931	B604-A
Dean, John	7343	B568
Deimer, Fred	6791	B610
Deinema, J. W.	3956	B719
Delaney, Sheila	3130	B581
Delo, David A.	6037	B812-D
Denny, Charles V.	7323	B579
Derman, Donald	6021	B812
Devlin, John R.	5927	B711
Dewey, Howard S.	3751	B431
DeYoung, Audrey	5755	B501
Dietz, Sharon L.	4305	B704
Dingle, Loretha	6014	B607
Dodson, Sandra F.	6462	B538
Doherty, James E.	3143	B814
Doke, Mary	5891	B604
Donahue, Elizabeth	6071	B804
Donohue, John A.	7613	B423
Donvito, Pasqual	3623	B812-E
Dotson, Helen	7047	B631
Douffas, Ruth	5101	B814
Drachman, Robert	3433	B507
Drake, Charles H.	6601	B544
Drob, Judah	3366	B531
Drohat, D. C.	4771	B520
Dromgoole, Richard H.	6421	B712-J
Duffy, James E.	3387	B573
Duke, Sherry	6037	B812
Dunlap, Frances	7267	B640
Dunn, S. K.	5277	B705-A
Early, Reubena	5671	B608
Easter, Shirley	3091	B814
Eigen, Lewis D.	3755	B704-A
Eisert, Grace	6194	B524
Elder, Charles	7131	B414
Elderman, John	6071	B624
Eldred, Phil H.	5827	B557
Ellis, Garrison M.	5150	B814-N
Elwell, Richard R.	3143	B814-S
Engleberg, Morton R.	5101	B814-H

Headquarters—Continued

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Epps, Theresa	6633	B638
Evans, John P.	7291	B612
Eversole, Gordon	7278	B551
Fargotstein, Elka	7273	B614
Feczkanin, Anne	3917	B707-L
Fennel, Carol	3387	B575
Fensterer, Judith	6226	B503
Ferguson, Glenn W.	6134	B625-A
Ferguson, Ruby	5914	B807
Ferlo, Virgil J.	3961	B715-G
Fiedelman, Judith A.	6601	B543
Fine, Edith W.	5943	B807
Fischer, Barbara	6108	B428
Fischer, William C.	6037	B812-C
Fisher, Rose Z.	5927	B711
Flaherty, Melvin	7331	B411
Flather, Elizabeth	7291	B612
Fogelman, Milton	3751	B400-A
Foot, Mary E.	4887	B708
Forbes, Lorraine	6425	B711
Ford, Margaret M.	6017	B621
Forman, Sylvia M.	7975	B647
Forsman, Lynn R.	3751	B433
Foster, Pamela	6891	B514
Foster, Stanley	7423	B451
Frank, Phyllis	7018	B810
Frank, Jean P.	7975	B647
Frank, Joseph A.	3387	B574
Frank, Peggy (Dr.)	5927	B709
Frazier, Howard	5827	B513
Freckleton, Ruth F.	6054	B715-H
Friedl, Judith E.	6877	B814-B
Fulton, James L.	7128	B413
Gabaldon, Charles	6433	B715-F
Gaffney, Barbara	4024	B561
Garrity, Margaret	5827	B557
Garvey, Gail	6015	B635
Gary, Doris E.	5831	B807
Gawlik, Helen M.	7395	B428
Gearhart, Carol	5277	B705
Gee, Thomas	5782	B822
Geis, Gilbert	5927	B709-F
Genovese, Joseph J.	7315	B404
George, John A.	3272	B628-D
George, Thomas R.	7353	B725
Gerber, Joseph H.	3961	B715-D
Gerran, Ernest D.	3231	B409
Gerson, Richard	3863	B626-A
Gibbs, Juanita	3120	B581
Gibson, Felton A.	3863	B626
Gilgoff, Leon	6025	B812-A
Gill, Patricia	6456	B707-F
Gillis, James C., Jr.	5927	B709-F
Gilmore, Lorena	6134	B625
Glass, Thomas	3641	B563
Glazer, Etta	3281	B455
Gleason, Helen K.	4293	B722
Glennic, Jean	6093	B811
Gold, William	5629	B814-P
Goldberg, Bernard	22365	B628-B
Goldstein, Stanley	3352	B401
Goldten, Bob	5943	B807
Gonzales, Jack	6754	N301
Good, Connie	6877	B814
Gottlieb, David	3755	B704-B
Gottlieb, Hyman G.	6433	B715-E
Gould, James P.	3121	B814-E
Graves, Patricia R.	6877	B814
Graves, Ruth E.	5827	B557
Greenberg, Polly	6831	N101
Gross, Ernest	3143	B814-T
Grossman, David A.	6196	B523
Grossman, Harvey G.	3623	B812-E
Guskin, Alan	7151	B621-D
Haas, Louisa	6014	B635
Haber, Murray	6791	B610
Haddad, William	5755	B501
Hagan, Joseph H.	3120	B581
Hall, Chester G., Jr.	4305	B704-G
Hall, Clifton G.	7131	B414
Hall, C. Mitchell	6054	B715-H
Hall, Mary F.	6043	B712
Hamilton, L. Clark	5879	B428
Hanau, Fred M.	7438	B403
Hanson, Hazel	6147	B508
Harlan, Edward N.	7421	B451
Harris, Kenneth	7975	B647
Harris, Richard	6147	B508
Hart, Diana	7471	B816
Hasting, Priscilla	3421	B448
Hartington, Pauline M.	3956	B719-C
Hatch, Joyce	7047	B631
Hathaway, Virginia	6014	B635
Hauck, Arthur	6017	B621
Hausler, Richard	6891	B515
Hayes, Dora	28817	B628
Hayes, Frederick O. R.	6501	B527
Haymes, Charles S.	7315	B404
Hazelton, Joan M.	6267	B821
Healy, Edward P.	3897	B717-A
Heath, James A., Jr.	3272	B627
Helal, Georganna	7612	B422
Heller, James	5881	B807

Headquarters—Continued

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Henderson, Deirdre M.	6131	B517
Henry, June W.	6456	B707-H
Hershey, Amber	5883	B621
Hiebert, Mary Anne	3755	B704-A
Hill, Barbara	5871	B807
Hill, Charley J.	3720	B627
Himmele, Irvin	6456	B708-F
Hill, Maurice	6014	B635
Hill, Wilma	6134	B625
Hinnitt, Janice	6014	B607
Hite, Kathie	4771	B519
Hoehler, Fred K.	3366	B531
Hogan, Virginia	3387	B575
Hohenstein, Albert	3923	B633-A
Holladay, Ann E.	6186	B405
Holland, Margaret	6014	B635
Holman, William G.	5729	B709-C
Holt, Fred	6391	N625
Holtby, Bert E.	5927	B709
Holton, Pauline	3366	B529
Hopkins, Edna	8966	B702
Hornbuckle, Richard	7291	B613
Howard, Ralph A.	3751	B432
Howell, Joseph	3381	B565
Hoy, June	3231	B408
Huffman, Marilyn	4347	B811
Hughes, Betty K.	3923	B633
Hughes, Eleanor Pollock	6877	B814
Hughes, Joann	5717	B712-G
Hughley, Louise	6134	B625
Humbert, Homer	6045	B712-C
Hunsinger, Jane	6134	B625
Hunter, Edith	6165	B817
Hunter, Patricia	3863	B626-A
Huntington, Haskins	6054	B715-H
Hutchison, John	7137	B-615
Hummel, Anne Marie	6037	B812
Hylton, Taft H.	7951	B440
Hymes, James L.	5467	B545
Iker, Sandra	3121	B814-E
Impett, V. Grant	5716	B712-H
Irby, Alice J.	3966	B700
Israel, Tom S.	4771	B519
Jackson, Edna N.	6601	B541
Jackson, Johnetta	5871	B807
Jackson, Robert	7393	B428
Jackson, William	5878	B428
Jacobson, William C.	6037	B812
Jager, Oscar	3366	B580
James, Catherine R.	6376	B541
Jarrard, Rhid	6226	B503
Jewert, Russell	6391	N625
Johnson, Arthur	7975	B647
Johnson, Dorothy S.	6843	B416
Johnson, Gertrude	6017	B624
Johnson, Henry A.	3231	B408
Johnson, Jean	7047	B631
Johnson, Jeralyn	7047	B631
Johnson, John D.	3623	B812-E
Johnson, R. Glenn	28644	B630-A
Johnson, Ronald J.	5671	B608
Johnson, William	5466	N703
Johnston, Robert W.	7417	B455
Jones, Juanita L.	7951	B440
Kahn, Fred	7353	B725
Kane, Roslyn	5891	B603
Kapfer, Andrew J.	7331	B411
Kashdan, Bruce	6014	B635
Kauders, Peggy	6628	B628
Keating, Raymond F.	6051	B708-H
Keehan, Virginia	6456	B707-C
Keeton, Karen B.	7018	B810
Kelly, William P.	6661	B422
Kendall, Johanna	6843	B416
Kennedy, John H.	6051	B708-C
Kennedy, Pdraic	5684	B600-A
Kershaw, Joseph A.	6025	B812
Keville, Maurice	5881	B807
Keyser, Stephney J.	4313	N205
Killeri, Marilyn	7353	B725
King, Carol L.	3387	B573
King, Edward F.	28951	B424
King, Judith H.	4811	B709
Kinney, Linda	28817	B628
Kirrane, Michael D.	7331	B411
Klee, Raymond B.	5729	B709
Klores, Noel	5165	B522
Knight, William F. T.	6501	B528
Koch, George	6017	B623
Kogan, Deborah	6014	B607
Kolberg, Rosemond	6831	N101
Kornegay, Emma M.	5277	B717
Kramer, Leo	7162	B621-A
Kravitz, Sanford	6376	B540
Kreigh, McKinley W.	3387	B572
Krovette, Karen	3130	B581
Laciny, Dorothy	4226	B406
Lagon, Barbara A.	3976	B707
Lander, Clifton P.	3956	B719-C
Large, Hazel W.	6433	B715-F
Larson, Joan	6017	B644
Lawrence, William C.	6601	B542
Lawson, Gussie L.	6425	B709
Lee, Winston	6651	B639
Lefkowitz, Gary	6226	B504
Leibner, Stanley	6043	B712-C

Headquarters—Continued

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Lendt, Lee A.	6131	B562
Leonard, William C.	6501	B528
Lesniewski, Elizabeth	7613	B422
Lester, Edwina	6633	B638
Levine, Robert A.	6046	B812-F
Levine, Shirley	6661	B422
Levine, Stanley R.	5277	B705
Lewis, Dorothy	3641	B563
Lewis, Elizabeth M.	3956	B719
Lewis, Jean T.	3956	B719
Lewis, Rosalie	6633	B638
Lickus, Barbara	7151	B620
Liebling, Harold S.	5277	B705
Lieinan, Joan	4354	B520
Lincoln, Leslie	6131	B518
Lines, Francis E.	7353	B725
Linfield, Jon W.	3387	B573
Linford, Velma	6014	B606
L'Italian, Richard W.	7331	B411
Little, Roy	3957	B719
Lloyd, Wilma Hill	5684	B600
Logan, Edward F.	3387	B572
Long, Gillis (Hon.)	6165	B817-A
Long, Lewis	6933	B617
Lorenzo, Michael	3897	B717
Lyday, James	6021	B812
Lyons, Judy	7018	B810
Lyons, Maureen G.	7323	B552
Mackrill, Georgia	6433	B715-F
Macomber, Richard	6877	B814-C
Madison, James A.	3897	B717-B
Madsen, Brigham	5891	B603
Maguire, Francis X.	3285	B814-G
Mahoney, Theresa K.	3048	B505
Maley, Thelma	5891	B628
Mancuso, Jo Ann	3751	B433
Mangold, Raymond J.	3956	B719
Manly, M. Dorcas	3387	B674
Mann, Mary	6017	B622
Mann, Phyllis A.	6054	B715-H
Mansfield, Norman	5671	B637
Mantel, Arlene L.	5466	B546
Margolin, Joseph	5467	B545
Marley, Frederick	5277	B705
Masters, Peter F.	3275	B814-U
Mathews, Fleming	6433	B715-F
Mathis, Donald B.	6391	N626
May, Annie E.	5927	B709-E
May, Edgar	6134	B625-B
May, John E.	7423	B451
Mayes, Margaret W.	6456	B437
Mayes, Maurice S.	7421	B437
McAllister, Raymond	5927	B709-E
McAteer, John M.	7975	B647
McCabe, Charlotte	6425	B709
McCall, Ella	5687	B600
McCamley, Edward	28951	B424
McCarthy, Carol	3623	B812
McCarthy, George D.	5981	B727
McCarthy, Rita	5853	B807
McConnell, Beatrice	5827	B557
McConnell, William A.	6433	B715-E
McCormack, Richard E.	3966	B702
McCormick, Sara	6871	B808
McDowell, Charles	6425	B709-C
McEntee, Girard L.	3352	B401
McGuinn, William	22365	B628-C
McGuinness, Lou	5466	N703
McHale, Margaret	7162	B626
McKenna, Thomas	22365	B628-A
McKensie, Mary	3387	B575
McLaughlin, William	7421	B437
McMahon, Michael J.	7323	B580
Melton, Mary M.	7128	B413
Mennis, Susan	4293	B722
Michael, Raymond V.	28644	B630
Michaelis, Diana	3027	B814-B
Michaelis, Anne M.	5619	B814
Mields, Irene H.	3091	B814-F
Miller, Harry J.	3121	B814-D
Miller, Paul	5466	N703
Mitchell, Donn S.	6165	B817-B
Mittenthal, Stephen	5671	B636
Mittman, Evelyn	6001	B809
Mocler, Robert I.	5867	B428
Monahan, Fergus T.	6730	B715-D
Montgomery, Nellie	7951	B440
Moore, Anne	6631	B811
Moore, Michael	6391	N626
Moore, Robert	5983	N616
Moran, William	3641	B563
Morris, Dudley	6462	N710
Morris, Geraldine O.	6085	B805
Morrow, Don	6391	N625
Morstad, Ariz P.	3976	B707-L
Mosenfelder, John	5277	B705-B
Moss, Edward K.	6877	B814-Q
Moyano, Magda	6051	B708
Mozee, Vernon	6843	B416-C
Mullins, William B.	6165	B817-C
Murphy, Janet A.	8352	B401
Murphy, John	5881	B807
Murphy, Sharon M.	6753	N323
Muss, Lois B.	5129	B814-M
Muth, Frances	3121	B814
Myers, Ernie R.	7253	B611

Headquarters—Continued

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Myers, John	5878	B428
Nadherny, Ferd	3859	B824
Napier, Jane	5881	B807
Naylor, Fannie M.	6057	8th floor lobby
Nelson, Genevieve V.	6425	B711
Ness, Susan M.	7131	B414
Newbury, Arthur W.	22365	B628-B
Newman, Carole	4305	B704
Nichols, Sylvia	5277	B705
Nickell, Patricia	3130	B581
Nikkel, Catherine	5676	B631
Nikkel, Florence	5676	B631
Noel, Robert W.	28644	B630
Noone, Thomas J.	28951	B424
Norman, Joyce	7047	B631
Norried, Barbara	6391	N625
Nygren, Annie Laura	3956	B719
O'Callaghan, Donal N.	5927	B709-C
Ogle, Audrey	3387	B673
O'Hara, Edward A.	5096	B814-J
Oliver, Patricia	6165	B816
Oliver, Mary A.	3751	B431
Olson, William A.	6433	B715-F
Ornati, Oscar	7321	B577
Ortega, Linda L.	7471	B817
Osborn, Keith	3433	B507
Osburn, Jimmie R.	28951	B424
Oswald, Paul F.	4811	B709-B
Otter, Ann	5573	N719
Otto, David	7267	B640
Onulicky, Mildred A.	7471	B817
Overbey, Ethel	4468	B512
Pacheco, Nancy	22365	B629
Pachios, Harold	3863	B626
Paige, Theodore	5927	B709
Palmer, Frank C.	5277	B705-A
Papa, William	5878	B428
Papadakis, Dorothy G.	4887	B708
Parker, Margorie	7975	B647
Parker, Robert A.	7353	B725
Partridge, Anthony	5853	B807
Pathy, Elizabeth	6043	B712-C
Patterson, Floyd	28644	B630
Paul, James R.	5878	B428
Paynter, David	4811	B709-A
Pearl, Sherman J.	6877	B814
Pearson, Robert	3923	B633
Pecknay, Pamela	6017	B644
Pelo, June M.	7128	B413
Perine, James	7047	B631
Perry, Joann	6421	B712
Petrie, Ronald	5827	B513
Phillips, William R.	7394	B428
Pinette, Yvonne	6165	B817
Piper, Penny	6037	B812
Platt, Elwood A.	4226	B406
Pleasant, Doris	3931	B604
Plein, Paul	6021	B812
Pope, Elizabeth	28644	B630
Porter, Douglas	5277	B705-A
Portlock, Dan	3863	B626
Powers, Thomas	5891	B634
Price, Claudia H.	3421	B448
Price, Gary	5891	B602
Price, Murray N.	5464	B411-A
Proctor, Welles A.	7423	B451
Pubulis, Maris	6054	B715-H
Pulakos, Milton	6043	B712-C
Purdon, Eric	3897	B717
Putnam, I.	3623	B812-E
Pye, Judy King	5927	B709
Quattlebaum, Mary	5827	B516
Rae, Norman	5883	B621-B
Ramirez, Larry	6391	N625
Rantane, Bruno	6017	B624
Raphael, Frances J.	6425	B709
Ratcliffe, Rita	3923	B633
Raul, B. Michael	4876	B534
Ravin, Louis	3411	B550
Redmond, Sylvia	4876	B534
Reed, M. Virginia	6421	B712
Reid, Marjorie S.	6196	B521
Reidy, Ursula	6831	N101
Reiser, Peter	5466	N703
Reuter, Judith A.	5277	B705
Richardson, James A.	7421	B437
Richmond, Julius	6147	B507-A
Richmond, Lillian	5755	B501
Ridder, Marie W.	3027	B814-B
Rioux, J. William	5466	N703
Roberson, Kenneth W.	7411	B501
Roberson, Paul L.	3755	B704
Robinson, Wade	4293	B723
Roddy, Robert	3923	B633
Rose, Mathew	3447	B559
Rosenthal, Elaine	6017	B621
Rosenthal, Gerald	7353	B725
Ross, Elizabeth H.	6601	B543
Rowe, Bernice C.	7018	B810
Roy, Leatrice D.	3366	B529
Royster, Kathryn J.	3976	B707-B
Rubin, Matt	5891	B634
Rudd, Glenn	3923	B633-A
Rule, Lee	3285	B814-G
Sabine, Ellen	3755	B705

Headquarters—Continued

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Salesses, Gerald P.	3352	B401
Salett, Stanley	5466	B546
Salisbury, Judy	3923	B633-A
Salm, Frederick M.	4313	N206
Salony, Patricia	6504	B564
Sandifer, William	3366	B570
Sandler, Benjamin	3751	B400-C
Saunders, Elmira	7267	B641
Savwoir, Edward O.	3961	B715-G
Scandone, Sue	6021	B812
Schima, Marilyn	6456	B707-G
Schlaak, Alta C.	4305	B704
Schmais, Aaron	6601	B544
Schoeppel, Harry C.	5927	B709
Schrieffer, Daniel	4887	B708-D
Schuh, Nancy	3272	B628
Schultz, Susan M.	7331	B411
Scott, Florence M.	6623	B726
Scott, Herbert	3923	B633-A
Scott, Vivian	7273	B614
Scurlock, India W.	6877	B814
Seaton, Barbara J.	5129	B814
Seligman, Jack	3231	B408
Sell, Cindy	6021	B812
Sexton, Brendan J.	3366	B530
Shafel, Sally	3976	B707
Shanley, Thomas	5676	B631
Shea, Gerald	28951	B425
Shealy, Norris	6769	B715-G
Shelton, Carole	6001	B809
Shepherd, Joan F.	6131	B517
Sher, Michael	3863	B626
Sherman, Annabelle (Dr.)	6456	B707-E
Sherman, Eleanor	6933	B617
Shmelzer, June L.	5891	B634
Shoemaker, Francis E.	6623	B726
Shook, Anna	3272	B627
Shorr, Ellen J.	7291	B612
Shovell, William	5763	B563
Shriver, Sargent	6095	B800
	22025	M513
Slegal, Pamela	6017	B621
Sienkiewicz, Edward J.	28951	B425
Sill, Maurice	6014	B605
Silverstein, Susan	7267	B641
Simkus, Lora D.	3966	B701
Singleton, Lorena	6046	B812
Sinkin, Nancy	6017	B623
Singleary, Otis A.	3966	B700
Sislock, Winifred L.	3623	B812
Skinner, Frances V.	3121	B814
Skinner, Lois Fox	7018	B810
Skuhr, Cheryl	5455	B418
Smith, Carla	5676	B631
Smith, Doris G.	3863	B626-B
Smith, Dorothy	6165	B817
Smith, Dorothy H.	3861	B715
Smith, E. Hunter, Jr.	3861	B715-A
Smith, Ed.	6633	B638
Smith, Ethel E.	3976	B707
Smith, Gail E.	7471	B817
Smith, George T.	6246	N100
Smith, Margo	7975	B647
Smith, Mary	28817	B628
Smith, Wray	4293	B721
Snowden, Jacqueline J.	3352	B401
Snyder, Elizabeth	5676	B631
Snyder, William M.	7417	B455
Solomon, Eula B.	3231	B408
Somerville, Walter	22365	B629
Sonders, Simone	6335	B819
Sonnenfeldt, Marjorie H.	5687	B632
Speake, Margaret	5165	B524
Spinosa, Annette	6165	B817
Stack, Nora	5687	B600
Stang, Nancy	6651	B639
Staudte, Curtis E.	7164	B419-A
Steck, Charles F.	6110	B428
Stein, Sue	6785	N600
Steinberg, Susan F.	3144	B814
Steinbraker, Betty	6017	B644
Stellwagen, Walter	4305	B704-C
Stensrud, Susan	3275	B814-H
Stephenson, Barbara	6070	B428
Stewart, Michael	4024	B561
Stewart, Thomas M.	7471	B817
Stone, Faye Blackburn	5938	B807
Stoughton, Fiath R.	6021	B812
Stuck, Harry	5927	B709-C
Sugarman, Jule M.	6753	N325
Sullivan, Henry J.	6051	B708-E
Sullivan, Margaret	4876	B533
Susco, Richard	28951	B425
Sutherby, Margaret M.	5981	B727
Svenson, E. V.	4887	B708
Swanson, H. A.	4416	B715
Tait, Pauline W.	6877	B814
Tant, John A.	3387	B572
Tate, Martha L.	3387	B572
Taylor, Clementine F.	5782	B823
Taylor, Nancy	7353	B725
Teeter, Benjamin T.	6021	B812
Temple, Mary Ann	6054	B715-H
Terris, Bruce	5871	B807

Headquarters—Continued

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Terris, Shirley	6831	N101
Temko, Francine S.	5881	B807
Temple, Mary Ann	5831	B808
Thleberger, Fred	28951	B425
Thomas, Benjamin	7253	B611
Thomas, Carol M.	3751	B432
Thomas, John	5277	B705
Thompson, Dan	6791	B610
Thompson, Joyce	28817	B628
Thompson, Virginia F.	7331	B411
Thornell, Joan T.	5755	B501
Thorpe, Nancy	6017	B624
Tice, James	6391	N625
Tierney, Cornelius E.	7438	B403
Tillman, George	7423	B451
Tinl, Emidio	6843	B416
Tise, Vivian	3272	B627
Tolmach, Eric	3366	B532
Towle, John M.	6391	N625
Troudy, Chester W.	4811	B709-B
Troutman, John E.	5729	B709-C
Turley, Richard	6504	B564
Turner, Connie	6017	B623
Turpyn, Geogre C.	6433	B715-F
Tyler, Audrey L.	3352	B401
Ussach, Steve	3130	B581
Vanden, Maxine	6246	N101
Van Doren, Ronald	3143	B814
Van Ess, Dorothy A.	7251	B642
Vaughan, Herman D.	3387	B574
Vignola, Josephine A.	3956	B719
Vogel, Clifford W.	3751	B400-D
Vogts, Helen	6001	B809
Wagner, Richard E.	5717	B712-H
Walden, David	5687	B600
Walker, Stephen D.	7423	B151
Wallace, Horace S.	4416	B715
Walstedt, Jane D.	3966	B701
Walter, Robert G.	3381	B565
Walton, Phyllis J.	4270	N217
Walsh, Ira P.	6335	B819
Wardman, Mary O.	4416	B715
Warren, Patricia J.	3091	B814-F
Washington, Bennetta B.	3976	B707-A
Wateski, Raymond R.	7131	B414
Wayman, Cathryn	28644	B630
Weatherford, Willis	5687	B600-B
Weaver, Lucille	21821	B441
Weeks, Christopher	3966	B702
Weigle, Walter P.	3751	B431
Welles, Judith	6017	B624
Wenner, Richard	6891	B513
Werksman, Richard	5831	B807
Westgate, Robert D.	5114	B814-L
Wetterau, Kathryn L.	3447	B560
White, Eloise	6043	B712-C
White, Richard W.	6043	B712-F
White, Ruth	7975	B647
Whoberry, Willard T.	6051	B708
Wickland, Roger	5671	B637
Wickham, Mary Ann	7331	B411
Williams, Beatrice A.	4293	B722
Williams, Dorothy	5466	B546
Williams, J. Earl	3411	B549
Williams, Jack	5755	B501
Williams, Joan	3285	B814-G
Williams, Jonas E.	3411	B548
Wilkins, Joseph	3003	B504
Wilkins, William D.	3976	B707-D
Willis, Jerry	22365	B629
Wilson, Augusta	6165	B816
Wilson, Henry D.	7421	B437
Wilson, Kay	6871	B807
Wilson, Reba V.	3966	B701
Wilson, Wilbur	5729	B709-C
Winder, Michele	5943	B807
Winston, Gracie	5671	B608
Winter, Lynn	6456	B707
Wirtz, Richard	4354	B519
Wiseman, Donald L.	6246	N100
Wizner, Rachel S.	6601	B543
Wofford, John	6501	B528
Wohlgemuth, Peggy	6017	B622-B
Wolfe, Mary Ann	7291	B612
Wolff, Ruth R.	7023	B419
Wolfrey, William T.	7023	B420
Woods, Doug	5832	B807
Woods, Paul	5716	B712-H
Woodson, Audrey	6551	B511
Womack, Joseph D.	4305	B704-E
Worley, Skip	5867	B428
Wortman, Donald	6046	B812-B
Wright, Dale H.	5633	B814
Wright, Francine E.	7951	B440
Wynne, Marvis C.	4811	B709
Wynne, Edward	6043	B712-C
Ximenes, Vicente	6226	B506
Yeldell, Gladys	6633	B638
Yette, Samuel F.	6267	B821
Zagorin, Ruth	3625	B812-E
Zeda, Gladys	6147	B508
Ziegler, Jerome M.	3411	N704
Zimmerman, Stanley	5831	B807

Middle Atlantic region, 1156 15th St., NW., Washington, D.C.

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Allen, L. B. (Dr.)	6161	N517
Anderson, Darline	6787	N509
Ballin, Harold M.	6787	N507
Bingham, June M.	6787	N508
Brown, Ethel	23823	N525
Bruce, Preston	6783	N501
Burns, Robert	6783	N501
Ciacio, Jack	6781	N511
Collins, Ray	6905	N514
Cotton, Mello	6161	N516
Guss, Barbara	6161	N519
Garofalo, Donnie	6781	N512
Grasso, Dorothea	6383	N505
Harris, Naomi	6383	N505
Kissick, Dr. Wm.	6783	N503
Manley, Mary	6783	N506
Oliver, Barbara	28323	N527
Sherlock, Audrey	6781	N510
Silverstein, Bernice	6161	N518
Stack, Michael	28323	N526
Taylor, Lynnette	6161	N519
Van Dorpe, Helen	23823	N525
Wagner, Lois	6781	N510
Webb, Samuel	6783	N503
Woodring, George	6905	N514
Woolner, Sidney H.	6383	N505
Worrell, Carolyn	6781	N512
File room		N515

Kansas City region, 1156 15th St., NW., Washington, D.C.

[Area code, 202, exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Baldwin, Fred	6391	625
Moore, Michael	6391	625
Morrow, Don	6391	625
Norried, Barbara	6391	625
Ramirez, Larry	6391	625
Tice, James	6391	625
Towle, John M.	6391	625

Austin region, 1156 15th St., NW., Washington, D.C.

[Area code, 202; exchange, 382]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Aguirre, Humberto	6391	625
Baldwin, Fred	6391	625
Davis, Dwight	6391	625
Holt, Fred	6391	625
Jewett, Russell	6391	625
Mathis, Donald	6391	625
Norried, Barbara	6391	625
Tyson, Herbert	6391	625

Northeastern Region, Grand Central Post Office, 110 East 45th St., New York, N.Y., 10017

[Area code, 212; exchange, 889]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Banks, Calvin	4508	533
Banks, Dorothea	4504	533
Crowley, James	4507	533
Elser, Eleanore	4501	533
Faye, Larry	4510	533
Ferro, Frank	4511	533
Fiorillo, John	4509	533
Gratwick, Katharine	4512	533
Hanon, Thomas	4512	533
Hayden, Mary	4512	533
Hill, Thomas	4520	533
Kuc, Lillian	4513	533
Kupstas, Marilyn	4516	533
Lesser, Saal	4505	533
Nieves, Josephine	4505	533
Passett, Barry	4515	533
Phillips, Irene	4507	533
Pulakos, Milton	4521	533
Schur, Susan	4517	533
Seudder, Manuel	4520	533
Slosberg, Augusta	4506	533
Stein, Susan	4504	533
Vanden Heuvel, William J.	4500	533

Southeastern Region, 201 Ivy St., Atlanta, Ga., 30303

[Area code, 404; exchange, 526]

Name	Extension
Arneson, Henry K.	6223
Clark, Aida	6456
Elliott, John R.	6068
Feltus, Charles	6901
Floyd, Picot B.	6353
Fox, Lester J.	6901
Grice, Mary Y.	6456
Harris, William L.	6901
Jacobs, Vernie J.	6901
Jordan, Vernon	6068
Mahry, Helen F.	6621
McClung, Jean D.	6223
McMillan, Elridge W.	6353
McQuarry, Ted G.	6456
Redwine, Earl M.	6901
Wyand, Holly H.	6621
Zierden, William	6901

Midwestern region, 226 West Jackson Boulevard Building, Chicago, Ill., 60606

[Area code, 312; exchange, 828]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Abromowitz, Lillian	5786	13th floor.
Bepko, Gerald	5786	Do.
Biro, Emery	5793	Do.
Galvin, James	5790	Do.
Hollander, Sidney	5826	Do.
Hymen, Milton	5826	Do.
McArdle, Thomas	5790	Do.
Mehlberg, Wallace	5793	Do.
Miller, Mary Ellen	5790	Do.
Racusen, Belle	5808	Do.
Rice, William	5790	Do.
Robinson, Ellis	5808	Do.
Schurr, Helen	5793	Do.
Shackford, Robert I.	5786	Do.
Williams, Robert E.	5796	Do.

Western region, 100 McAllister St., San Francisco, Calif.

[Area code, 415; exchange, 556]

Name	Telephone extension	Room location
Archer, Stephen M.	7716	1327
Bull, Robert	7716	1327
Cabrera, Richard	7716	1327
Cooke, Mary	7716	1327
Cutler, Thomas	7716	1327
Goodwin, James	7716	1327
Kurland, Norman	7716	1327
Leonard, Jean	7716	1327
Martin, John	7716	1327
Mitzman, Nathan	7716	1327
Mogulof, Melvin	7716	1327
Singler, Edward	7716	1327
Stocks, Donald	7716	1327
Vasquez, Marcelino	7716	1327
Van Horn, Robert	7716	1327

Governmental interdepartmental dial codes

[NOTE.—All listings in *italics* are through-dial codes. To reach information on through-dial codes, dial code and 0 except on code 11, dial 1170; code 13, dial 1330; code 14, dial 1460; code 183, dial 18370]

Agency	Dial code	Post office stop
Accounts, Bureau of	184	224
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations	128	445
Agency for International Development	182	100
Agriculture, Department of	111	209
Agriculture Research Center, Beltsville, Md.	1234	
Air Force, Department of	11	103
Air Museum, National	144	
Alaska Railroad	183	
Alcohol Beverage Control Board, District of Columbia	137	
Alien Property, Office of	187	134
American Legion Office, Veterans' Administration	148	
American Red Cross, The National, District of Columbia Chapter	170	
Andrews Air Force Base	185	12
Antarctic Projects Officer, U.S.	128	187
Area Redevelopment Administration	112	
Arlington Hall Station	11	242

Governmental interdepartmental dial codes—Continued

Agency	Dial code	Post office stop
Armed Forces Institute of Pathology	198	215
Armed Services Police Detachment	11	
Army Strategy and Tactics Analysis Group, Bethesda, Md.	1231	
Army, Department of	11	103
Army Map Service	140	32
Army Medical Center	198	358
Army Security Agency, Arlington Hall Station	11	242
Atomic Energy Commission	119	4
Attorney General	187	219
Auditorium, Departmental	13	206
Beach Erosion Board	152	107
Board of Governors of Federal Reserve System	147	45
Boiling Air Force Base	141	11
Bonneville Power Administration	183	43
Botanic Gardens	180	304
Budget, Bureau of	128	20
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training	110	
Bureau of Engraving and Printing	184	213
Bureau of Standards, National	154	3
Bureau of Standards, Gaithersburg, Md.	164	
Business and Defense Services Administration, Department of Commerce	112	206
Business Economics, Office of, Department of Commerce	112	206
Cameron Station, Department of Army, Capitol, U.S.	11	
Census, Bureau of the	180	304
Central Heating Section	157	396
Central Intelligence Agency	13	29
Child Welfare, District of Columbia	143	64
Children's Bureau, U.S.	139	
Civil Aeronautics Board	13	367
Civil Service Commission	128	235
Civil War Centennial Commission	129	227
Coast and Geodetic Survey	128	361
Coast Guard, U.S.	112	206
Colonial Building	184	280
Commerce, Department of	128	
Commerce, Department of, Annex 1-2-3	112	206
Commercial Fisheries, Bureau of	186	206
Commission on Civil Rights	183	
Commission on International Rules of Judicial Procedure	128	152
Community Facilities Administration	128	448
Comptroller of the Currency, Office of	128	98
Comptroller General	184	223
Corporation Counsel, District of Columbia	129	308
Council of Economic Advisers	137	
Court of Claims	128	20
Court of Customs and Patent Appeals	128	53
Customs, Bureau of	184	
David Taylor Model Basin	184	311
Defense Air Transport Administration	158	
Defense Atomic Support Agency	112	206
Defense Communications Agency	11	108
Defense, Department of	11	103
Defense Intelligence Agency	11	103
Defense Lending, Office of	184	
Defense Materials Service	183	29
Defense Supply Agency	11	
Department of (See other part of title.)		
Departmental Auditorium	13	206
Disbursement, Division of	184	224
District Attorney, U.S.	1204	
District of Columbia Department of Veterans' Affairs	1211	
District of Columbia General Hospital	1238	
District of Columbia Government	137	
District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency		128
District of Columbia Rehabilitation Service	1267	
District of Columbia Village	1226	
District of Columbia Water Department	1221	
District Unemployment Compensation Board	1237	
Dulles International Airport, Chantilly, Va.	1235	
Eastern Regional Renegotiation Board	128	
Education, District of Columbia Board of	1219	
Education, U.S. Office of	13	113
Employees Compensation Appeals Board	110	137
Employees Compensation, Bureau of	110	275
Employment Security, Bureau of	110	205
Employment Service, District of Columbia	1237	
Engineers, Corps of, Washington District	152	320
Entomology, Bureau of American	144	
Executive Mansion	145	28
Executive Office of the President	128	28
Export-Import Bank of Washington	1246	292
Family Services, Bureau of	13	367
Farm Credit Administration	111	200
Federal Aviation Agency	13	34
Federal Bureau of Investigation	175	94
Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review	128	452

Governmental interdepartmental dial codes—Continued

Agency	Dial code	Post office stop
Federal Communications Commission	169	201A
Federal Credit Unions, Bureau of	13	367
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	1254	260
Federal Home Loan Bank Board	129	305
Federal Housing Administration	128	341
Comptroller, District of Columbia Insuring Office	129	
General Services	1244	
General Services	129	
Property Improvement	129	
Title 1 Division	129	
Federal Maritime Commission	129	193
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	110	33
Federal National Mortgage Association	128	295
Federal Power Commission	129	22
Federal Prison Industries	187	305B
Federal Radiation Council	128	499
Federal Records Center	1253	
Federal Register	13	220
Federal Reserve Board	147	45
Federal Safety Council	110	205
Federal Specifications	13	29
Federal Supply Service	13	29
Federal Trade Commission	1262	221
Field Services, Office of, Department of Commerce	112	
Fine Arts, Commission of	183	43
Fish and Wildlife Service	183	43
Fleet Reserve	11	103
Flood Control	11	107
Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N.	111	165
Food and Drug Administration	13	155
Foreign Assets Control	184	
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission	128	261
Foreign Trade Zones	112	206
Fort Belvoir	192	
Fort Detrick	1625	
Fort Lesley J. McNair	11	315
Fort Meade	150	
Fort Monroe, Hampton, Va.	1279	
Fort Myer	193	52
Fort Myer, South area	1213	52
Fort Ritchie, Md.	196	
Freedmen's Hospital	1624	321
Freer Gallery of Art	144	
Fuel yard	13	29
General Accounting Office, main	129	308
General Services Administration	183	29
General Services Administration, region 3	13	218
Geodetic Survey, Coast and	112	206
Geographic Names, Board on	128	43
Geological Survey	183	29A
Government Printing Office	149	370
Great Lakes Pilotage Administration	128	
Harry Diamond Laboratories	154	119
Health, Education, and Welfare	13	367
Hearings and Appeals, Bureau of	128	199
Highway Research, U.S.	1224	44
Highways, U.S. Bureau of	128	
Housing and Home Finance Agency	128	98
Howard University	151	381
Immigration and Naturalization Service	155	234
Income Tax Information, Federal	184	
Indian Affairs, Bureau of	183	43
Economic Development Division	1208	
Indian Claims Commission	129	308
Intelligence Office, Potomac River Naval Command	11	314
Inter-American Development Bank	128	243
Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences	176	
Inter-Government Committee for European Migration	1248	
Interior, Department of	183	43
Internal Revenue Service	184	203
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	181	26
International Business Operations, Bureau of	112	
International Finance Corporation	181	
International Finance, Office of	184	223
International Joint Commission	13	86
International Monetary Fund	181	8
International Programs, Bureau of	112	
International Trade Fairs, Office of	186	206
Interstate Commerce Commission	156	204
Jefferson Memorial	1230	43
John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts	128	208
Joint Chiefs of Staff	11	103
Joint Publications Research Service, United States	13	159
Junior Village	1226	
Justice, Department of	187	219
Juvenile Court	1623	
Labor, Department of	110	205
Labor Management Reports, Bureau of	110	
Labor Standards, Bureau of	110	
Labor Statistics, Bureau of	110	275
Land Management, Bureau of	183	43
Library, District of Columbia Public	137	

Governmental interdepartmental dial codes—
Continued

Agency	Dial code	Post office stop
Library of Congress	173	303
Lincoln Memorial	1230	43
Lincoln Museum	1230	43
Lorton Reformatory	137	
Marine Barracks (Department of Defense)	1239	313
Marine Corps School, Quantico, Va.	136	
Marine Corps, U.S.	11	82
Maritime Administration	129	114
Marshall's Office, U.S.	1204	
Merchant Marine	129	280
Military District of Washington	11	106
Mines, Bureau of	183	43
Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board	137	
Mint, Bureau of the	184	223
Missile Sites Labor Commission	110	
Motor Pool, Interagency	13	218
Motor Vehicle Parking Agency	137	
Mount Alto Hospital	159	50
Municipal Center, District of Columbia	137	
Municipal Court, District of Columbia	1206	
Narcotics, Bureau of	184	349B
National Academy of Sciences	1224	44
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	128	85
Goddard Space Flight Center, Greenbelt, Md.	134	232
Langley Field, Va.	165	
Wallops Island	189	
National Aeronautics and Space Council	128	338
National Air Museum	144	
National Archives and Records Service	13	220
National Bureau of Standards	154	3
National Capital Housing Authority	128	101
National Capital Region	1230	43
National Capital Planning Commission	128	456
National Capital Transportation Agency	128	179
National Collection of Fine Arts	144	338
National Gallery of Art	1218	265
National Guard Bureau	11	103
National Institutes of Health	14	
National Inventors Council	186	
National Labor Relations Board	128	
National Library of Medicine	14	
National Mediation Board	128	135
National Museum	144	217
National Park Service	183	43
National Science Foundation	178	19
National Security Agency	188	66
National Security Council	128	28
National War College	11	315
Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.	1229	
Naval Base, Philadelphia, Pa.	1626	
Naval Communications Station, Cheltenham	171	174
Naval Medical Center	1223	
Naval Observatory	11	1
Naval Oceanographic Office, U.S.	153	504
Naval Ordnance Laboratory	194	
Naval Propellant Plant, Indian Head, Md.	135	
Naval Reconnaissance and Technical Support Center	199	
Naval Research Laboratory	172	10
Naval Research Laboratory Annex, Chesapeake Beach, Md.	1220	
Naval Security Station	11	172
Naval Station	11	9
Washington Navy Yard Annex	11	314
Naval Weapons Laboratory, Dahlgren, Va.	1232	
Navy, Department of	11	48
Office of Civil Defense, Pentagon, Arlington	11	
Region 2 Headquarters (Oincy, Md.)	1269	
Oincy Facility	1269	
Office of Economic Opportunity	128	277
Office of Emergency Planning	128	16
Frequency Management Division	129	
Interdepartment Radio Advisory Committee	129	16
Office of Minerals Mobilization	183	43
Office of Presidential Consultant on a National Service Program	128	
Office of Science and Technology	128	
Office of Special Investigation	1201	
Oil and Gas, Office of	183	43
Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, Baltimore, Md.	130	
Washington District Office	13	
Pan American Sanitary Bureau	195	
Pan American Union	176	
Park Police, U.S.	1230	43
Parole, Board of	187	
Patent Office	112	206
Patuxent River Naval Air Station	131	
Patuxent Wildlife Research Center, Laurel, Md.	1227	
Peace Corps	128	255
Plant Industry, Beltsville, Md.	1233	
Post Office Department	177	201
President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy	110	

Governmental interdepartmental dial codes—
Continued

Agency	Dial code	Post office stop
President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped	110	205
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity	110	205
President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime	13	
President's Committee on Migratory Labor	110	205
President's Council on Physical Fitness	129	308
Prisons, Bureau of	187	305B
Public Assistance Division of District of Columbia	139	
Public Buildings Service	183	29
Public Debt, Bureau of	184	212
Public Health Service	13	367
Woodmont Building, Bethesda, Md.	1247	
Medical Services, Bureau of, Silver Spring, Md.	1276	
State Services, Bureau of, Silver Spring, Md.	1276	
Public Housing Administration	128	99
Public Roads, Bureau of:		
Main	128	29C
Region 15	1252	29C
Arlington Division	128	29C
Physical Research Laboratory	128	29C
Research Station	1266	29C
Public Utilities Commission, District of Columbia	137	
Public Welfare, District of Columbia, Department of	137	
Bell School	1250	
Railroad Retirement Board	1277	
District Field Office	1271	
Reciprocity Information, Committee for	1272	226
Reclamation, Bureau of	183	43
Recreation Department, District of Columbia	1214	
Red Cross, The American National	170	
Renegotiation Board, The	128	61
Research Council, National	1224	44
Resources and Investigations, Division of District of Columbia	139	
Rivers and Harbors, Improvement of	11	106
St. Elizabeths Hospital	1620	
Savings Bonds Division	184	307
Schools, District of Columbia Public	137	
Scientific and Technical Intelligence Center, Department of the Navy	11	
Secret Service, U.S.	184	223
Secretary, Office of (Commerce)	112	
Securities and Exchange Commission	13	349C
Selective Service, National Headquarters	183	40
Advisory Committee, National	183	40
Appeals Board, National	183	40
District of Columbia	129	133
Small Business Administration	128	180
Smithsonian Institution	144	217
Social Security Administration:		
Washington	13	367
Baltimore, Md.	130	
Property Management	1241	
Soldiers' and Sailors' Temporary Home	137	84
Solicitor, Office of the	110	
Southeastern Power Administration	183	43
Southwestern Power Administration	183	43
Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Bureau of State, Department of	183	43
Subversive Activities Control Board	182	27
Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office	128	299
Supreme Court, U.S.	149	370
Tariff Commission, U.S.	1207	302
Tax Court, U.S.	1272	226
Technical Services, Office of	184	203
Tempo 8 Bldg. (Department of Defense)	186	206
Tennessee Valley Authority	11	103
Territories, Office of	183	337
Travel Service, U.S.	183	43
Treasurer of the United States, Office of	112	
Treasury, Department of	134	223
United Nations Information Center	184	223
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	1265	
U.S. Attorney's Office	1216	
U.S. Courts	1204	
U.S. Courts, Administrative Office of	1204	
U.S. Employment Service:	1207	312
National	110	275
District of Columbia Office	1237	144
U.S. Engineers, Washington District	152	320
U.S. Information Agency	182	121
HEW Bldg	13	121
Tempo R	13	121
Auditors	182	121
U.S. Marshal's Office	1204	
Urban Renewal Administration	128	98
Vehicles and Traffic, District of Columbia, Department of	137	
Veterans' Administration, Main	148	73
Munitions Bldg.	148	
Veterans Benefit Office	148	
Veterans Reemployment Rights, Bureau of	110	205
Vint Hill Farms Station	190	

Governmental interdepartmental dial codes—
Continued

Agency	Dial code	Post office stop
Vital Statistics, National Office of	13	367
Vocational Rehabilitation, Administration	13	367
Vocational and Rehabilitation Service, District of Columbia	1287	
Voluntary Foreign Aid, Advisory Committee on	182	100
WAEPa	13	
Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division	110	205
Walter Reed Hospital	198	358
Washington Field Office, FBI	175	379
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission	11	
Washington Monument	1230	43
Washington National Airport	1251	
Welfare Administration	13	367
Weather Bureau	191	7
River Information	128	
White House	145	28
Women's Bureau	110	205
World Bank	181	292
World Science Pan-Pacific Exposition	112	
Worth 3-1110 PBX	13	218

NOTE.—Numbers not preceded by code are 343-1100 extensions, code 183.
In event of emergency, call emergency control center, code 13-26631 or 13-22957.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Many months ago, in the early part of this session, a number of Members of this body from both sides of the aisle expressed their deep concern about the problem of the availability of public information, of the public business being made available to the public, by introducing a bill in the Congress of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Government Operations, to the Subcommittee on Government Information.

That subcommittee has held hearings. During those hearings, representatives from the executive branch of the Federal Government testified and in so many words said it would be unconstitutional for the Congress of the United States to pass a bill which required the executive branch of the Federal Government to disclose the public business to the public. I believe the testimony which was given before that subcommittee is similar in many ways to the instances which have been cited here today, not merely with respect to this particular program but with respect to other programs which individuals have called to the attention of Members.

I believe this dramatizes the importance of the Congress of the United States passing a bill which will require that the public business be conducted in public and that the people who are paying the tax dollars in this country have access to the information as to the use of those dollars and the conduct of various Federal programs.

I am certainly hopeful that the Government Operations Committee will report such a bill to this body in the near future and that we will have an opportunity to put an end once and for all to the withholding of information not only from the Congress but also from the people of the United States.

Mr. QUIE. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

I will not go any further into this question, because there are other gentlemen on our side who will go into it. Let me go to another point.

The Federal, State and local partnership which has worked well in many Federal programs has been disregarded in this program, in the so-called war on poverty. This is one of the reasons why the program is in trouble. We have been bypassing this usual method of operation. We have agencies and organizations warring among themselves as to who is to control the program in given communities.

We have more than 20 Governors, both Democrats and Republicans, whose power is now to be taken away from them in this bill, even though this is the one check we have left in the States over the Federal program. We have mayors who are protesting the way in which the poverty administrators are better paid than they are and the way in which in the area of the poverty war they have 100 percent more authority than the mayors have in their own cities.

We have a request before us now for doubling the money for this program with all of this controversy and objection that has been raised about it. What are we to obtain in return for this? We have a case here in which 1 year's rent in a former luxury hotel is more than the assessed valuation of the hotel. The OEO pays the bill for a women's job corps training center in the city of St. Petersburg in Florida. After more than 5 years of experience they are asking the training center to leave town.

What has been done in the meantime is hard to tell. They have been trying to change the location, and most everybody agrees that it has not only been mislocated, as was said by the merchants association, but it was misrepresented to them, and they terminated the contract.

Also, in the Job Corps we have been flying young men from all over the country to so-called Job Corps camps. Here we read not once or twice but almost daily of their indulging in such constructive activities as fighting, drinking, and possessing marihuana and, when the novelty has worn off, they are flown back home.

We read in the New York Herald Tribune that an aid in a job training program has been arrested for possessing dope, smut, and knives. In the Savannah Press of July 12 they write that Job Corps volunteers have been hauled back. In Astoria, Oreg., the Oregonian of June 22 said that 25 boys were involved in fights in job centers.

In the so-called community action programs we have the disillusionment of a type expressed by Herbert Hill, the national labor secretary of the NAACP. Speaking at the organization's national convention in Denver on June 29, he said that the so-called war on poverty is simply an extension of white welfare paternalism, and he went on to say that we must shed the illusion that this is a war against poverty, because it is merely a BB shot against poverty. Its job should not be to help the poor to better endure the burdens of poverty but, rather, to make it possible for them to

escape poverty as a result of their own efforts.

This type of disillusionment that we have is growing, with good reason. As the poor asked me during investigations by the special ad hoc subcommittee on the war on poverty in Detroit and Cleveland, why are we not allowed to help develop the programs? We know the problems. We believe we have ideas that can help, but the poor are not being involved. Five-figure salaried poverty lawyers go on planning extensions of welfare paternalism. From Cleveland and Chicago we heard testimony that the poor have not been involved in this program.

It would be interesting to read the testimony of Mr. Lynwood Stevenson, the president of the Woodlawn Association in Chicago, when he testified before the Committee on Education and Labor. He talked about the Urban Opportunity Committee of the city of Chicago and told who they were. He said that there is maximum feasible participation of precinct captains and ward committeemen and so on, but where is the maximum feasible participation of the poor? Incidentally, the law carries this provision, that there should be maximum feasible participation on the part of the poor. He goes on to say that there is not even minimum feasible participation of the poor people.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I wonder if he read an article in the July 1965 issue of Harper's magazine.

Mr. QUIE. I sure did.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Entitled "A Professional Radical Moves in on Rochester," by Saul Alinsky.

Mr. QUIE. Saul Alinsky, yes.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. There is a very interesting thought in this, if the gentleman will yield further.

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. He says:

That's why the poverty program is turning into a prize piece of political pornography. It's a huge political pork barrel, and a feeding trough for the welfare industry, surrounded by sanctimonious, hypocritical, phony, moralistic crap. For instance, in Chicago one of our top poverty officials is dragging down \$22,500 and before that he was making 14 grand. That's what I call really helping the poor. Directors of the "baby city halls" which are called "urban progress centers" are getting about \$12,400. Before that they were averaging between \$8,000 and \$9,000. A police detective who was making \$7,000 is now a Credit Education Consultant (you figure out what that means) and he is getting \$10,000. People like that really know right down to the guts of their billfold what Johnson means by the Great Society. Across the country, city halls have their committees on economic opportunity to identify what they call positive and negative programs and leaders. Positive means you do whatever city hall tells you to do and negative means you are so subversive that you think for yourself.

I think this expression of a professional in this field is a good indication of the nature of the problems we are getting into when we start programs

without looking into the consequences of what we are doing.

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I think it points up, like a TV commentator once said, perhaps facetiously, but there is truth to it, that in this war on poverty we ought to give a little money to the poor so they can fight back.

Mr. Charles Craggett, appearing before the committee on behalf of the Citizens' Committee for an Adequate Cleveland Community Action Program, testified:

If the goals of the poverty program are to become a reality to those for whom it was meant, the victims of poverty, it must be these same victims who are in the role of determining the course, of determining the depth and scope of the programs, and, hence, whatever victory or success is achieved.

In short, if the poverty-stricken are to be able to rise above their state of degradation, they must have a say so in what is being planned, what is being done, and what is being accomplished.

If not, then, as has been our experience in the past and in every instance in our community—and this is emphasized over and over in our urban renewal program and in our JC program—this will be just more money, millions and millions of dollars wasted. It will be time wasted, and effort, and, above all, a tragic waste of humanity.

In our community, not one program has been geared for the real dynamic citizen involvement. Hence, not one program has really been successful in achieving any valid goals.

If you will look at community ventures that have been successful in the past, I think you will see this glaringly in front of you. Where they have been successful, people have been involved. However, I have had experience all my life in cooperative extension, and in this program farmers are involved. They participate in developing the programs. That is the only reason why they are successful. They looked on it askance, many of them, when they were first started, but because they helped to develop the program, the program has done a tremendous job in rural areas. This program has to involve the poor themselves, or it is doomed to failure. That is one of the difficulties that we have had here.

Mr. Chairman, in some cities we see political machines attempt to seize control of the poverty programs for patronage purposes. This was discussed a little bit earlier. The chairman of the Education and Labor Committee said that we must "halt these giant fiestas of political patronage." He then promptly shut off investigation of the complaints, after a few days.

I had hoped that community action programs would have been developed by a sharing of responsibility by the governing body of a community, agencies which have had experience in working with the poor, and the poor, themselves.

This was described last year as a three-legged stool. In some cities just one of these groups is involved. We have seen it set up as two-legged stools and we have seen it set up as one-legged stools, and in Ypsilanti, Mich., we found that there was a no-legged stool on which these were placed. In Ypsilanti we found the University of Michigan did it

without the approval of either the governing body or the agency, and worked with the poor, with the poor themselves.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. The Ypsilanti project that the gentleman is talking about, rather carelessly I think, I might say is immediately adjacent to my congressional district. I have taken the time to look into it in some detail. Once again, we have an example of members of the gentleman's party playing politics with the poverty program. We have the Republican Party where the local official is fighting with the county and the educational representatives in his community as well as members of his own board.

Mr. Chairman, there is a clear-cut split within the Ypsilanti Township which is the applicant in this case for Willow Village, a split between the Democratic and Republican members of the board, with only Republicans voicing opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, the Office of Economic Opportunity, as I have said, has no full-time director. There is little State or local responsibility. There is little participation by the poor. Under the circumstances we then should not double the money involved in order to perpetuate this shambles. Good intentions do not inevitably mean good results. As long as the House remains quiescent, which it does, and pays no attention to the results, we will have disillusioned BB shots instead of a war on poverty and this program could become just not a national disgrace but a national catastrophe.

Mr. Chairman, I have not said these things lightly. Everything I have said will be explained in detail during the debate in the material which I shall place into the Record.

Mr. Chairman, amendments are to be offered when we are through with the general debate in an effort to try and change the operations of the so-called war on poverty so that it will be without these faults that we pointed out last year and without these faults that we have pointed out this year.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the first step is to recognize that this program is in chaos. We cannot clean it up without recognizing this fact. If we do not recognize it, we will have another year of chaos next year. Then, we will face the same problems all over again.

Mr. Chairman, we need a thorough investigation of the program in order to put it on a sound basis so that the people who are poor will not be denied the opportunity and will have the opportunity to bring themselves out of the kind of distress and hopelessness in which they find themselves at the present time.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. I note throughout the gentleman's discourse there is criticism

based upon what the gentleman seems to believe is an abject failure of this program, as the gentleman referred to it as a shambles. The gentleman further says that it has been ineffective and says that there has not been participation at the proper levels.

Can the gentleman name any major program during his lifetime which has been passed by the Congress covering such a wide range of needs that has gotten as far ahead in the short time it has been in existence as this program has?

Mr. QUIE. If one wants to look at a program, not as widespread and spread all over the country as the war on poverty—

Mr. DENT. Excuse me. I did not hear the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. I will get to that. The war on poverty involves many programs, but if the gentleman wants to look at one that work well and the way it ought to work, just look at the vocational rehabilitation program. There will be some changes in the program and when that bill comes up the gentleman will find that there will be great cooperation in support of the bill.

The vocational rehabilitation program has worked well because it begins at the local community level where one single project can be set up and you do not need these umbrella agencies to keep it in operation. In other words, the State knows what is going on and the local community knows what is going on. This is the kind of cooperation between the various bodies of government, where they have their responsibilities, where they have the participation of the people who are involved. That is why that program works well and that is why I believe this program ought to be changed to proceed in the way which the vocational rehabilitation program operates at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has again expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? I have a very important observation to make on the remark which the gentleman just made.

The gentleman points out that the vocational rehabilitation program works well but the gentleman fails to realize that that is not a new program. Here you are plowing new ground for the first time whereas in the vocational rehabilitation program you are not, except that the National Government has stepped into a field that has been harvested year after year after year by the State governments and local governments. All we did was superimpose upon a structure already created.

Mr. QUIE. At one time that program was new. However, it was started slower until we found out how it should be operated. That was true also with reference to the Manpower Development and Training Act. This program started slower and we found out how it should be operated and, therefore, it does not have this criticism.

If you give the people an opportunity to share in the responsibilities this program will work.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I will say to the gentleman that it seems to me a very lame excuse to talk here and say that this is a new program plowing new ground and, therefore, there are going to be all sorts of human resource waste and waste of money.

As Republicans on this committee we are trying to be constructive and improve the program. We had no hearings in depth and breadth on this program.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of gentleman from Minnesota has again expired.

Mr. QUIE. I yield myself 1 additional minute.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. We had no hearings in depth or breadth that could help or correct some of these mistakes. We had no disposition on the part of the administration or those in charge of this program to try to alter some of the obvious mistakes that have been made so that this program can refocus itself and redirect itself.

I want to conclude after the long time that the gentleman in the well has been answering questions and yielding to both sides in developing a very provocative and, I think, enlightening debate. I think we should all recognize the work the gentleman from Minnesota has placed in this program and in education and labor problems generally. He is a man who does not book destructively and negatively. His answers, in my opinion, are based on well developed facts. He has progressive, constructive suggestions. He has always advanced them in committee and we have seen the results of those suggestions when they have been listened to in the Educational Act and in the Higher Education Act. If he had been listened to more, we would all be better off.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. AYRES. I thank the gentleman from New York. His comments are most appropriate. He sat through the hearings we had on this matter and was the ranking minority member of the subcommittee.

An eminent minister from Chicago, the Reverend Lynward Stevenson, president of the Woodlawn organization, testified. Mr. Stevenson has been conducting a Manpower Development and Training Act job training program for the hard core unemployed since July 1964.

He came before the committee and gave some constructive testimony. Those of you who say this does not reek with politics have not attended the hearings. I refer to page 357 of the hearings where Reverend Stevenson said:

I would like to give you some of the names of the persons who serve on the committee, to show you that it is not a representative committee.

He went on and he gave the names, or several names, and he concluded:

I could go on with this impressive list, which sounds like the fund-raising committee of the Democratic Party. I will not read all of these names.

But he did go on and read them and on checking them you will find this is the hard core, not of the unemployed but the hard core of the Democratic Party in Chicago, Ill.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. I would like to add my word to the gentleman from New York in reference to the outstanding job that the gentleman in the well has done. He has always been constructive in all of the work he has done on various bills.

I want to point out another thing. This program embarks on a program that is entirely novel to any program of Federal aid, is that true?

Mr. QUIE. Yes.

Mr. BELL. In this case, we are bypassing every well known local government function and going direct to the people.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, we know, of our own knowledge, that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was passed in haste, proper legislative processes were ignored in an attempt to ready a potent weapon for the 1964 political campaign. In those emotion-filled days, anyone who saw error in this program was branded as being "against the poor." Anyone who was for the program was a "friend of the poor." There was no gray between black and white—although gray is always an essential shading in any endeavor affecting human relations.

I opposed passage of the act last year because it was so carelessly constructed as to provoke greater problems than it was seeking a solve; because it appeared that this program would operate in competition with existing programs; because it courted chaos by ignoring established lines of authority; and because I do not feel that the hopes of the poor should be used to feed political ambition.

My decision to oppose H.R. 8283 this year has been based on facts which have, unfortunately, borne out my fears of last year.

As a selling point in pushing for passage of the act last year, the majority made repeated assurances that extensive and comprehensive hearings would be held this year. The program was to be held up to the light and every experimental facet of its many-faced bulk was to be closely examined. However, the majority of the House Education and Labor Committee, under the leadership of its chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] has fallen far short of this promise. The majority of this committee admitted on the very first page of its report on this bill, that a "complete investigation was not possible."

Why not? This is a question I hope will be answered during the course of this debate.

Is this program not important enough to warrant a complete investigation? This seems incredible, in light of the

fantastic amount of attention paid it between June and November 1964, by the majority party. Or is it not doing well enough to bear the scrutiny of investigation?

The latter hypothesis is a possibility, for the chairman very honestly brought to light some of the problems that had arisen as hearings opened this year. He promised to make appropriate changes in the legislation, for, he said, "giant fiestas of political patronage" must be halted. He suggested that salaries paid professional poverty fighters were "unreasonable and wildly unrealistic" and that they should be brought in line with comparable municipal salaries. We were told that the failure to involve the poor in the programs affecting them would be ended. We were told that the various types of grants available would be clearly defined to avoid further confusion and conflict.

The beginning of hearings brought testimony showing critical problems in the administration of the so-called war on poverty. The minority was encouraged, for it thought that here, at last, was an honest appraisal of the operation of this hastily concocted political act. We thought back to the great days of bi-partisanship on the Education and Labor Committee which brought forth such outstanding legislation as the Higher Education Facilities Act and the Manpower Development and Training Act. We thought that, at last, those days had come again and now, at last, the so-called war on poverty could be improved and made meaningful.

And then, a strange thing happened. Apparently fearing for the very life of the act if public exposure of the problems continued, the part-time "poverty director, Sargent Shriver" decided to exercise his unique and never fully explained powers to indulge in legislation by personal letter. First came a letter that apparently assuaged the chairman's fears concerning those "wildly unrealistic" salaries. Then came a second, calming the chairman's ruffles over the "giant fiestas of political patronage."

With these two amendments in his pocket, the chairman terminated the hearings. The minority made several requests for the hearings to be extended. We felt that much more evidence concerning the operations of the act necessary if it was to be improved so that the hopes of the people for whom it was intended were not destroyed. We knew that the hearings were not terminated for lack of information. There were numerous witnesses who had requested to be heard by the committee.

As a matter of fact, the only portion of the act which received any examination during hearings was title II, dealing with community action programs and this is one of 10 programs under the OEO. Even that examination was almost exclusively limited to a discussion of the political struggles of big cities to launch community action programs.

Stepping into the vacuum left by the Education and Labor Committee, the Republican Task Force on Economic Opportunity held 5 days of hearings on its own to glean more evidence. As a member of that committee, I can state that

we tried to get at some of the causes of the conflicts to see if the flaws are repairable.

Testimony given to the Republican members of the ad hoc Subcommittee on Poverty of the Education and Labor Committee indicates that staff turnover at OEO is abnormally large for a Federal agency. Despite my request, we have not been able to obtain a list of the various staff positions or the names of the people who head such divisions as recruitment or project evaluation. Congress is obviously to be kept in the dark.

Additional testimony given to us indicates that there is not nearly enough clerical help. As a result, consultants and career personnel would have to handle routine correspondence. At the rate the consultants are reported to be paid, this is certainly an expensive way to run an office. In addition to being expensive, it is also inefficient, as I am sure each of my colleagues must know if they have attempted to correspond with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

There is a considerable amount of propaganda about the dedication of the personnel of OEO and the long hours they work. The OEO staff is often in the office past 9 p.m., say the defenders. I admire diligence and hard work. I also admire accomplishments. If the accomplishments were forthcoming, I would raise no objection to the staff of OEO leaving at noon. But I certainly object to the fact that OEO is showing so few accomplishments, even by working until 9 p.m. I also understand that the desirability of working long hours, the diligence and dedication of the staff, is enhanced by time and a half for overtime.

A summary view of the major programs established by OEO reveals a common characteristic in all. Considerable confusion exists in the establishment of all programs and none of them has progressed far enough to permit full evaluation.

This is the picture which emerged from the short hearings of the Education and Labor Committee, the investigation of the ad hoc Subcommittee on Poverty and the hearings of the Republican Task Force on Economic Opportunity. This unbelievable administrative shambles is the canvas on which all the errors of OEO are painted.

What do we have to counter this evidence? We have, as the only major source of information, the glowing and often-repeated reports of the part-time Director of the programs, a few of his top personnel and the public relations office of OEO. They all cite glowing figures on the progress of the programs which are clearly recognizable as the goals—not the current progress—of these programs which is quite a different thing. Certainly nobody is going to receive a true picture by reading the glossy congressional presentation of OEO, or by listening to its officials.

For instance, my State of Minnesota was visited on May 15 by Jack T. Conway, a Deputy Director of OEO. Following is an account of his speech which appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer Press on May 15:

PROGRESS SEEN IN POVERTY WAR

Progress in the Nation's war on poverty has been steady, but much organization still

remains to be done, said Jack T. Conway, in Minneapolis today to address the DFL women's State workshop in the Radisson Hotel.

Conway is Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. He said 2,000 volunteers in the antipoverty campaign, who are known as VISTA, are already in the field, going from State to State on call. They range in age from 18 years to a woman psychologist aged 83, he said.

There are 40,000 young people aged from 16 to 21 from low-income families being trained in work projects. Conway hopes this number will be raised to 200,000 by the end of the summer.

The young people comprise one part of the campaign to aid low-income families. The other consists of community action programs sponsored locally with private and public resources. The Federal Government contributes 90 percent of the costs of the community action programs, and the local community 10 percent, when a community action group submits a workable program, Conway said.

In Minnesota, the first calls for VISTA volunteers have come from Indian reservations, and their demands have been filled, he said.

Conway is a former administrative assistant to Walter B. Reuther, head of the United Automobile Workers Union, and in 1963 became head of the industrial union department of the AFL-CIO.

Mr. Chairman, it is interesting to note that Mr. Conway told a Democratic women's group in St. Paul that there were, on May 15, 2,000 VISTA volunteers "going from State to State." Two days later, on May 17, Sargent Shriver told me that there were only 176 VISTA volunteers in the field, although he hoped for "substantially more" by July 1. The latest published report I have seen says there are about 1,000 now in the field or in training. We recall, of course, that the 2,000 figure was the hoped-for July 1 goal of VISTA.

The National Observer has been good enough to supply some additional information. It was printed on May 31, and so it can be assumed that it is even more current than Mr. Conway's comments in St. Paul on May 15, or Mr. Shriver's comments on May 17. It is interesting to note that the National Observer refers to 136 VISTA volunteers at work and another 52 in training. Following is the complete text of the article:

Three years ago, President Kennedy suggested that a Federal program might be set up through which Americans would volunteer to assist in various kinds of social-welfare work in this country, much as Peace Corps men were doing abroad. Last year, Congress approved the idea as part of the administration's antipoverty program and allotted \$4,500,000 to get the project going.

This new effort—Volunteers in Service to America, or VISTA as it's more commonly known—naturally fell into the province of Sargent Shriver, Director of the poverty program. Since then, Mr. Shriver has been irrepressibly voluble about VISTA. He has said on a number of occasions, that there would be more than 25,000 applicants for VISTA by July 1, and that some 2,000 men and women would be in the field or in training by then.

It won't happen. The truth, as Staff Writer Mark Arnold reports in an article on page 5, is that the VISTA program is in dire straits. Some administrative jobs still haven't been filled; volunteers have not flocked to sign up; recruiting campaigns have failed to stir much enthusiasm; and budgeting and bureaucratic ineptness have created innumerable snafus.

As a result, there are today just 136 VISTA volunteers at work and another 52 in training.

As a prophet, Mr. Shriver comes a cropper. But that's not the real point. Mr. Shriver is a very able fellow, and he's not the first administrator in Washington to be caught up in the current tide of hucksterism.

The real point about VISTA, however, is that the experience thus far plainly demonstrates the limitations of such Federal programs. Granted that its aims are lofty and worthwhile. What has happened?

For one thing, there aren't enough good administrators around to staff the program; VISTA officials complain they are being "siphoned" off to run more expansive projects, the Job Corps, the Peace Corps, the Head Start program for preschool children, among others. Moreover, the competition among governmental agencies for participants in their multitudinous programs is becoming increasingly acute. VISTA officials fret because they lacked the money and the manpower (it has only 14 recruiters) to compete against the Peace Corps, which mounted an elaborate recruiting campaign on college campuses this spring.

It is only a simple leap in logic from this kind of frustration to the common conclusion that the problems of VISTA, or any other Federal program, could easily be solved by heavier injections of funds—money to publicize the program more, money to offer higher salaries, money for better recruiting drives, money for bigger and better facilities. Thus, VISTA is asking for a fivefold increase in its annual budget—to \$24,500,000 in the next fiscal year.

Unthinkable as the thought might be to some, it is possible that this country does not need such a proliferation of Federal programs. To be sure, all the problems of the poor, the ill, the uneducated, the distressed have not been solved. But how necessary in the task is a Federal agency incapable of being either effective or efficient?

VISTA's plight is sad, but it would be sadder still to ignore the lesson of VISTA and blithely assume that the Federal Government can solve old problems by fathering new ones.

Mr. Chairman, the concern over the bungling of the so-called war on poverty has apparently reached to the highest level of Government. Following is a column by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, which appeared in many newspapers on or about April 26:

PRESIDENT WANTS ANSWERS—L.B.J.'s POVERTY WAR RANGERS

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson is launching his own private investigation to determine why his highly publicized "war on poverty" isn't getting off the ground.

He is sending more than a dozen trusted political aids into the field to make on-the-spot inquiries of the quagmire of local politics and bad generalship bogging down the antipoverty crusade.

Significantly, the President is going outside the Government to get most of his troubleshooters, carefully selecting them from a list of 40 advance men and political aids who worked in his 1964 campaign.

These "poverty rangers" are being instructed to take their orders from and report their findings directly to Bill Moyers, the President's chief staff assistant, or aids designated by him.

They are being given White House badges of authority to roam the poverty range in their assigned States, knocking political heads together to obtain unity in local programs, weeding out misfits and political undesirables, and drumming up local support for the programs.

Another major assignment of the "poverty rangers" is to dig their spurs into local officials to get new projects underway before June 30, end of the fiscal year.

Latest report sent to the White House by Director Sargent Shriver shows that as of April 1 only \$200 million, or one-fourth of the \$800 million voted by Congress last year, has been allotted under the poverty program.

With a new \$1.5 billion request before Congress, the President and his domestic advisers are deeply concerned that the Senate and House Appropriations Committees may slash this spending proposal if last year's unused funds aren't earmarked for projects.

The President has asked his "poverty rangers" to check whether salaries of local antipoverty officials are excessive.

This review was ordered after several Democratic Senators, accompanying the President during his recent inspection of flood and storm damage areas, complained that the outlandishly high salaries being paid by the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the antipoverty program, were giving it a bad image.

Senator VANCE HARTKE, Democrat, of Indiana, pointed out that OEO authorities were recruiting teachers at salaries 25 percent above those paid by universities and public and private schools in his State. He warned that the salaries were so out of line they were turning many Indianians against the project.

The President, who had asked the Senators, "What is wrong with the antipoverty program?" said he would investigate.

One of his troubleshooters is checking the operations of the OEO officials in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Michigan. Another is doing the same in Illinois and Ohio.

In these six industrial States, the salaries of OEO officials range upward to \$25,000 with "several hundred" being paid "more than \$10,000."

A local antipoverty agency in New Jersey submitted a budget for \$878,000 the first year, including \$567,000 for salaries. It proposed 93 paying positions; 26 calling for salaries of more than \$10,000. The budget is being cut to \$204,000.

A third special investigator for the White House is enroute to check on Alabama, North Carolina, and South Carolina programs, with instructions to seek the hiring of more Negroes.

This troubleshooter will arrive in South Carolina at the same time civil rights leaders plan to march on the Capitol in Columbia to protest the handling of the antipoverty program.

The march is being closely watched by Federal investigators since it signals the linking together of civil rights and antipoverty demonstrators into a powerful new force to put pressure on local, State, and Federal Government.

The big problem facing President Johnson's "poverty rangers" is whether they will be able to see the trees for the forest in their reports to the White House. The shape the Great Society will take could be hanging in the balance.

Mr. Chairman, the President has apparently also been concerned. However, his quiet investigation with "poverty rangers" has not stopped the distorted reports. For instance, Mr. Richard Wilson, chief of the Minneapolis Tribune's Washington bureau, wrote, in part, on May 1:

President Johnson's recent announcements of poverty program accomplishments—250,000 in the Job Corps, 45,000 needy students in 800 colleges, 125,000 in adult education programs—sound impressive but barely scratch the surface of the basic programs.

The figure of 250,000 in the Job Corps is an interesting one. Mr. Richard Cor-rigan of the Washington Post wrote on June 9:

The Job Corps camps are live-work-train-and-study centers for youths aged 16 to 21. They serve as fresh-air outposts in President Johnson's war on poverty and have been likened to the Civilian Conservation Corps camps of the 1930's.

Right now, 4,737 youths are staying in the 27 camps, according to the Associate Director of the national Job Corps program, Lewis Elgen. By the end of this month 10,000 will be in the camps and by December the total will be 40,000, Elgen said.

Mr. Chairman, this is, indeed, a case of confusion.

It is interesting to note that the Job Corps has received the most attention from the public relations division of the Office of Economic Opportunity, or, at least, certain aspects of the program have been so honored. Movies and picture books show photographs of boys from underprivileged neighborhoods breathing in the pure, clean air of Oregon and Maryland. What the pictures do not show is the number of dropouts from the camps or the many other difficulties already encountered.

The New York Herald Tribune of June 29 quotes Mr. Shriver as telling the Senate committee that the dropout rate is only 3.7 percent. He says this is because the boys are not considered part of the program before they have been at the camp for a month. That is an interesting new angle. Reports from throughout the Nation show the dropout rate at about 30 percent. But, of course, this figure includes no criterion for staying a month before becoming a dropout. I suppose on the basis of such reasoning, a high school student could attend classes 1 day each month and not be considered a dropout.

During the course of debate, the dropout rate for several individual Job Corps camps will be offered. However, I must emphasize that these will be figures obtained through the initiative of the working press. Actual figures about the dropout rate are very difficult to obtain.

I shall say that the information which I received agrees in substance with the following public information that has appeared in the public press.

First. The Washington Post recently stated that the drop-out rate at the conservation camp at Catocin, Md., is 30 percent.

Second. A recent Associated Press report indicated that 20 of 80 enrollees at Stapp work center, a Job Corps camp in Hodgens, Okla., had returned to their homes. The explanation of the OEO was that the boys were mostly from the East and were homesick.

Third. United Press International reported that a conservation camp in Trinity National Forest, Calif., is in "serious trouble." A Corps official there said that some youths had been sent home for "disciplinary problems" and that others had left because they "did not like rural living." Local citizens had voiced serious objections to a lack of discipline, which they said resulted in a knifing, a shooting spree, and illegal purchase of alcoholic beverages.

The article also noted that the camp's director had been transferred to Washington. Until a replacement could be found, the local elementary school principal is acting as director.

Mr. Chairman, we can gain some insight into the administrative shambles of the Job Corps camps and the concern of local citizenry and State officials from a series of articles that appeared in the Astoria, Oreg., Astorian, and the Portland, Oreg., Oregonian, concerning the Job Corps camp at Astoria. The first two of these articles is dated June 22. The third appeared on June 23. These three are from the Astorian. The fourth, a summary view, appeared in the Oregonian on June 24.

Mr. Chairman, this is the first of the articles:

TWENTY-FIVE BOYS SAID INVOLVED IN FIGHTS AT JOB SCHOOL

Fist fights involving not more than 25 trainees took place Monday evening at Tongue Point Job Corps Center, the Daily Astorian learned Tuesday.

Groups of instructors and counselors calmed the fighting and late in the evening the institution was completely quiet, according to people who were there.

The fist fights were in several isolated groups and there was no general rioting, it was reported. Tongue Point Center officials could not be reached late Tuesday morning for comment, but it was understood they were holding conferences with trainees to try to reduce the risk of further trouble.

The trouble had racial basis, according to reports.

Guy Shellenbarger, in charge of security at the center, called Gov. Mark Hatfield's office Monday night to report the trouble. He also is understood to have called the Clatsop County sheriff's office to request professional advice and whether a tear gas supply was available in case of necessity.

OFFICERS SILENT

Sheriff's officers declined to discuss this report and said any information regarding the incident should come from the Job Corps.

Gene Hulet, U.S. marshal for Oregon, was in Astoria Tuesday on other business and discussed the situation with Governor Hatfield by telephone.

Hulet said his office was ready to do what it could, within its own limitations, to prevent trouble.

MAY DEPUTIZE MEN

Since county, city and State officers have no authority to go on the center, Hulet said a possible solution might be to deputize, for the occasion, any local and State officers who might be needed to control any outbreak of trouble at the center.

One report was that the trouble Monday night involved "southern white boys and Chicago Negroes."

Mr. Chairman, this is the second of the articles:

HATFIELD URGES TIGHTER CONTROL FOR JOB CORPS

SALEM.—Gov. Mark Hatfield today urged "tighter administrative control" and a "meaningful screening program" for Job Corps trainees assigned to Tongue Point near Astoria.

The comments came in the wake of reports there were several fights with racial overtones at the camp Monday night.

Hatfield said he hoped to discuss the situation later today with Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver, and urge a security force be established on the base.

The present security consists mainly of watchmen, it was reported.

Hatfield said Attorney General Robert F. Thornton had advised that State police cannot contract to provide security at the base because it is on Federal property.

Thornton said in emergency situations State police could be deputized as U.S. marshals, and go on the base.

There were reports that Negroes made up about 75 percent of the recent groups of trainees assigned to the base.

Earlier groups of trainees were whites from the South, it was reported.

Camp Administrator Douglas Olds earlier this week said he planned to keep the trainees on the base over the July 4 weekend.

Mr. Chairman, following is the third of the articles:

CLASSES RESUME AT JOB SCHOOL, HATFIELD ASKS SECURITY FORCES

Normal class sessions were in progress Wednesday at the Tongue Point Job Corps Center, following a quiet night, officials reported.

Two of five youths who had principal roles in fistcuffs there Monday night have been sent home. Cases of the other three were still under investigation Wednesday.

In addition, 40 to 50 recent arrivals have asked to go home following the Monday night altercations. They were being processed Wednesday. Most of these young men are from the South and include both whites and Negroes, center officials said.

Two investigators sent by Gov. Mark Hatfield were reported to be making inquiries in Astoria about the center Wednesday, but Job Corps officials said they had not seen these people.

One boy, a white youth from Florida, called his mother by telephone Tuesday and said he was afraid and wanted to go home. This lad apparently had gone "over the hill" Wednesday and Job Corps officials were looking for him.

Job Corps officials said a jam session was held in the recreation building at Tongue Point Tuesday night and many of the trainees attended. All was orderly, they said.

Representatives of the Congress of Racial Equality from Portland have been invited to visit Tongue Point and see conditions at the Job Corps Center, officials said. The visitors are expected Friday.

A "potentially serious situation" at the Tongue Point Job Corps Center, heightened by recent fights among whites and Negroes, brought a request from Gov. Mark Hatfield today for more security forces.

Douglas Olds, camp administrator, said there were two fights involving four boys on Monday night. He termed it a "racial misunderstanding."

Classes were suspended Tuesday morning, so small groups of trainees and counselors could discuss the problem. Classes resumed in the afternoon.

The fights occurred in a dormitory where 500 trainees sleep. One boy had his glasses broken and received a cut face and another boy was struck on the head according to Lynn Wykoff, information officer.

Olds said the fights came after white enrollees used disparaging language toward Negro youths.

Wykoff termed the situation "potentially serious." He said there were 300 boys at the center until 3 weeks ago, then 400 were sent in during the past 2 weeks. The latest arrivals "included a larger percentage of Negroes, and white youths from the South," he said. About 30 percent of the 687 boys at the center are Negroes.

CONCERN EXPRESSED

Hatfield expressed fear that more serious trouble might break out without adequate enforcement personnel on hand.

The Governor said, "There has been no Federal initiative to get controls at the camp,

and we have been urging a security force on the grounds."

He talked by telephone late Tuesday with Antipoverty Director Sargent Shriver. The Governor's office said Shriver "expressed appreciation for Hatfield's concern."

Atty. Gen. Robert Y. Thornton said that State police could be used in any emergencies if they were sworn in as deputy U.S. marshals.

Olds said there was a 12-member watchman force at the center but no police-type controls. He said the Monday night trouble began about 10:30 p.m. and ended shortly after midnight. Deputies from Astoria equipped with tear gas were reported sent to the base but the trouble died down by the time they arrived.

In Portland, Federal Judge Gus Solomon announced appointment of Robert C. Anderson, an Astoria attorney, as U.S. commissioner for Clatsop County effective June 28. He can try petty offenses, sign complaints, warrants, and conduct preliminary hearings.

Mr. Chairman, the fourth of the articles follows:

CHANCE LOST FOR 245—REASONS VARY FOR DROPOUTS IN JOB CORPS

(By Robert Olmos)

ASTORIA.—There was no place in the Great Society for 245 out of 932 boys at the Tongue Point Job Corps Center here.

The 245 constitute the total who have dropped out of the Tongue Point project since the center opened February 1.

Why did they drop out?

The reasons are varied, according to information given by center officials.

Some could not easily abandon habits they had long learned in city slum areas and backwoods towns. They continued to drink when they could get their hands on liquor. They intimidated other enrollees. They went AWOL. They presented disciplinary problems that forced officials to send them packing back to their homes at Government expense. While they had come to the center amid the luxury of an airplane, they were told to get lost via bus trip.

Others were frightened and had not been prepared regarding what to expect from center life. Their trip to Oregon was their first time away from home. They took their first airplane ride getting here and expressed feelings that they felt "strange" and "out of place" sitting among the affluent passengers on the plane. They arrived to meet typical Northwest weather—the downpour of rain, the depressing dead-gray sky. These experiences totaled up caused the youths to panic and ask to be returned home. Some said that "maybe home is not much, but, at least, it's home."

Still others dropped out because Federal officials "goofed" by their efforts to push youths as quickly as possible into camp and center training situations.

YOUTHS UNPREPARED

Spokesmen at the center said the dropout rate is 26.3—lower than the 30 percent recently reported at the much-publicized rural Job Corps camp at Catoctin, Md. Catoctin has received national attention because it is located close to Camp David, a Presidential retreat. President Johnson made an inspection visit at Catoctin a few months ago.

Why did some youths arrive at the Oregon center unprepared?

Officials blame original screening done on some of the boys as a reason.

"In small towns, where the boys are screened by people in the local department of employment office, workers do not have enough knowledge of how the center operates. They are not able to give the boys a good picture of center life," said a spokesman here.

Boys arrived at the center without any knowledge that they would be work to be

performed, that classroom studies would be involved, that there would be strict rules to follow.

"To some boys, it was like being in school again. And they didn't like it. They expected the center to be something else," said the spokesman.

In an effort to provide better screening procedures, officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity now are thinking of establishing what are being referred to as "staging centers," to be possibly located in the larger cities of each State. At these "staging centers," the boys will receive thorough indoctrination into Job Corps urban center and rural camp life. Local officials said they did not know how much expense will be involved in setting up the "staging centers."

Another reason for the dropouts:

Recently 60 boys who were scheduled to go to rural camps were sent, instead, to the urban center here. The boys were immediately "out of place."

Why?

Boys sent to rural camps often are those who are virtually illiterate and the aim of rural camps is to provide them with the rudiments of work experience. Those chosen for urban camps must have at least a fifth grade educational level so that they may learn to read vocational training manuals.

CAMPS NOT READY

Tongue Point Center officials said that a group of 60 was sent here because "the Government wanted these boys in camps as soon as possible and rural camps are not being built fast enough to take them."

Discouraged, 45 of the boys in that group asked to leave.

For the 15 who remained, a program had to be quickly devised. A hunt is out for teachers to teach them. Most do not fit into the educational and training program carried on at the center. The planned program, which will train them in forest conservation work, still has not started. Meanwhile, the boys are helping to clean up portions of Tongue Point's wooded areas to create a community picnic ground.

Enrollees have come to the center from almost every State and each State is represented in the dropout rate, a center spokesman said.

No one area of the country, however, shows up as producing a higher amount of dropouts than another, he said.

"One would think that there would be a higher dropout rate among youths coming from the warmer climates to the Northwest's climate, but that doesn't hold true," he said.

Officials here are not discouraged by the dropout rate. They say that they have had—on the whole—few disciplinary problems of major consequence and nothing at all like the burning down of a bungalow at one Job Corps camp. They are hopeful that with establishment of "staging centers" and increased construction of other centers and camps some of the dropout pitfalls will be eliminated.

They said they have no figures to show what the dropout rate has cost taxpayers.

There are 687 youths between the ages of 16 and 21 now at the center. They are being trained at various job skills that, hopefully, will assure them a place in "The Great Society." They are still working at the chance that has been given them.

But for the 245 others that chance has been lost.

Mr. Chairman, the Women's Job Corps appears to be an even greater mystery. The Republican Task Force was to have heard testimony from a medical examiner for the St. Petersburg Women's Center, Fla., but due to what we believe was arm-twisting, the witness was unable to appear before us. Information on that

center was made available by the press, however.

Mr. Chairman, following is an article from the Chicago Tribune, describing some of the procedures at the St. Petersburg center:

COST NO OBJECT AT JOB CENTER

(By Mary Pakhenham)

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.—"Sure it's expensive, but over there they don't seem to care about that."

That was the response of Dr. Charles J. Crist, medical director for the Johnson administration's first Job Corps Center for Women, to a reporter's questions about the center's medical expenses.

Dr. Crist said thousands of dollars are being wasted by inadequate screening of potential recruits before they are sent to the center.

Federal officials say it costs about \$75 for each acceptable recruit obtained through local screening agencies. Officials estimate that travel costs to and from the center average \$70 one way for each recruit.

Some officials of the center have attempted to conceal the number of screening failures discovered since it opened April 6. A worried staff member sought out a Chicago Tribune Press Service reporter to report that at least 13 girls already have left and that a dozen more have asked to be released.

Included among those who have left, most of them by plane, are two described as emotionally disturbed. They stayed less than 2 days. The cost of returning one of them to her home in Massachusetts will include round trip plane fare for an employee of the center because the girl could not be trusted to travel alone.

Dr. Crist gets \$1,000 a month from the center to examine incoming girls for major diseases and to be on call for emergencies.

Joseph Ems, director of the center, said Dr. Crist has spent 30 minutes to 1 hour a day at this job since the girls began arriving April 6.

Dr. Crist said his examinations, conducted in the center's infirmary with the help of four nurses who staff it in shifts, have turned up "mostly mental problems and bad tonsils."

A major purpose of these examinations, Crist said, is to rehearse the girls for the visits they then make to other doctors who charge the center regular fees for more thorough examinations.

He said many of the girls have then been referred to specialists, including psychiatrists. Many of the girls, more than half of whom are Negroes, are presumed never to have seen a doctor before.

Dr. Crist said his services to the center "may cut a little bit into" his regular practice, "but not much." The center's total budget for health services is \$221,800 for the first 18 months.

The center is the first and the prototype in an experimental program which its sponsors hope eventually will include hundreds of thousands of girls from poor families and billion of taxpayer dollars.

Representatives of four other women's centers, just opening or about to open, have visited St. Petersburg to obtain ideas they have taken back to Cleveland, Los Angeles, Charleston, W. Va., and Omaha. The YWCA of Chicago is among the many prospective operators of such centers which also have sent representatives here or watched the first centers progress from afar.

Mr. Chairman, although the exact cost figures for operation of the center are virtually unobtainable, a number of estimates have been made. The OEO officially estimates the cost per month for each girl as \$507.20. Other estimates range from \$455 to \$730. Additional allowances, transportation costs, and

doctor's fees are not included in the OEO estimate.

Let us examine the newspaper accounts of what happened in St. Petersburg, as reported by its own newspapers, the St. Petersburg Times and St. Petersburg Independent. The following five articles are from those newspapers:

JOB CORPS CENTER GUARD INCREASED

Neighborhood complaints near the Women's Job Corps Center at the Huntington Hotel have led to greater surveillance by both the St. Petersburg police and security guards hired by the Job Corps.

Nin Bond, who owns the Bond Hotel directly across the street from the Huntington Hotel, 226 Fourth Avenue N., wrote to City Manager Lynn Andrews requesting an appearance before city council Thursday to air his complaints.

Bond told the Evening Independent today, however, he intends to withdraw his request because Job Corps officials promised they were taking steps to alleviate the problem.

Already police surveillance of the block has been increased.

Job Corps Director Joseph Ems said he plans to increase the number of private security guards engaged by the Job Corps from two to four.

Most of the disturbance, according to Bond, comes from noisy motorcycles and screeching cars. There also has been a problem of congregating and other incidents.

"We're doing everything possible to cooperate with the police and area residents," Ems said. "In an overwhelming number of cases, the problems aren't being generated by the girls."

Police Chief Harold Smith said that there have been about 15 or 20 complaints and incidents in the vicinity of the Huntington Hotel.

"Many of the complaints are unfounded," Smith said.

In the past few days, he said, two teenage boys were arrested there for having alcoholic beverages in their possession.

Seventeen of the 176 girls have left the rehabilitation program since it began earlier this year. Of that number, 15 left voluntarily and two were dismissed.

Mr. Chairman, this is the second of the articles:

HEARS HOTELMAN'S CRITICISM—CHAMBER TO PROBE CORPS

(By Paul Davis)

Governors of the Greater St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce today instructed Walter T. Jerkins, their executive vice president, to ascertain all the facts available on operation of the Women's Job Corps center in Hotel Huntington and be prepared to report back by July 1.

"The sooner the better," the governors said.

The discussion was precipitated by Hotelman Nin Bond, who operates the Bond Hotel at 357 Second Street, North, across the street from the Huntington.

He told the governors his hotel could not stay in business as conditions now exist at the Huntington.

Boys with noisy cars show up at night, he said, and citizens who have read about the protests circle the block day and night on sightseeing tours.

Bond said the setup here had been widely advertised with stories appearing in the northern press which seemed to be better informed on what was going on here than local citizens.

The Huntington Hotel was "just the worst possible location that could have been chosen to locate this project," said Bond. "It is not fair to the girls themselves," he added.

Bond said he would like the chamber governors to urge a relocation of the local project.

Raleigh W. Greene, Jr., who made the motion that Jerkins get all the facts available on the situation, said he was concerned "by the complete lack of information."

He charged there was a clause in the Federal contract that "prohibited the dissemination of information" about the Corps.

He said he did not know by what standards the girls at the center were chosen, what courses they would study, who would teach them, or the real purpose of the training.

Bond said he hoped to get the Job Corps to locate their center in some other place.

Greene said the chamber's interest was in this tourist city as a whole and it therefore had a duty to perform in investigating the project.

Bond said if any members of the board wished to get a closeup look they could sit on the front porch of his hotel.

On a voice vote, Greene's resolution carried. At least one vote was cast against it. About 20 directors voted.

Mr. Chairman, this is the third of the articles, describing how the St. Petersburg School Board determined that it would like to escape from its contract with OEO, that once sounded so attractive:

SCHOOL BOARD WANTS TO OUST JOB CORPS—IN WASHINGTON: STUNNED SILENCE

(By Bette Orsini)

CLEARWATER.—Pinellas County School Superintendent Floyd J. Christian and school board members decided yesterday to terminate their contract with the Women's Job Corps at the end of the current 18 months—sooner, if possible.

However, in Washington, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) said somebody should have told the board the contract isn't for 18 months but runs through July 31, 1968, "and one does not lightly walk away from a public contract."

Christian made his surprise recommendation midway in a board session in Clearwater, declaring the program "has not been a success," "has been mislocated" at the Huntington Hotel and "has not improved the board's image in any way."

The announcement stunned the OEO, Job Corps Center Director Joe Ems and the Center staff.

At Washington, Milton Fogelman, chief contracting officer for the OEO, said, "If there is a default on the part of a contractor who is engaged in a public contract, this is fairly serious business. One does not lightly walk away from these and I am sort of surprised at the impetuosity of the people in St. Petersburg through not having familiarized themselves through talking to their legal counsel of the ramifications of this."

Fogelman said any contract can be terminated any time. "The best interest of the Government, however, may very well require that the Government be reimbursed for what it has put in fixing the hotel, training the staff and other costs that have been generated based upon a lengthy relationship," he added.

He said, "I don't know. I'm not saying this is the way it would go. All I can say is this catches me by complete surprise."

School board approval of Christian's recommendation was unanimous among members present. Board Member James Hendry had left for another appointment before the matter came up.

In an exchange after the vote, Board Chairman William H. Williams asked Christian, "Can we as a board know when somebody comes up with a new program? * * * I

would like to have anybody's plans and dreams submitted to this board first so we would have a chance to thrash it out and see if it's a good thing * * * so that we don't read it in the paper before we know a single thing about it, particularly if that suggestion is proposed by someone who is an employee of this board."

Williams was referring to comments by vocational-technical director Joe Mills, who got the Job Corps Center into operation and hired most of the staff. His reference was to one of Mills' proposals to Washington suggesting spending \$25,000 on a documentary film about the center and his subsequent explanation he wrote the letter because OEO officials suggested he write it.

Williams said any proposals or suggestions for programs Mills gets, "he should present promptly to the superintendent and the superintendent should present them promptly to the board."

Board member Mrs. Mildred Day said, "I think this whole program not only has been mislocated but has been misrepresented to us and I think that the sooner we terminate the contract the better. I don't think we should wait 18 months."

Christian said, "I will see if there is any possibility of doing it sooner."

The school board considers the contract effective February 1, 1965, and ending August 1, 1966.

The superintendent introduced his recommendation to end the contract by saying "When we entered into this agreement for the operation of the Women's Job Corps for 18 months, we entered into it on two bases primarily. We thought we were qualified by personnel and by operation of the previous program that we had (presumably a reference to the Manpower Development Training Act program at the Maritime Base). And we looked at the economic boost to the county by 130 additional employees adding money for this county."

"Looking at it now, after it's been in operation since February, I can honestly say I think we have mislocated it. We have had continuous problems that you have been aware of from other people. It's going to take us some time to properly dispose of it. I don't think we should wait (to inform the Job Corps staff at the center). It's not fair to the employees."

"I would like to recommend to this board that this contract with the Women's Job Corps be discontinued" at the end of this contract period and that "we amply inform these people" of the staff now.

The superintendent said, "There are some people down there who can obtain employment through this board. I don't think we should wait until the last minute."

He said, "This has not been a success. It has been mislocation. The criticism far outweighs the good we could do. I would like this to be clearly stated that I have not lost confidence in the intent of this program" to help girls who haven't gotten help in the schools. "I think mostly it is based on where we put it. It's not in the right location * * * 300 young ladies down there create quite a problem to the surrounding people."

Board member Jane Manson offered the motion that school officials "begin negotiations for terminating our contract with the Women's Job Corps."

Christian said, "We do want to do the best job with these young ladies while we have them."

At the Job Corps Center, Director Ems said he hadn't heard anything official on the action. He said, "I believe and so does this staff in the concept of this Job Corps or we would not be in it. We're talking about rehabilitation of young people and, to the contrary, we believe that it is meaningfully

geared to this second-chance opportunity for these young ladies.

"We have success stories already in evidence. As to mislocation, certainly no one's going to gainsay the fact that the choice for the first Women's Job Corps could be more advantageously and strategically located, other than in the heart of this residential community."

Ems said he could not comment on the termination statement "until I can get a reading from Washington as to whether or not a new contractor will be chosen." He said, "It is important for our girls here that there is certainty for the continuity of the program and that this community will continue to devote its time and talents toward the fulfillment of this program."

A key staff member at the center, who asked not to be identified, said he has "heard the rumor floating around for quite some time that there are three or four contractors waiting around who would step in and fill the gap."

He said none of the staff had any indication from Mills or the superintendent that he planned to recommend termination yesterday. He said Ems called Mills after he heard indirectly about the board action and asked Mills what the developments were. He said, "Ems couldn't find out anything except that the contract was to be terminated. That's all Mills would say."

The staff member said, "If the community and the school board had been told the facts at the outset, this would have worked and the problems could have been worked out."

The OEO's Fogleman said, "My reaction, you may quote, is stunned silence. This comes as a complete surprise to me. If there has been correspondence on this, it has not yet come to me."

He said, "You recognize that the contract we have is not for 18 months. It contains two additional years beyond the 18 months. The contract as presently written provides for services from the Board of Instruction through July 31, 1968. I know nothing about it (the termination) so I cannot comment intelligently about it."

Fogleman said, "All I can say is, I thought things were moving along well. I was unaware there are problems."

The OEO spokesman said he "would need policy guidance on exactly how this would be finally resolved." He said that probably would come from Dr. Otis Singletary and Dr. Bennetta Washington, key Job Corps figures. They wouldn't be able to come to a conclusion, he said, until they knew the circumstances that were involved. He said, "I can't even estimate the reasons for it. I know no cause for it."

Fogleman said, "You recognize that they picked the hotel. I didn't even know the hotel. I assumed that a group of citizens would know the area. This is up to a group certainly that is familiar with the city. To now levy an attack and inconvenience on Job Corps because there was a choice of a hotel made by the Pinellas County Board of Instruction" he couldn't understand.

"And secondly," he said, "so far as the program is concerned, they are running it. If the program is not what they expect it to be, it is because they chose to do it that way. They set the pace on the thing. If there's misrepresentation, I don't know what it is."

Fogleman said, "I don't know whether they are alleging we have breached the contract or whether they are stating they wish to breach the contract. The term 'misrepresentation' is, I think, certainly inappropriate in this context."

The OEO spokesman said his job as contracting officer in representing the interests of the Government "would require that the best interests of the Government, the girls, the contractor and the city should all be fairly considered. I have no record of cor-

respondence telling me of any kind of a problem. I have no information ever given to me by any persons in the Pinellas County Board of Instruction indicating that there was somehow or another a problem involved."

Fogleman said, "We will look at the problem as soon as we know what the problem is. I hope they will see fit to inform me of what their intentions are."

In action prior to Christian's surprise recommendation, Edward A. Turville, who is attorney for both the school board and the Job Corps Center, had the board approve two agreements he said the Women's Job Corps was proposing to enter into. The board questioned one, but was told by Turville, he believed it already was being done anyway.

Turville said he was only conveying information from his conversation with Mills that a greater percentage of the girls were interested in taking cosmetology than anything else and that there was a necessity of obtaining additional classroom space for basic education.

The board approved an arrangement with Sun State Academy of Cosmetology at 200 Second Avenue South under which enrollees may take a 1,200-hour course which extends a year. The center will pay \$185 per student if the student completes the course. A \$50 down payment will be paid first and the girl will be supplied a kit. If at the end of 30 days the academy doesn't feel the student is qualified, she won't go on. If she does go on, the remaining \$135 will be paid. If the student drops out before finishing 500 hours, the academy refunds \$35 to the Job Corps and the kit becomes Job Corps property.

Board members feared the long hours required every day in the academy would prevent the center from giving the enrollee the orientation, guidance and other training supplied there. They have asked Christian to see if the cosmetology study can't be done at night and on Saturdays so the girls still can get their regular center program. Turville said, "I think you've already got girls going there [to the academy]." In the other action, Turville said there's been a meeting with Bixby Business College owners and they are willing to assign to the board their right under their lease of the college's old quarters at 106 Seventh Street South. The board will be able to rent the second floor of the building for \$160 a month and can cancel with 30 days' notice.

Turville said he wanted to tell the board about legal services he's been providing the girls that he didn't think the board realized. He said, "These legal problems come up and these counselors can't give them legal advice so they bring them in to me. Although they were supposed not to be married, there are divorcees and matters of child support. This runs constantly. I did want you to know that this goes on rather continuously and I'm glad to be of service to them. But it takes quite a few hours."

Mr. Chairman, the action of the Board of Education quickly received the support of the merchants of St. Petersburg. Following is the fourth of the articles:

MERCHANTS BACK MOVE TO EVICT JOB CORPS

Directors of the St. Petersburg Merchants Association today unanimously supported the Pinellas County School Board's move to terminate the board's contract with the Women's Job Corps.

In surprise action yesterday, the school board voted unanimously to cancel its \$2.4-million contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Job Corps.

Dick Tourtelot, St. Petersburg real estate man, who made the motion to the merchants' directors today said location of the corps in the Hotel Huntington was a poor selection.

His motion asking that the corps be removed "in its entirety" pointed out the corps doesn't fit into a quality tourist city such as St. Petersburg.

His motion was seconded by Bruce W. Watters, Jr., association president, who vacated the chair as presiding officer to second the motion and speak.

Tourtelot, who spoke against the lease before it was signed by the county school board, said he thought the merchants should take action "because we were the only organization that opposed the contract before the school board."

When a director mentioned the Job Corps project had brought considerable money into St. Petersburg, Tourtelot replied, "But the point is, it's our money."

Tourtelot said he was named by the merchants to look into locating the school at the Huntington, and as a result, he talked with hotels in the neighborhood of the Huntington.

Tourtelot said that for each dollar spent on the project "the hotels had lost \$100 in tourist dollars."

Canadians who spend their winters in the area, he said, have declared their intentions not to return another year.

Tourtelot charged there was "secrecy" in the move to locate the corps in this city.

"I was told by the attorney that the papers had been executed by the Government when handed to him," said Tourtelot. Later he told the Independent he referred to school board attorney Edward Turville.

He was told that Mayor Herman W. Goldner knew about the project.

Tourtelot said county school officials had not acted on the lease at the time of its delivery. He wondered if it could be held invalid because "people had not been informed" of the project.

Mr. Chairman, following is the fifth of the articles, giving considerable background on the administrative shambles of the St. Petersburg project:

JOB CORPS DEVELOPMENT STIRS HOT INFIGHTING

(By Jack Nease)

Operating a Women's Job Corps Center is new to both the Federal Government and the Pinellas School Board, so everything had to be decided from scratch.

In the process, the infighting got a little heated.

Job Corps files contain a letter from Pinellas School Superintendent Floyd Christian accusing one U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) official of trying to make "political plums" of Job Corps jobs.

The stimulus for this charge was an April 6 request from OEO Project Manager June Henry that Job Corps Center Director Joe Ems and his assistant be given greater freedom in buying equipment, hiring employees and setting salaries.

Christian wrote Washington this would lead to "chaos in the operation of the center," saying he wanted Job Corps employees "to be compatible with those employed by the board of public instruction."

"To set their salaries higher and to make them political plums, without any reference to the total program of this county, would cause undue hardships on this office and the board of public instruction," he wrote.

Christian said last week he used his rather harsh language because he had read of charges that antipoverty jobs in other sections of the country were being used as patronage.

Further, he said, the Gibbs Junior College situation was on his mind. Thousands of dollars in student loan funds at Gibbs can't be properly accounted for, and the Federal Government is demanding the school board make up the difference.

Asked about the exchange, Miss Henry replied merely that school board procedures and policies are being reviewed by the OEO.

Most of these policies are spelled out in a 70-page booklet prepared by Assistant Superintendent Dan Phillips.

It provides this salary scale:

Director, \$12,100; research specialist, \$10,500; assistant director, \$10,000; supervisors (7), \$9,000 to \$9,900; counselors (6), \$7,680 to \$9,180; residence advisors (14), \$7,300; teachers (39 planned), \$4,020 to \$8,160; chef, \$7,500; public relations coordinator, \$8,000.

Miss Henry said she had heard some criticism of salaries but does not consider it valid.

"I think it's unfair because of the demands on the time of the staff," she said. "Ask the center director and assistant director how many Saturdays and Sundays and nights they put in here."

One of the highest paid teachers, at \$8,160 a year, is a swimming instructor. Assistant Superintendent Joe Mills said this figure was arrived at by taking the regular school salary scale for a person with a bachelor's degree with 11 years experience and adding an extra 2 months' pay for full-time work.

Another employee, listed as both swimming instructor and lifeguard, is paid \$6,600 a year. He is listed on one payroll as a "water safety coordinator."

(The Job Corps Center has no swimming pool now, but officials hope to get final clearance to use the pool at the maritime base soon. Meanwhile, Ems said, the swimming instructors are being used to manage general recreational programs.)

Job Corps Center Director Joe Ems had little to do with setting salaries for the jobs and filling them. He estimates about 80 percent of the staff was hired before he was.

Mills, who did most of the hiring, said Ems has an opportunity to make changes in the staff he wants to now, since all school personnel contracts are up for renewal July 1.

The center's current payroll includes 122 people who earn a total of \$56,843 a month.

This includes Dr. Charles Crist of St. Petersburg, who receives \$1,000 a month as part-time medical director. Mills said Crist was chosen for the job by the Pinellas County Medical Society.

Ems said Crist holds sickcall for about an hour every day, is available for emergencies, attends staff meetings, and gives all new enrollees at the center an "initial health screening."

Detailed medical examination of the girls is turned over to doctors who have private offices reasonably close to the center and who want the business. So far they have charged \$15 each, with laboratory bills adding \$5 apiece to the total cost.

The payroll figure does not include the \$250 a month paid from Job Corps funds to St. Petersburg Attorney Ed Eurville. This payment brings Turville's total compensation from the school board to \$12,000 a year, plus \$1,200 a year for secretarial help.

Not included in the payroll either are private guards furnished by the Wackenhut Corp. The guards are paid on an hourly basis, and the bill for May came to \$586.44.

The Christian-Henry letter exchange shows the difficulty in attempting to pin down responsibility for any particular decision in setting up the Women's Job Corps Center.

Although the Job Corps contract and Christian's letter purport to make the school board responsible for many decisions, local officials frequently say their actions were dictated by OEO officials.

There is, for example, a letter in school board files written by Mills to Milton Fogelman, OEO contracting officer, suggesting spending \$25,000 on a documentary film about the center.

"This could be used for future public relations in the Job Corps program, also as a historical document that might be of national value," said Mills in the letter. "It could also be used for recruiting by the Job Corps."

Asked about the letter, Mills said OEO officials suggested he write it.

Ems, who is technically boss of the center, appears to be faced with the unenviable task of serving two masters.

Officially Ems is supposed to report to Mills, but in conversation he refers to Miss Henry as his "superior."

Miss Henry describes herself as a "trouble-shooter" but notes that since the Federal Government is putting up 100 percent of the money it can say what the program will be and can specify changes as it continues.

The program has put the school board in somewhat of a financial bind. Although OEO officials urged speed in getting the center open, they have been slow in paying for goods and services purchased by the school board.

On June 2 Phillips sent an "urgent" letter to Washington noting the board spent \$154,626 on the project from February 23 to April 30, and would request another \$125,000 in a few days. He said this was urgently needed by June 30, the end of the board's fiscal year.

Meanwhile, the school board has been forced to borrow money for other projects.

Phillips said yesterday \$154,626 of the money came in the Monday morning's mail. He said the rest of it—\$139,628 for the month of May—has not yet been received.

OEO officials were so anxious to get the center open that they gave Pinellas officials a 90-day exemption from certain purchasing requirements and permitted many things not generally allowed in Federal programs.

The Job Corps contract, for example, forbids "cost-plus" subcontracts but \$19,000 in electrical wiring was done on a cost plus 10-percent basis.

It was during this "emergency" period that a laundry owned by U.S. Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER got the Job Corps center's linen rental and laundry business.

Christian contends this was awarded on a bid basis, but a check of the record shows the method used violated all normal bidding procedures.

The "bids" were obtained on different standards, and there was a considerable lag in the time between submission of the first bid and submission of the successful "bid."

The Soft Water Laundry bid is dated February 3, while the letter from CRAMER's firm, Home Service Laundry, is dated February 25.

A letter from Darrell R. Blackburn, "logistics supervisor," defending the bid procedure is dated May 3.

Blackburn's letter says he contacted three firms by telephone, including Gulf Coast Laundry.

Gulf Coast and Soft Water submitted rental quotations on an item-by-item basis, while Home Service offered to furnish bed linen for 7 cents a pound.

Blackburn said he found out how many pounds each item weighed, and converted

Home Service's bid to the same basis as the other laundries. The way he figured it Home Service came out the low bidder.

Whether Pinellas will continue the Job Corps program after its 18 months contract has expired is uncertain. At present school officials are a bit discouraged.

Recalling how St. Petersburg Mayor Herman Goldner sent the first information about that program to him, Mills last week said:

"It came across my desk and I pursued it. I guess the best thing to have done would be to throw it in the trash can. It hasn't helped our image any."

Christian said he wouldn't go into the program again if he had it to do over. "At the time we couldn't have anticipated some of the problems," he said.

"It has made us real unpopular."

Rumors about the center have been much worse than the facts. One girl arrived at the center 5 months pregnant but—according to Ems—none of the girls has become pregnant since arriving. Rumors had it otherwise.

Of the 229 girls to arrive at the center, only 19 have left. Seventeen girls dropped out voluntarily because of homesickness or dislike of the center's rules, while two were sent home involuntarily for violation of curfew and for drinking, Ems said.

Ems is optimistic about success of the program. "We see a change in the majority of the girls," he said. "The feeling of self-worth is beginning to come about."

Christian is taking a wait-and-see attitude. "My personal feeling is we should evaluate this thing carefully," he said last week. "If we are hurting someone's business then I think we might well consider discontinuing the program."

But he added: "I don't think we should be too fast to judge something that is in the crawling stage."

SCREENING METHODS HIT

WASHINGTON.—Representative ALBERT H. QUIE, Republican, of Minnesota, yesterday criticized the screening procedures used in recruiting girls for the Job Corps Center in St. Petersburg.

He said his recent criticism of the selection process for St. Petersburg apparently had been interpreted as a charge of immorality.

QUIE said girls physically and psychologically unfit for the program had been sent to St. Petersburg, which showed that the corps was so unorganized it could not screen out unsuitable recruits.

But QUIE said he had made no direct charges of immorality and had no proof of it. He recalled saying, however, that some girls had been sent home for activities "frowned upon."

Joseph Ems, director of the St. Petersburg center, yesterday said he deeply resented innuendoes of immorality.

Mr. Chairman, I have made reference to my request—never even acknowledged by Mr. Shriver—for a list of consultants employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. I have now obtained such a list, but not through the courtesy of that agency or its Director.

The list of consultants—together with their daily salaries, which you will note range from a paltry \$35 to a princely \$100 per day—is as follows:

Full-time consultants

CURRENT

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Selecting official	Dnty station	Home address
Brown, Holmes M.	Oct. 12, 1964	\$100	Public Affairs	H. Brown	Washington, D.C.	65 Mayfair Lane, Greenwich, Conn.
Elwell, Richard R.	Nov. 30, 1964	65	do	do	do	3850 Tunlaw Rd. NW., Washington, D.C.
Masters, Peter F.	Oct. 26, 1964	60	do	do	do	1425 Floral St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Gross, Ernest	Dec. 7, 1964	60	do	do	do	62 Lansing Dr., Delmar, N.Y.
Moss, Edward K.	Apr. 1, 1965	75	do	do	do	1600 Foxhall Rd. NW., Washington, D.C.
Maguire, Francis X.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	do	do	do	144-30 Roosevelt Ave., Flushing, N.Y.
Miller, Harry J.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	do	do	do	87 Pleasant Way, Penfield, N.Y.
Wright, Dale R.	Jan. 5, 1965	60	do	do	do	101 G St. SW., Washington, D.C.
Ellis, Garrison M.	Dec. 28, 1964	60	do	do	do	49 Wilton St., Princeton, N.J.
Williams, Joan	Apr. 12, 1965	50	do	do	do	444 East 75th St., New York, N.Y.
VanDoren, Ronald D.	Nov. 8, 1964	65	do	do	do	1319 Frazier Pl., Falls Church, Va.
Allott, Patricia A.	Dec. 29, 1964	35	do	do	do	1231 33d St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Doherty, James E.	Nov. 8, 1964	35	do	do	do	1724 17th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Hughes, Eleanor P.	May 3, 1965	50	do	do	do	1301 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tait, Pauline W.	Apr. 29, 1965	50	do	do	do	3331 Quesada St. NW., Washington D.C.,
Michaels, Anna W.	May 3, 1965	50	do	do	do	1212 28th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Roddy, Robert W.	Feb. 15, 1965	60	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	2303 Xerxes Ave. North, Golden Valley, Minn.
Price, Gary	Oct. 26, 1964	55	VISTA	do	do	40 G St. SW., Washington, D.C.
Weatherford, Willis, Jr.	do	70	VISTA	do	do	319 Cedar Lane, Swarthmore, Pa.
Constable, Elinor	do	35	VISTA	do	do	3706 Appleton St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Guskin, Alan E.	do	50	VISTA	do	do	1150 12th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Long, Lewis M. K.	Jan. 18, 1965	60	VISTA	do	do	201 Waynewood Blvd., Alexandria, Va.
Carter, Charles A.	Dec. 1, 1964	40	VISTA	do	do	238 57th Pl. NE., Washington, D.C.
Hutchison, John G.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	VISTA	do	do	7319 Essex Ave., Springfield, Va.
Gerson, Richard I.	Oct. 29, 1964	75	VISTA	do	do	3416 Porter St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Higgins, Thaddeus F. X.	May 10, 1965	55	VISTA	do	do	5303 St. James Ter., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Blackburn, John J.	Oct. 26, 1964	55	VISTA	do	do	463 Dartmouth Rd., Winston-Salem, N.C.
Chong, Charles	Nov. 23, 1964	50	VISTA	do	do	1330 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.
Parsons, Arch	May 24, 1965	65	VISTA	do	do	730 South Kingsley Dr., Los Angeles, Calif.
Rantane, Bruno	Feb. 15, 1965	50	VISTA	do	do	8600 16th St., Silver Spring, Md.
Sill, Maurice L.	Nov. 17, 1964	70	VISTA	do	do	Valley View Farm, Centerville, Fa.
Baker, Robert N.	Dec. 10, 1964	60	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	7514 Cayuga Ave., Bethesda, Md.
Huntington, Haskins	Dec. 31, 1964	70	do	do	do	4561 LaSalle Ave., Alexandria, Va.
Healy, Edward F.	Oct. 26, 1964	90	do	do	do	1310 New Hampshire Ave., Washington, D.C.
Woodward, Anola E.	Apr. 21, 1965	40	do	do	do	1535 17th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Pnlakos, Milton	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	do	183 West 87th St., New York, N.Y.
Brashears, Benjamin S.	Dec. 17, 1964	45	do	do	do	2612 Naylor Rd. SE, Washington, D.C.
Eigen, Lewis D.	Oct. 26, 1964	85	do	do	do	1719 Q St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Trontman, John E.	Mar. 25, 1965	70	do	do	do	18801 Muncaster Rd., Derwood, Md.
Gottlieb, David	Oct. 26, 1964	70	do	do	do	Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.
Stellwagon, Walter R.	Jan. 3, 1965	70	do	do	do	Do.
Katz, Milton S.	Apr. 26, 1965	70	do	do	do	12 Tulip Dr., Great Neck, NY.
Levine, Stanley	May 10, 1965	70	do	do	do	158 South Westgate Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Gillis, Jr., James C.	Oct. 26, 1964	55	do	do	do	260 Pellings Pond Rd., Lynnfield Center, Mass.
Sexton, Brendon	Nov. 30, 1964	100	CAP	T. Berry	do	Washington Square Village, South, New York.
VandenHeuvel, William	Dec. 3, 1964	100	OAP	do	do	3319 Dumbarton Ave. NW., Washington - D.C.
Bohrson, Ralph G.	Apr. 5, 1965	80	OAP	do	do	6771 Miller St., Arvada, Colo.
Ross, Elizabeth H.	Nov. 9, 1964	65	OAP	do	do	3255 P St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Rauh, B. Michael	Apr. 26, 1965	60	OAP	do	do	3516 Sterling Ave., Alexandria, Va.
Bass, William H.	Dec. 14, 1964	60	OAP	do	do	601 Elm Ave., Takoma Park, Md.
Moore, Robert N.	Dec. 8, 1964	60	OAP	do	do	424 Margin St., Franklin, Tenn.
Cotton, Mello	Nov. 23, 1964	55	OAP	do	do	1116 South 15th St., Arlington, Va.
Ben-Ami, David Z.	Apr. 25, 1965	50	OAP	do	do	Post Office Box 409, Hattiesburg, Miss.
Drake, Charles H.	Nov. 9, 1964	50	OAP	do	do	32 Loerept Ave., Lexington, Mass.
Salet, Stanley J.	Oct. 26, 1964	45	OAP	do	do	1764 Church St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Wickland, Roger F.	Nov. 3, 1964	65	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	20610 Pacific Coast Highway, Malibu, Calif.
Johnson, James E.	May 6, 1965	60	VISTA	do	do	6902 Piney Branch Rd. NW., Washington, D.C.
Alexander, Alan A.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	Management	W. Kelly	do	1605 South 28th St., Arlington, Va.
Paynter, David H.	Jan. 18, 1965	90	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	1285 Carmel Dr., Simi, Calif.
Stuck, Harry W.	do	40	do	do	do	Care of Frank Barbar, 8300 Cooper St., Alexandria, Va.
O'Hare, Thomas J.	May 17, 1965	50	do	do	do	Box 416, Harvard Rd., Shirley, Mass.
Diener, Charles L.	Nov. 29, 1964	40	do	do	do	152 East 19th St., Durango, Colo.
O'Callaghan, Donald N.	Nov. 8, 1964	65	do	do	do	1636 Molly Dr., Carson City, Nev.
Keating, Raymond F.	Dec. 14, 1964	50	do	do	do	52 William St., Yonkers, N.Y.
Wilkins, William D.	Jan. 11, 1965	75	do	do	do	3216 Hill St., San Diego, Calif.
Schima, Marilyn E.	Oct. 26, 1964	60	do	do	do	1629 Columbia Rd. NW., Washington, D.C.
Hall, C. Mitchell	Jan. 18, 1965	75	do	do	do	3401 Bangor St. SE., Washington, D.C.
McConnell, William A.	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	do	613 Plantation Dr., Savannah, Ga.
Ferlo, Virgil J.	Dec. 10, 1964	45	do	do	do	821 West Great Falls St., Falls Church, Va.
Garofalo, Dominic G.	Mar. 22, 1965	50	CAP	T. Berry	do	Route 1, Box 482, Proctorville, Ohio.
Palmour, Claire T.	May 10, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	1623 Valley Rd. NW., Gainesville, Ga.
Fox, Lester J.	Feb. 1, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	Atlanta, Ga.
Sasaki, Tom T.	Jan. 21, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	1315 16th St. NW., Apt 613, Washington, D.C.
Stocks, Donald M.	Apr. 19, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	1400 Quincy St. NE., Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Eldred, Philip H.	Mar. 22, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	800 4th St. SW., Washington, D.C.
Olivero, Jack J.	May 11, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	510 East Chestnut, Apt. 2, Yakima, Wash.
Cosgrove, Thomas J.	Nov. 30, 1965	70	CAP	do	do	1200 North Court House Rd., Arlington, Va.
Lucas, Jane M.	Apr. 28, 1965	40	CAP	do	do	5349 Broad Branch Rd. NW., Washington, D.C.
Fallon, Vincent	Mar. 19, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	1605 Buchanan St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Rainey, Virginia	Mar. 15, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	1525 Colvin Ave., Kenmore, N.J.
Richmond, Julius M.	Feb. 1, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	1913 North Ode St., Arlington, Va.
Spickler, Martin W.	Feb. 28, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	50 Ely Dr., Fayetteville, N.Y.
Balzer, Franc	Apr. 16, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	207 Baden St., Silver Spring, Md.
Sadow, Sue	Feb. 23, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	9407 Siena St., Silver Spring, Md.
Lowe, Roger D.	Apr. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	123 North Carolina Ave. SE., Washington, D.C.
Darlington, Alice	Mar. 22, 1965	40	CAP	do	do	7913 Roswell, Falls Church, Va.
Lewis, Joan D.	Apr. 8, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	1929 Q St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Hunter, Gertrude T.	Apr. 12, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	5404 Mohican Rd., Washington, D.C.
Fogg, Betty L.	Mar. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	4600 Argyle Ter. NW., Washington, D.C.
Terris, Shirley D.	do	50	CAP	do	do	5425 North 20th St., Arlington, Va.
Blaylock, Marilyn J.	Apr. 5, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	1855 Shepherd St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Aguirre, Humberto	May 3, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	65 Hermann St., San Francisco, Calif.
Heller, Adele R.	Mar. 22, 1965	40	CAP	do	do	1305 Glenwood St., Austin, Tex.
Martin, John A., Jr.	May 17, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	2912 Wilton Ave., Silver Spring, Md.
Goodwin, James C.	May 24, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	3020 Deakin St., Berkeley, Calif.
Hyman, Milton	May 10, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	919 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Calif.
Williams, Robert E.	Apr. 6, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	5214 South Kenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Mehlberg, Wallace L.	Apr. 21, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	8006 South Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Jordan, Vernon E.	May 20, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	Rural Route 2, Spring Valley, Wis.
Lesser, Saal D.	Apr. 19, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	2919 Peek Rd. NW., Atlanta, Ga.
Nieves, Josephine	do	60	CAP	do	do	291 Garfield Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Hanan, Thomas M.	Feb. 23, 1965	35	CAP	do	do	148 East 30th St., New York, N.Y.
Stack, Michael J.	Mar. 22, 1965	65	CAP	do	do	338 Bayview Ave., Douglaston, N.Y.
Collins, Raymond C.	Apr. 26, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	447 Munson Pl., Falls Church, Va.
						508 Orrin St., Vienna, Va.

Full-time consultants—Continued

CURRENT—Continued

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Selecting official	Duty station	Home address
Rhine, Earl R.	Apr. 16, 1965	\$45	CAP	T. Berry	Washington, D.C.	401 Woodlawn, Mattoun, Ill.
Burns, Robert J.	do	50	CAP	do	do	13 Wennerherg Rd., Middleton, Mass.
Oliver, Barbara J.	May 24, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	209 West 104th St., New York, N.Y.
Ramirez, Lorenzo	May 23, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	2239 North Waco, Wichita, Kans.
Golatz, Helmut J.	Dec. 28, 1964	60	CAP	do	do	722 Storch Rd., State College, Pa.
Stenson, Kiernan F.	Apr. 5, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	4337 Colonial Park Dr., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Salten, David G.	Apr. 14, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	10 The Esplanade, New Rochelle, N.Y.
Bernstein, Jerome S.	Dec. 30, 1964	70	CAP	do	do	12012 Kerwood Rd., Silver Spring, Md.
Hymes, James L.	Feb. 16, 1965	90	CAP	do	do	1621 Oaklawn Ct., Silver Spring, Md.
Morris, Dudley E.	Oct. 26, 1964	40	CAP	do	do	149 Peachtree Circle NE., Atlanta, Ga.
Williams, J. Earl	Jan. 27, 1965	85	CAP	do	do	3204 Mount Vernon Dr., Knoxville, Tenn.
Shovell, William L.	Feb. 16, 1965	70	CAP	do	do	466 Johnson Parkway, St. Paul, Minn.
Haddad, William F.	Jan. 18, 1965	90	Office of the Director	Shriver	do	1 West 72d St., New York, N.Y.
Walsh, Ira P.	Feb. 23, 1965	75	do	do	do	240 Sebastian Dr., Millhrea, Calif.
Yette, Samuel F.	Nov. 29, 1965	70	do	do	do	1020 B South Euclid Ave., Dayton, Ohio.
Cahn, Edgar S.	Oct. 26, 1964	70	do	do	do	10 3d St. SE, Washington, D.C.
Radler, D. H.	May 16, 1965	70	do	do	do	50 South Jenny Lane, Indianapolis, Ind.
Zagorin, Ruth K.	Oct. 26, 1964	40	do	do	do	1314 Fiddlers Green, Falls Church, Va.
Clampitt, Robert H.	Feb. 5, 1965	70	Inspections	W. Haddad	do	280 9th Ave., New York, N.Y.
Brown, E. Wayles, Jr.	Apr. 1, 1965	75	do	do	do	646 Independence Ave. SE., Washington, D.C.
Ximenes, Vincente T.	Feb. 26, 1965	70	do	do	do	906 Allison St., Alexandria, Va.
Smilen, Kenneth B.	Feb. 9, 1965	60	do	do	do	131 Joramaleh St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Williams, John C.	Feb. 19, 1965	55	do	do	do	101 Castlehar Rd., Rochester, N.Y.
Boasberg, Emanuel	Dec. 21, 1964	50	Interagency relations	L. Carter	do	40 7th Ave., San Francisco, Calif.
Keville, Maurice L.	Apr. 19, 1965	50	General Council	D. Baker	do	507 West Poplar Rd., Sterling, Va.
Murphy, John G.	Mar. 29, 1965	60	do	do	do	5516 Carolina Pl. NW., Washington, D.C.

TERMINATED

Lorenzo, Michael	Apr. 5, 1965	\$50	Job Corps	O. Singletary	Washington, D.C.	4026 David Lane, Alexandria, Va.
MacKaye, Milton	Oct. 26, 1964	50	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	2317 Woodley Rd., NW., Washington, D.C.
Margulies, Stuart S.	Jan. 18, 1965	80	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	435 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y.
Michaelis, Diana	Nov. 16, 1964	50	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	3316 Volta Pl., NW., Washington, D.C.
Morris, Daniel	Jan. 21, 1964	65	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	4910 17th Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Morris, Jonas V.	Jan. 4, 1965	50	CAP	T. Berry	do	2206 Tunlaw Rd., NW., Washington, D.C.
Noble, Jeanne L.	Oct. 26, 1964	35	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	4 Washington Square Village, New York, N.Y.
Pansing, David H.	Mar. 29, 1965	65	CAP	T. Berry	do	5409 14th Pl., Hyattsville, Md.
Rae, Norman T.	Oct. 26, 1964	65	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	1609 Riggs Pl. NW., Washington, D.C.
Ridder, Marie W.	Feb. 15, 1965	50	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	4509 Crest Lane, McLean, Va.
Sagaly	Apr. 22, 1965	50	CAP	T. Berry	do	3006 Alhmarle St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Shimanovsky, Burton	Oct. 26, 1964	45	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	1217 Cypress Lane, Elk Grove, Ill.
Sicna, James V.	Nov. 9, 1964	60	General Counsel	D. Baker	do	901 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
Sanzski, William J.	Dec. 9, 1964	50	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	916 25th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Wagley, John R.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	do	do	do	1509 28th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Westgate, Robert D.	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	do	1816 S St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Wheeler, Billy E.	Mar. 29, 1965	70	CAP	T. Berry	do	136 Hicks, St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Adams, John C.	Feb. 15, 1965	70	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	73 Lamplighter Lane, Sherborn, Mass.
Adler, James N.	Dec. 31, 1964	60	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	601 West 50th St., Kansas City, Mo.
Block, Clifford H.	Nov. 23, 1964	45	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	2823 Gainesville St. SE., Washington, D.C.
Fischer, M. Peter	Dec. 8, 1964	55	CAP	T. Berry	do	1666 Connecticut Ave. NW., Washington, D.C.
George, Thomas R.	Dec. 26, 1964	50	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	3113 Ravensworth Pl., Alexandria, Va.
Gill, Patricia E.	Oct. 26, 1964	40	do	do	do	Universal House, 1588 Ansel Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Gold, William	Dec. 21, 1964	45	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	2436 North Revere Rd., Akron, Ohio.
Gregory, Willola M.	Nov. 4, 1964	40	do	do	do	926 North Mohawk St., Chicago, Ill.
Guskin, Judith T.	Oct. 26, 1964	30	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	1150 12th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Hall, Paul G.	Jan. 18, 1965	50	VISTA	do	do	296 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.
Harris, John K.	Oct. 30, 1964	70	VISTA	do	do	1535 17th St. NW., Apartment 2, Washington, D.C.
Hearle, Edward F.	Dec. 21, 1964	80	PPAR	J. Kershaw	do	8113 Layola Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.
Hubbard, Fred D.	May 17, 1965	75	CAP	T. Berry	do	601 East 32d St., Chicago, Ill.
James, Edgar	Nov. 30, 1964	60	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	5600 Frontier Way, Carmichael, Calif.
Holmes, Samuel	Mar. 29, 1965	50	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	250 West 14th St., New York, N.Y.
Stone, Fay B.	Nov. 30, 1964	60	General Counsel	D. Baker	do	2349 North Early St., Alexandria, Va.
Womack, Joseph D.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	4218 47th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Pachios, Harold C.	Nov. 30, 1964	50	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	2001 North Adams St., Arlington, Va.

Intermittent consultants

CURRENT

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Selecting official	Duty station	Home address
Temko, Francine S.	Dec. 1, 1964	\$75	General Counsel	D. Baker	Washington, D.C.	4811 Dexter Ter. NW., Washington, D.C.
Prentice, Edward S.	Apr. 26, 1965	100	Program Planning	J. Kershaw	do	205 Bayberry Dr., Stamford, Conn.
Williams, Walter	do	60	do	do	do	2153 Violet Rd., Lexington, Ky.
Watts, Harold W.	do	70	do	do	do	1930 Regent St., Madison, Wls.
Delo, David A.	Feb. 1, 1965	70	do	do	do	910 Meadowlark Dr., Laguna Beach, Calif.
Donvito, Pasqual A.	Feb. 9, 1965	70	do	do	do	3514 Quesada St., NW., Washington, D.C.
McNeil, Donald R.	Apr. 1, 1965	50	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	4214 Odana Rd., Madison, Wls.
Sonnenfeldt, Marjorie H.	Apr. 20, 1965	40	VISTA	do	do	4105 Thornapple St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Porter, Douglas	Oct. 26, 1964	65	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	37 Arlington St., Cambridge, Mass.
Trautman, Ray L.	May 24, 1965	70	do	do	do	Greenville, N.Y.
Geis, Gilbert	Jan. 13, 1965	55	do	do	do	9 Bay State Rd., Boston, Mass.
Cohen, Martin A.	Apr. 5, 1965	100	CAP	T. Berry	do	55 Valley View Rd., Great Neck, N.Y.
Walden, David C.	Mar. 31, 1965	90	CAP	do	do	1747 Kenneth Way, Pasadena, Calif.
Natkin, Herbert	Apr. 5, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	600 South State St., Syracuse, N.Y.
Clarke, Eunice A.	Apr. 12, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	Kay Dr. South, Haddonfield, N.J.
McNiven, Hugh G.	Nov. 9, 1964	50	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	503 Northview Dr., Glenshaw, Pa.
Noble, Lindsley H.	Feb. 4, 1965	50	Management	W. Kelly	do	5427 Potomac Ave. NW., Washington, D.C.
Hall, Clifton	Mar. 23, 1965	75	do	do	do	7702 Old Chester Rd., Bethesda, Md.
McAlister, Glendon H.	Nov. 29, 1964	40	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	439 East St., Walpole, Mass.
Hughes, Calvin C.	do	40	do	do	do	4210 Northwest 11th Ave., Miami, Fla.
Kauffman, Joseph F.	Jan. 4, 1965	90	do	do	do	7717 Beachtree Rd., Bethesda, Md.
Schreiber, Daniel	Jan. 25, 1965	75	do	do	do	3710 Harrison St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Barberis, Sister Francetta	Mar. 11, 1965	75	do	do	do	Webster College, Webster Groves, Mo.
Smiley, Marjorie B.	do	70	do	do	do	196 East 75th St., New York, N.Y.
Soldwedel, Bette J.	do	70	do	do	do	241 Hudson Ter., Piermont, N.Y.

Intermittent consultants—Continued

CURRENT

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Selecting official	Duty station	Home address
Weaver, Ella H.	Apr. 15, 1965	\$70	Job Corps	O. Singletary	Washington, D.C.	295 Central Park West, New York, N.Y.
Shelden, Miriam A.	May 19, 1965	75	do	do	do	706 South Coler St., Urbana, Ill.
Keyser, Stephney J.	Apr. 12, 1965	60	do	do	do	4505 17th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Mansfield, Jack P.	Feb. 1, 1965	60	CAP	T. Berry	do	2000 Lakeshore Dr., Chapel Hill, N.C.
McConnell, Beatrice	Feb. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	1350 Ingraham St. NW., Washington, D.C.
McEvers, Charles L.	Jan. 17, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	10839 Northeast 84th St., Kirkland, Wash.
Goldberg, J. R.	Mar. 12, 1965	100	CAP	do	New York	15 Black Birch Lane, Scarsdale, N.Y.
Rendon, Gabino	Mar. 15, 1965	45	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	2637 Valmont Rd., Boulder, Colo.
Gohle, Dorothy Y.	Mar. 21, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	14634 Nelson Ct., San Jose, Calif.
McConnelly, Beverly B.	Mar. 22, 1965	50	CAP	do	Pullman, Wash.	1205 Maple St., Pullman, Wash.
Jager, Oscar	Jan. 11, 1965	70	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	4100 West St. N.W., Washington, D.C.
Henderson, Vivian W.	Apr. 22, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	1808 Morena St., Nashville, Tenn.
Stone, P. Joseph	Apr. 26, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Ozer, Ann T.	Mar. 25, 1965	40	CAP	do	do	Maple Ridge Rd., Bethesda, Md.
Wegman, Myron E.	Mar. 8, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	School of Public Health, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Maggen, Donald P.	Mar. 9, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	357 East 57th St., New York, N.Y.
Kolberg, Rosemond M.	Feb. 3, 1965	40	CAP	do	do	2211 North Quantico St., Arlington, Va.
Allen, Rebecca B.	Feb. 10, 1965	40	CAP	do	do	9901 Connecticut Avenue, Kensington, Md.
Cooke, Robert E.	Mar. 28, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	550 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.
Ornati, Oscar	Feb. 1, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	147 Edgars Lane, Hastings on Hudson, N.Y.
Georges, Thomas W.	Apr. 2, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	201 East Gorgas Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.
Reader, George G.	Apr. 1, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	155 Stuyvesant Ave., Rye, N.Y.
Roessel, Robert A., Jr.	Nov. 9, 1964	70	CAP	do	do	1302 West 10th St., Tempe, Ariz.
Duckrey, Marjorie E.	Apr. 5, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	100 East Harvey, St. Philadelphia, Pa.
Rein, Martin	Feb. 15, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	34 West Levering Mill Rd., Bala Cynwyd, Pa.
Silcott, T. George	Jan. 11, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	195 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Smith, Hilda W.	do	50	CAP	do	do	13 9th St. N.E., Washington, D.C.
Hicks, Florence J.	May 10, 1965	45	OAP	do	do	218 35th St. S.E., Washington, D.C.
Gallen, Elizabeth M.	Apr. 16, 1965	60	OAP	do	do	3 South Olcan St., Worcester, Mass.
Malmberg, Eleanor D.	do	45	OAP	do	do	1900 Upshur St. N.W., Washington, D.C.
Parsons, Thomas S.	May 3, 1965	75	OAP	do	do	109 Westwood Dr., Park Forest, Ill.
Bevis, Donald D.	Apr. 16, 1965	65	CAP	do	do	5629 16th Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Brown, Milton A.	Apr. 5, 1965	70	OAP	do	do	97 London Dr., Hamden, Conn.
Lazar, Irving	do	85	CAP	do	do	1500 Thayer Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Bers, Melvin K.	Apr. 16, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	3300 West Union Ave., Englewood, Colo.
Plumer, Stephen B.	Apr. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	104 Woodmaney Lane, Fayetteville, N.Y.
Seessel, Thomas V.	do	50	CAP	do	do	270 Orange St., New Haven, Conn.
Bennett, George	do	95	CAP	do	do	96 Livingston St., New Haven, Conn.
Scheirbeck Helen M.	Dec. 7, 1964	40	CAP	do	do	Post Office Box 1628, Washington, D.C.
McKinley, Francis	Feb. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	344 East Palmcroft Dr., Tempe, Ariz.
Donovan, Ronald	Dec. 28, 1964	50	CAP	do	do	Rural Free Delivery 6, Ithaca, N.Y.
McCollum, John W.	May 3, 1965	80	OAP	do	do	1642 Myrtle St. N.W., Washington, D.C.
Dowdy, Richard S.	Mar. 1, 1965	60	OAP	do	do	110 Jordan Dr., Hamden, Conn.
Reimer, Janet S.	Feb. 1, 1965	50	OAP	do	do	308 North 37th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Barr, Sherman	Mar. 17, 1965	55	CAP	do	do	1232 A Avenue V, Brooklyn, N.Y.
McAndrew, Jordan L.	Jan. 25, 1965	55	CAP	do	do	Advancement School, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Simmons, James E.	May 3, 1965	45	OAP	do	do	Post Office Box 121, Hanover, N.H.
Allen, Curtis C.	Mar. 28, 1965	75	OAP	do	do	746 Santa Rosa, Berkeley, Calif.
Kreps, Juanita M.	Apr. 29, 1965	75	OAP	do	do	Morgan Creek Rd., Chapel Hill, N.C.
Smith, Mildred Beatty	Apr. 14, 1965	55	OAP	do	do	718 East Witherbee St., Flint, Mich.
Ginsberg, Mitchell I.	Apr. 25, 1965	85	CAP	do	do	788 Columbus Ave., New York, N.Y.
Straklavsky, Ivan L.	May 18, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	4442 Greenwich Parkway NW., Washington, D.C.
Berman, Jack D.	Apr. 6, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	673 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
Flowers, Charles V.	May 9, 1965	40	CAP	do	Baltimore	6203 Elm Lane Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Keat, James F.	do	50	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	1475 Euclid St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Krumlauf, Alfred C.	May 20, 1965	40	CAP	do	West Hollywood, Fla.	2249 Southwest 68 Ter., Canton, Ohio.
Witherspoon, Ralph	May 10, 1965	100	CAP	do	Tallahassee, Fla.	1708 Glths Dr., Tallahassee, Fla.
Lipsen, Zil E.	Apr. 26, 1965	50	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	2005 Columbia Pike, Arlington, Va.
Casey, John J.	Apr. 28, 1965	50	CAP	do	New Orleans, La.	212 Alonzo St., New Orleans, La.
Bird, Robert S., Jr.	May 23, 1965	25	CAP	do	Baltimore, Md.	1219 Balton St., Baltimore, Md.
Winters, Bruce M.	May 9, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	405 Old Orchard Rd., Baltimore, Md.
Davis, Thomas I.	May 23, 1965	65	CAP	do	Selma, N.C.	300 North Green St., Selma, N.C.
Clifford, George E.	Mar. 15, 1965	50	Inspections	W. Haddad	Washington, D.C.	2926 Ranawha St. NW., Washington, D.C.
McKay, Martha C.	Feb. 28, 1965	50	do	do	do	406 Westwood Dr., Chapel Hill, N.C.
Lefkowitz, Gary	Feb. 16, 1965	45	do	do	do	868 East 95th St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Swit, David A.	Mar. 9, 1965	60	do	do	do	13012 Valleywood Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Jacobson, Gershon	Feb. 7, 1965	45	do	do	New York	280 Sullivan Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Engle, Robert V.	Feb. 18, 1965	60	do	do	Washington, D.C.	280 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y.
Jackson, Bernard H.	Feb. 19, 1965	50	do	do	do	33 Macombs Pl., New York, N.Y.
Eldridge, Lawrence	Feb. 12, 1965	60	do	do	do	473 West End Ave., New York, N.Y.
Seaton, David L.	Feb. 19, 1965	50	do	do	do	3441 85th St., Jackson Heights, N.Y.
Forrest, Robert A.	Feb. 8, 1965	55	do	do	do	7 West 81st St., New York, N.Y.
Nichols, William B.	Feb. 25, 1965	75	do	do	do	353 West 45th St., New York, N.Y.
Stupay, Arthur M.	Feb. 11, 1965	50	do	do	do	17 North Wickom Dr., Westfield, N.Y.
Egan, Robert J.	Mar. 9, 1965	45	do	do	New York	308 East 73d St., New York, N.Y.
Martin, Robert L.	Feb. 15, 1965	60	do	do	Washington, D.C.	52 King St., New York, N.Y.
Rostopulos, Nicholas P.	Apr. 13, 1965	70	do	do	do	2109 Atlantic Ave., Virginia Beach, Va.
Petit, Donald Raphael	Mar. 14, 1965	65	do	do	do	422 Rosario Ave., Coral Gables, Fla.
Berle, Peter A. A.	Mar. 2, 1965	45	do	do	do	525 East 86th St., New York, N.Y.
Klein, Elihu B.	Feb. 8, 1965	60	do	do	do	7-13 Washington Square North, New York, N.Y.
MacLean, Hugh D.	Mar. 24, 1965	40	do	do	do	404 Constitution Ave. NE., Washington, D.C.
Kelly, Thomas V.	Mar. 24, 1965	50	do	do	do	do
Parker, Joseph Ross, Jr.	Mar. 30, 1965	45	do	do	do	do
Peasinger, Charles W., Jr.	Apr. 7, 1965	65	do	do	do	542 North 72d St., Omaha, Nebr.
Park, Darragh A.	Feb. 14, 1965	40	do	do	New York	18 West 86th St., New York, N.Y.
Robins, Leurs	Apr. 2, 1965	60	do	do	Washington, D.C.	37 West 12th St., New York, N.Y.
Lipsen, Charles P.	Apr. 19, 1965	70	do	do	do	6414 Earham Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Brenner, Clifford J.	Apr. 22, 1965	70	do	do	New York	207 Weaver St., Lardmont, N.Y.
Patrick, C. B.	Apr. 26, 1965	55	do	do	Glenview, Ill.	1642 North Greenwood Ave., Glenview, Ill.
Prial, Frances J.	Mar. 27, 1965	45	do	do	Washington, D.C.	371 Franklin Pl., San Francisco, Calif.

TERMINATED

Janawitz, Gayle S.	Apr. 12, 1965	\$60	CAP	T. Berry	Washington, D.C.	1357 East 55th Pl., Chicago, Ill.
Jessen, Mariana	Dec. 30, 1965	50	CAP	do	New York, N.Y.	319 Avenue C, New York, N.Y.
Kemsley, William G.	Feb. 18, 1965	70	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	Post Office Box 66, Weston, Vt.
Lerner, Mandel	Dec. 28, 1964	55	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	Route 4, Box 464, Edwardsville, Ill.
Levine, Louise L.	Jan. 4, 1965	65	VISTA	do	do	1057 Linden St., Valley Stream, Long Island, N.Y.
Mankiewicz, Don M.	Mar. 30, 1965	75	Public Affairs	H. Brown	New York, N.Y.	20 Split Oak Dr., East Norwich, Long Island, N.Y.

Intermittent consultants—Continued

TERMINATED

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Selecting official	Duty station	Home address
Meadows, Joe P.	Nov. 29, 1964	\$40	Job Corps	O. Singletary	Washington, D.C.	Post Office Box 187, Lavaca, Ark.
Miller, Tom E.	Nov. 29, 1964	40	do	do	do	Route No. 2, Box 1, McConnellsville, Ohio.
Moed, Martin G.	Dec. 9, 1964	70	CAP	T. Berry	do	44 Disc Lane, Wantagh, Long Island, N.Y.
Mathner, Ira S.	Feb. 25, 1965	55	Director	do	do	515 West End Ave., New York, N.Y.
O'Rourke, Edward	Apr. 13, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	3801 Grand Ave., Des Moines, Iowa.
Popich, Michael	Nov. 29, 1964	40	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	706 Oak St., Anaconda, Mont.
Piven, Frances	Mar. 28, 1965	50	CAP	T. Berry	do	90 La Salle St., New York, N.Y.
Poston, Richard W.	Dec. 18, 1964	70	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	808 Hillcrest Dr., Carhondale, Ill.
Quisenberry, Mary Carr	Apr. 5, 1965	50	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	4 Peter Cooper Rd., New York, N.Y.
Roberts, Ray Dalton	May 17, 1965	50	CAP	T. Berry	Tennessee	2751 Harrison Pike N.E., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Shedd, Charles L.	Feb. 23, 1965	70	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	1700 High St., Bowling Green, Ky.
Sheridan, Marion L.	Mar. 15, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	527 Holdemar Ave., New Cumberland, Pa.
Wagner, John A.	Mar. 24, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	5511 San Pedro, suite 205, San Antonio, Tex.
Weinberg, Joseph L.	Jan. 28, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	67 Midland Blvd., Maplewood, N.J.
Weingarten, Kenneth	May 17, 1965	60	CAP	do	New York, N.Y.	900 West End Ave., New York, N.Y.
Weinstein, Harry	do	100	CAP	do	San Francisco, Calif.	1600 Divesadero St., San Francisco, Calif.
Witherspoon, Y.	Dec. 6, 1964	70	VISTA	G. Ferguson	Washington, D.C.	2230 Blaine Ave., Salt Lake, Utah.
Ziegler, Jerome M.	Jan. 18, 1965	75	CAP	T. Berry	Chicago, Ill.	339 Rosebank Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Brain, George B.	Feb. 28, 1965	100	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	1301 Upper Dr., Pullman, Wash.
Brar, Joseph S.	May 17, 1965	70	CAP	do	California	855 Colusa Ave., Berkeley, Calif.
Bronfenhrenner, Urie	Feb. 15, 1965	100	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	116 McIntyre Pl., Ithaca, N.Y.
Brueckner, William	May 17, 1965	75	CAP	do	Chicago, Ill.	915 Walcott Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Clark, Mamie Phipps	Feb. 15, 1965	100	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	17 Piurest Dr., Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y.
Crump, E. Perry	Mar. 8, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	2501 Shreeve Lane, Nashville, Tenn.
Davens, Edward	Mar. 1, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	6141 Barroll Rd., Baltimore, Md.
Ford, Norman C.	Nov. 29, 1964	40	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	No address.
Frankel, Hyman H.	May 17, 1965	95	CAP	T. Berry	do	7612 14th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Gallardo, Lloyd L.	do	60	CAP	do	Lafayette, Calif.	771 Solano Dr., Lafayette, Calif.
Grennan, Sister	Mar. 15, 1965	100	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	Wehster College, St. Louis, Mo.
Hogref, Russell W.	May 17, 1965	75	CAP	do	Highland Park, Ill.	1550 Forest Ave., Highland Park, Ill.
Kneedler, Mary K.	Feb. 28, 1965	100	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	Box 1086, Culowhee, N.C.
Kramer, Ralph M.	May 17, 1965	50	CAP	do	Piedmont, Calif.	62 York Dr., Piedmont, Calif.
Laurie, Reginald S.	Mar. 8, 1965	100	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	4305 Thornapple St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Ockert, Roy A.	May 17, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	1909 Bonita Ave., Berkeley, Calif.
Argento, Barry	Nov. 29, 1964	40	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	17 Tahanto Rd., Worcester, Mass.
Barth, William P.	Nov. 9, 1964	50	VISTA	G. Ferguson	do	1604 Brooklyn Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Brooks, Michael	Apr. 22, 1965	60	CAP	T. Berry	do	2806 Butner St., Durham, N.C.
Brophy, Jacqueline	Feb. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	411 West 116th St., New York, N.Y.
Cahn, Jean C.	Jan. 25, 1965	75	CAP	do	do	10 3d St. SE., Washington, D.C.
Camponeschi, Philip A.	Jan. 11, 1965	60	CAP	do	do	339 Rosebank Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Carle, Doris M.	Mar. 17, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	5511 San Pedro Ave., San Antonio, Tex.
Clark, John D. J.	May 17, 1965	50	CAP	do	Philadelphia, Pa.	1922 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Click, James W.	Feb. 15, 1965	50	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	Route No. 1, Box 314, Pacific, Mo.
Ehrman, Irma	Nov. 9, 1964	50	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	1708 Q St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Essers, Hendrix A.	Dec. 23, 1964	45	do	do	do	813 Wellington Rd., Baltimore, Md.
Fielder, Marie	May 17, 1965	70	CAP	T. Berry	Berkeley, Calif.	774 San Luis Rd., Berkeley, Calif.
Fisher, Bernard C.	do	45	CAP	do	New York	905 Park Ave., New York, N.Y.
Foot, James A.	Apr. 28, 1965	35	Public Affairs	H. Brown	Washington, D.C.	180 East End Ave., New York, N.Y.
Freeman, Howard	Apr. 6, 1965	75	CAP	T. Berry	do	41 Windermere Rd., Auhurndale, Mass.
Friedberg, Judith E.	Feb. 18, 1965	70	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	Care of Dr. E. B. Friedberg, 6610 Woodwell St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Gilbert, Monroe A.	Nov. 29, 1964	40	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	71 Todd Ct., Huntington Station, Long Island, N.Y.
Gordon, Norma J.	Mar. 10, 1965	50	Public Affairs	H. Brown	do	1330 New Hampshire Ave., Washington, D.C.
Grumer, Morris	Mar. 16, 1965	60	CAP	T. Berry	Los Angeles, Calif.	146 North Anita Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Gwilliam, Robert F.	Dec. 21, 1964	45	VISTA	G. Ferguson	Washington, D.C.	5828 Fontaine Bleu, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Halberstam, Michael	Jan. 10, 1965	100	VISTA	do	do	1514 44th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Hauck, Arthur A.	Apr. 22, 1965	50	VISTA	do	do	1661 Crescent Pl. NW., Washington, D.C.
Herman, Melvin	Jan. 18, 1965	75	CAP	T. Berry	do	93 Edgemont Rd., Scarsdale, N.Y.
Hoehler, Fred, Jr.	Nov. 8, 1964	100	CAP	do	do	4571 Ottawa Dr., Okemas, Mich.
Patterson, John N.	May 17, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	508 Spring Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Perry, Yvonne S.	do	50	CAP	do	do	4535 Larchwood Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Zigler, Edward	Mar. 8, 1965	100	CAP	do	do	111 Mowry St., North Haven, Conn.

Full-time experts

CURRENT

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Selecting official	Duty station	Home address
Macomber, John Z.	Mar. 16, 1965	\$60	Public Affairs	H. Brown	Washington, D.C.	Spring Mount Rd., R.D. No. 1, Box 98, Schwenksville, Pa.
Robinson, Wade M.	Oct. 26, 1964	100	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	2 Waldron Ct., Marblehead, Mass.
Wynne, Edward	Mar. 21, 1965	50	do	do	do	604 3d St. SW., Washington, D.C.
Clay, Ozzie	Mar. 1, 1965	40	do	do	do	4203 East Capitol St. SE., Washington, D.C.
Sanders, Lonnie	do	40	do	do	do	do
Marley, Frederick H.	June 14, 1965	60	do	do	do	5111 8th Rd. South, Arlington, Va.
Devlin, John R.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	do	do	do	63 Dartmouth St., Lynn, Mass.
Moreton, Ernest R.	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	do	700 Old Stage Rd., Salinas, Calif.
McDaniel, Linwood	do	50	do	do	do	718 Cypress Ave., San Mateo, Calif.
Spector, Sidney	Mar. 8, 1965	50	Management	W. Kelly	do	325 East Olive St., Long Beach, N.Y.
Wilson, Wilbur	May 13, 1965	65	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	1400 South Joyce St., Arlington, Va.
Holman, William G.	do	65	do	do	do	3326 Reservoir Rd. NW., Washington, D.C.
Donahue, Joseph P.	Apr. 19, 1965	45	do	do	do	2409 North Fairfax Dr., Arlington, Va.
Merrill, Keith W.	Apr. 9, 1965	60	do	do	do	726 Mosby Woods Dr., Fairfax, Va.
Johnston, Robert W.	Mar. 19, 1965	35	do	do	do	2704 South Adams St., apartment 2, Arlington, Va.
Brewer, Harold E.	Dec. 1, 1964	100	do	do	do	28 Springdale Rd., New Rochelle, N.Y.
Pines, Marion W.	June 7, 1965	50	do	do	do	3419 Barcroft Rd., Baltimore, Md.
Halsey, Maxwell	May 24, 1965	50	do	do	do	28 Sivalie Rd., Norwalk, Conn.
Svenson, E. V.	Feb. 23, 1965	80	do	do	do	14312 Robler Pl., Sherman Oaks, Calif.
Flaherty, Thomas F.	Mar. 29, 1965	60	do	do	do	4415 Fairfield Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Arndt, William F.	do	60	do	do	do	10401 Colesville Rd., Silver Spring, Md.
Magovern, Thomas F.	Apr. 12, 1965	60	do	do	do	4506 Yuma St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Marlow, John L.	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	do	2016 North Adams St., Arlington, Va.
Giordano, Louis W.	Apr. 9, 1965	60	do	do	do	3625 Greenway Pl., Alexandria, Va.
Mermel, John F.	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	do	4431 South 34th St., Arlington, Va.

Full-time experts—Continued

CURRENT

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Selecting official	Duty station	Home address
Gering, Henry S.	Apr. 12, 1965	\$60	Public Affairs	H. Brown	New York, N.Y.	2714 Fort Baker Dr. SE., Washington, D.C.
Wieneke, Karl F.	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	do	3761 Benton St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Dean, John	Apr. 8, 1965	50	CAP	T. Berry	do	3307 Miles St., Silver Spring, Md.
McMillan, Eldridge	Mar. 17, 1965	45	CAP	do	Atlanta, Ga.	1824 Penelope Rd. SW., Atlanta, Ga.
Wilms, Edward G.	Mar. 22, 1965	70	CAP	do	Washington, D.C.	18 South Warren St., Trenton, N.J.
Ellington, Betty	Mar. 17, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	4717 45th St. NE., Seattle, Wash.
Barksdale, Marie C.	Feb. 23, 1965	45	CAP	do	do	1712 16th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Chayes, Kitty Torch	Feb. 8, 1965	50	CAP	do	do	4000 Tunlaw Rd. NW., Washington, D.C.

TERMINATED

Bell, John P.	Mar. 22, 1965	\$60	Public Affairs	H. Brown	Washington, D.C.	2011 N St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Gardner, Joseph C.	Jan. 4, 1965	50	Job Corps	O. Singletary	do	Post Office Box 469, Elko, Nev.

Mr. Chairman, it is astonishing that this agency requires so many high-priced consultants, all of whom are hired without regard to most of the qualifications which civil service employees must meet. I note that 32 of these approximately 400 consultants are attached to some activity described as "public affairs." You will not find any authorization in the act for "public affairs," so in case you are in any doubt, this is a euphemism for "propaganda."

But we can all be sure of one thing: these consultants were not hired in "public affairs" to supply information to mere Congressmen. If one or two were assigned to that job, I might have been able to get this fascinating list of poverty war beneficiaries directly from OEO.

(Mr. MONAGAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I plan to vote for the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, H.R. 8283, but I want to state that I do so with some hesitancy and I confine my support to this particular bill at this particular time.

I am sure that all of us agree with the objectives of this legislation with its purpose of helping the underprivileged of our society and undoubtedly there is agreement that this is a legitimate objective of the Government in the 20th century in a \$650 billion economy. It is necessarily true that this program is tentative and experimental and it has experienced some inevitable growing pains as a result of its hasty and broad-scale expansion. For all these reasons we must be tolerant of the program and give it full opportunity to demonstrate its worth and the justification for its continuance. I do not wish to have the charge made that an organization for substantial social improvement was cut off before it had a chance to set its feet firmly on the ground.

At the same time, there are many disquieting questions that are raised by the operation of the economic opportunity program in its present form. Are the agency and its subordinates topheavy in administration? Is there a danger that administrative costs and salaries will take a disproportionate amount of the appropriated funds? Is there a lack of realism in the concept of the educational portions of the program? Is there an absence of responsible public control by

officials subject to recall by the people? Are the Job Corps programs ill-suited to the type of applicants who are available and has the dropout rate been exorbitant? Is there a danger of creating a competitive bureaucratic monopoly which will affect the normal growth and contribution of existing public and private agencies? These are persistent and legitimate questions and they will have to be answered in the near future. I shall certainly await developments and further experience with great interest and my support of the program in the future will depend on these answers.

Not the least disturbing to me has been the evidence of the inadequate operation of the agency at the national level. In practically all of the major cities of my district I have had complaints from people charged with local administration of the program. They have found serious difficulty in organizing this effort because of their inability to obtain decisions on fundamental matters from Washington, where authority and control have been concentrated. In addition, I have found that where decisions have been communicated to me and by me, in turn, passed on to local officials who have thereupon relied upon them, these decisions have not been carried out and there has been resultant embarrassment and distress for all concerned. The administrators of the program will not much longer be able to receive indulgence on the ground that the operation is experimental and tentative and working under novel conditions and pressures of a new organization. This confusion, inefficiency and lack of reliability at the national level will have to be eliminated in the immediate future or it clearly will not be possible to entrust this Agency with the enormous sums which we are asked to authorize.

I therefore shall vote for H.R. 8283, but with the reservations I have expressed and with the requirement that the questions I have raised be satisfactorily answered in order to justify my further support.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS].

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I appreciated very much the argument of the gentleman from Minnesota, especially his statement to the gentleman from New York about all of the constructive work that had been done by the minority on

this legislation. After hearing the gentleman from Minnesota who called this legislation a mess and adding the terminology, "shambles," I was hoping to hear some alternative plan that would really improve the program. But I suspect that these remarks are aimed to defeat the programs and not for the purpose of effecting any cures to the problems of economic deprivation.

I just want to state that this legislation from beginning to end involves the poor. We have some 10 million families in this country that this legislation affects. It affects the parents and it affects their children. The poor are involved from beginning to end in this legislation.

Now with respect to title I. We conducted hearings—

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. Not at this point. I will yield later on.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the point of order.

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out to the gentleman that he will be able to see when we reach the amendment stage that what we do offer is an alternative. We are not here just to object. We are going to offer alternatives. Let me tell you what we plan to offer. There will be an opportunity for the local government agency to participate in every community action program and every State agency to participate in every community action program.

Mr. PERKINS. Can the gentleman tell me as the program is now being administered, any program where the local government agency has not participated?

Mr. QUIE. I am speaking about the community action demonstration programs. The ones I recall are Ypsilanti, Syracuse, Boston, and Washington.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BELL. The basic point that the gentleman now in the well is missing, I think is the fact that, true in the local community some of the cities are par-

ticipating, but the point is that nowhere do the local governmental organizations have any kind of control or any kind of direct authority. That is where the basic difference is between the poverty act and the vocational and educational programs and the manpower development and retraining act. This is the crux of the matter and this is why we are having our troubles today.

Mr. PERKINS. Now the gentleman from California well realizes there are only a small percentage of the programs under the community actions title that have not gone through local governmental agencies.

Mr. BELL. Do the local governmental agencies have the privilege of disapproving or approving?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I do not yield any further at this point.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. I would like to ask the gentleman from Minnesota if I understand him now to be changing from the position that he has taken in the minority views in the report on this bill, the position that he has so frequently taken in the committee, that the community action program should in fact be controlled by poor people and those people who are directly involved with the object of the program. Is he now taking the position, consistent with that long advocated by the gentleman from California, that all programs must be controlled by local governmental agencies rather than by committees, the majority of whom might be from poor neighborhoods and have no governmental position that they occupy at all.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. I am not changing my position. I am merely saying the people from the governing body ought to have a voice and I still believe the poor people ought to have a dominant voice. The poor people ought to be able to select their own representatives and I still feel this strongly, the only way the program is going to work is that the poor people are involved. But that does not mean that we should throw out any representation by the governing body or the agencies that have normally been working with the poor in the past. I believe in the three-legged stool. I think this ought to be operating, but anything that does not have three legs, I believe, will not function as well.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I decline to yield further at this time.

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, this legislation has received thorough consideration by the Committee on Education and Labor. For several sessions the Committee on Education and Labor conducted hearings on legislation to provide programs similar to those in title I. We were never able to enact legislation until last year although we gained an insight into the magnitude of the need. I think we ought to look and see what are some of the fruits and benefits from this

legislation and its potential for outstanding success before we undertake to criticize it so severely.

The achievements to date are nothing but encouraging. This program has been well administered. If it had not been well administered the opposition would have come here with some specific evidence of corruption or its failure somewhere. That they cannot do.

Under title I, part A, more than 11,000 young men and women are now enrolled in 50 Job Corps training centers. About 40,000 will be enrolled by the end of this first year of operation, learning job skills and self-confidence which will enable them to take a decent place in our society. That program is alive and flourishing. There is no mess there, Mr. Chairman.

Under the VISTA program, nearly 1,200 VISTA volunteers will be on the job, many of them in the depressed communities in eastern Kentucky, in the next month. This is more than famous Peace Corps was able to field in the same length of time. Is that a mess or is that progress?

The Neighborhood Youth Corps—title I, part B is administered by the Department of Labor—has already provided jobs for upwards of 100,000 high school age youths. Some of these youngsters were out of school and some of them were in school. Others were about to join the ranks of school dropouts. Now they are all learning self-respect and the value of education. Talk to some of these youngsters and ask them if the program is a mess? By the end of summer under the Neighborhood Youth Corps the ranks will total about 265,000. These needy young men and women are doing jobs which are providing some useful service to their communities and at the same time giving the youngsters money, and counseling which will help them to stay in school, or giving them an opportunity to increase their employability and enter the world of employment with a better understanding of themselves and of what is required to get and to hold a permanent job.

I cannot believe that our minority Members would want us to turn our backs on programs which are making such a wonderful contribution in taking these youngsters off the street, and giving meaning and direction to their lives.

I should like to ask the minority how much more money it would cost if we failed to take action of this type, if we let them follow the paths they are now following, if we did not try to do something for these 1 million youngsters, to get them off the streets and to try to give them some training and some education in order that they may assume adult responsibilities and make themselves capable of earning a livelihood?

It is the duty of this Congress, and we would be derelict in that duty if we failed to go forward and reenact this legislation and greatly expand this program.

I say to the gentleman from Minnesota that contrary to his statement the program is not a mess. It is a success, a well-operated program and is working,

will work better as it reaches the lives of more and more needy people. All we need is to expand the program and to get more of these youngsters involved and to do more for the elderly people who are in this disadvantaged group.

Project Head Start has been mentioned. This has received one of the most enthusiastic public responses of any peacetime program within my memory. This summer over a half million children of poverty will get preschool training in more than 13,000 centers throughout the country. What is wrong with this program? Where is the bogdown? Where is the mess, when we are doing something to give disadvantaged youngsters an opportunity to come up to the level of advantaged youngsters in the country? This is no mess, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The gentleman has asked a series of questions, and has not waited for an answer.

I would like to say that many of us feel the basic objective of Operation Head Start is good. What is wrong with the program is just what the gentleman advises. We should go ahead and do some more of it. We are expanding it far too quickly, I believe. At the beginning of the year there were supposed to be 100,000 young children in Operation Head Start, which was beefed up in the course of a few months to a total of 560,000, a majority of whom are presumably being benefited by this program. What is wrong with the program is that we may well have moved far too quickly in too short a time, and in the pursuit of a good objective we may come up with a serious failure either because we have not included teachers adequately or have paid them far too much for what they provide to these children or for a variety of other reasons. Now, for the gentleman to advocate a blind increase of all the programs without an adequate evaluation is surely heading us for trouble. It is this course that we are trying to provide against.

It is not that we do not appreciate the valuable objectives of certain of these programs which the gentleman has mentioned, but the gentleman suggested one of the reasons or perhaps the major reason why we should be for this anti-poverty program is so as to get young people off the streets. Yet, if I am not incorrect, it costs about \$5,900 per person in the Job Corps simply to get a young individual off the street. I might suggest that we may well put that amount of money into other programs which would be more effective in training these young people for some useful occupation. This gets them off the street, but it does not solve any of the basic problems they may have when they go back to the streets at the end of their tour of duty.

Mr. PERKINS. I think the gentleman from New Jersey will agree with me that we must give some basic education and training to so many of these youngsters before we can get them into a technical or vocational training school. That is

why we are advocating these programs. It is the purpose, of course, to bring them up to that level.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. But we should not have 4-year-olds going to training school, I will say.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I will yield to the gentlewoman from Hawaii.

Mrs. MINK. I would like to make an observation on the comments just made with reference to this program and its ability to take the young people off the streets and try to train them for useful occupations. I have been privileged to serve on the subcommittee which conducted numerous studies and took various trips and visited these Job Corps centers. I would like to point out one of the outstanding features of these centers is their ability to take these youngsters who are educationally and culturally deprived and give them not only a home environment in this setting but also to provide them with the kind of basic educational training that they need as well as vocational training and technical training. So the objections that the gentleman raised earlier are not based on the actual experience that these youngsters are undergoing now.

I would like to cite also an objective and interesting analysis that was printed in the July 26, 1965, issue of U.S. News & World Report. This is an outstanding article which differentiates the Job Corps program from the CCC program that we are all familiar with from the past. In that CCC program the article notes the main objective was simply to find jobs to keep our young people busy. They make the outstanding observation here by saying that the Job Corps youngsters today are vastly different from that young person who was interested in the CCC because we find that a great many of the young people in the Job Corps are unable to read and write and to find jobs which might be available for this kind of youngster. So I think that the emphasis of the program as contrasted to what you were saying is that it is trying to provide job training and to get them out of the street and into jobs as self-sufficient and productive citizens of the community. I think this is one of the great features of this particular program being conducted in the urban job centers for both men and women.

Mr. PERKINS. I wish to thank the gentlewoman from Hawaii, and before I yield to the gentleman from California, let me state that I feel—and I think it is the general consensus—that Sargent Shriver should be complimented for the very meaningful and constructive beginning of this program that has been made.

I think it is generally recognized that Sargent Shriver should be commended for getting the headstart program off the ground as rapidly as has been done and for the progress that has been made, which speaks well of him as a great administrator.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to inform the gentleman relative to

his question concerning the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] that there was a year ago a bill introduced called the Frelinghuysen amendment, which was voted down, but which brought, I think, to a head, some of the problems that you are having today. That is the route from Federal to State to local appropriation in this fashion, giving the local governments a certain amount of control. Herein lies the trouble we are having with the poverty program today, because the Federal Government is going direct to communities and people without touching base, you might say, with local governments, cities, and States, and so on. They should have their local responsibility. All our other programs have been based on this foundation.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, my colleague from California has said over and over again that the administration is not touching base with local authorities. If he knows anything about the administration of the act he would know that there is a recognition that the local mayors and the local body be represented. Every local body does have a voice itself. So what what the gentleman has said is very confusing.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield.

Mr. BELL. They do have representation on the community action programs but they have no authority. That is the point I am trying to make.

Mr. PERKINS. The gentleman from California well realizes that in practically all of the community action programs that have been approved throughout the country the local leaders, the local city governments, have assumed responsibility and have been represented and there has been very little dissatisfaction.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Let me say to my good friend from California that the difference between us is that I say you have authority when you have a voice and a vote. The gentleman wants to give them a veto. He wants to make them a dictator, and I am against it.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that the mayor of the city of Los Angeles, as an example, is one who is very much disturbed about the role of the local government. The mayor of the city of San Francisco is another one—both Democrats—who I might say is very much concerned about the role of the local government in these OEO programs. Again, it comes as no surprise—the gentleman from Kentucky may know more about this than I—that no less than 11 municipal mayors I think met with the Vice President of the United States himself on June 7 of this year to express

their concern about the lack of any real role for local governments in these programs. I am sure also that the gentleman realizes that the mayors have also formally issued a resolution urging the director of the OEO to provide Federal Government and local government general standards of representation so that they will recognize their local government and assure full participation of duly elected local officials and assure full and adequate participation of the board.

So this, it seems to me, is solid evidence that there is serious trouble here and this effort to brush it under the rug is not going to mean that we will not have more serious problems in the future. It is this that concerns me most deeply about the lack of interest in the problems that the OEO is having, because if we provide them more money without evaluation and without straightening out some of these problems we are going to have more difficulty piled on top of the present ones.

Mr. PERKINS. I will have more to say about community action in a moment. I have just stated that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity is doing a great job. So far as the neighborhood Youth Corps was concerned, that that program is administered largely by the Department of Labor. The Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz is doing an equally effective job of administration. I have heard no criticism of the Department of Labor.

With reference to part I C, the work-study program, in this summer alone, some 40,000 college students from some 750 colleges will benefit from the college work-study program. The administration of this phase of the antipoverty program is a credit to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Celebrezze, and the colleges and universities participating. This program has already given 75,000 students the means toward their educational end, providing funds for 75,000 youngsters to work their way through college.

Mr. Chairman, 35 States and the District of Columbia are establishing adult basic education programs. About 35,000 men and women who have been sunk in darkness of illiteracy are already emerging in the way of literacy training.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. GIBBONS. I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, the work-study program and the adult basic education program for all intents and purposes are administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Poverty Director, Sargent Shriver, has coordinated those programs. I have not heard any specific objections to these programs. In fact they just say the program is bogged down, but they do not give any specific indications and their allegations are true and their allegations are completely erroneous.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let us go to title V, the work experience program which has some 88,000 adults with a total of nearly 250,000 dependents learning new job skills that will lift them from poverty, out of the morass of unemployment. None of these programs indicate a mess

or a bogging down. Neither does the fact that to date some 700 grants have been made for community action programs and 11,000 rural loans issued under the Economic Opportunities Act.

Mr. Chairman, community action is at work in 250 cities and towns across America. Approximately \$235 million has already been obligated for these programs.

Mr. Chairman, in just 9 months of operation—in just 9 months—over 3 million poor people have been reached directly or indirectly.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is in the community action phase of the poverty program that most of the disagreement and controversy has occurred. But this was to be expected. In fact I see it as an indication of progress because it means that communities are being stirred up about their poverty problems. Various elements of the community are coming together to attack the problem and disagreement is inevitable. Far more than merely raising barriers to the program, it can stimulate communities to new ways of attacking poverty and to an exchange of ideas from which a consensus can emerge.

In many cases the various segments are talking to each other, trying to work together for the first time, and they are succeeding. This kind of stimulation is in my view every bit as important as the quantitative results the program has achieved.

What really counts is that broad-based community organizations are being formed and that for the first time the entire community is pulling together, despite disagreement, to worry about the poor and that for the first time Government and private agencies are locked in a special kind of partnership in a common cause, that for the first time the poor have a forum in which they are represented. Do not let any of these minority Members kid you, the poor are represented from the first page in this bill to the last page and their voices are being heard.

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PERKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. MOELLER. I appreciate the remarks made by the gentleman from Kentucky relative to this very, very vital legislation. However, I have not heard much reference to the poverty problem with respect to what is proposed for those living in rural areas.

According to statistics, some 46 percent of the 10 million so-called poor families under the \$3,000-per-year income level, live in rural areas.

Now, this is not one of those sporadic things, but it is a chronic situation. People born into these impoverished families tend to live on that kind of level and bring up their children in the same kind of circumstances. So, you get a very vicious cycle.

What is intended in this legislation to put greater emphasis on efforts in behalf of the rural poor and impoverished America?

Mr. PERKINS. Let me say to my distinguished colleague and neighbor from

Ohio, I share his concern for the farm family, rural home, and farm community.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kentucky has expired.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, I have appealed for as much program development for the rural communities as I could possibly get support for. Since I have been in Congress the population has shifted. Although we have as many poor people, impoverished people, in the rural areas today as we have in the metropolitan areas, we only have about 30 percent of the population. Within that 30 percent population are the farmers of my district, and as many as 75 percent of them in the counties I represent will benefit from this bill. We must get more projects under community actions funded in the rural area. Perhaps the other titles of the act have worked more effectively in the rural areas than the community action programs. But in this particular program, as you well known, you appreciate and I appreciate, as a general rule you have a greater need for engineers, and more technicians on the local level to develop a program. They have the technical assistance available in the metropolitan areas. That, to my way of thinking, is not the fault of the Director by any means. We must insist that rural America get the appropriate technical assistance to assure sizable and effective community action programs. I have one county where we have a 4-year college, the largest county in my district, and we do not even have a technical assistance grant. But that is not the fault of the Director.

It is the intent of the law, and the act so provides, that rural people shall be given equal consideration to the metropolitan areas and I believe that is what is going to take place.

Mr. MOELLER. Is it correct, as I think we read, that only 5 percent of community action funds get allocated to rural areas? Is that a correct figure?

Mr. PERKINS. I really doubt that the 5-percent figure is correct at this stage of the development of the program. I know the Secretary of Agriculture made mention of that figure early in the year. But under the other titles of this bill, the rural areas have shared equally with the metropolitan areas. I think we should point that out. But improvement, I feel, could be made along the lines I have stated, and I am sure Director Sargent Shriver will work with Secretary Freeman through the Rural Development Community Services and other rural development organizations within the Department of Agriculture to get all the technical assistance possible into the rural areas for the further development of hard-to-reach and isolated farm communities and families.

So much attention has focused on controversies arising out of the community actions section, we need to be reminded of what we are accomplishing. We hear that the program is bogged down. We hear that it is a mess, a shambles, and all the bickering and squabbling about administration would seem to be the

quarreling of vultures over a fresh cadaver.

Well, we in Kentucky take another view. We have welcomed the antipoverty program as a harbinger of hope for thousands of our people, and so we have been far more interested in what is being done than in what is being said.

And the achievements to date are nothing but encouraging. For example:

More than 11,000 young men and women are now enrolled in 50 Job Corps training centers. About 40,000 will be enrolled by the end of this first year of operation, learning job skills and self-confidence that will enable them to take a decent place in our society. That program is alive and flourishing. There is no mess there.

Nearly 1,200 VISTA volunteers will be on the job—many of them in the depressed communities of eastern Kentucky—in the next month. And this is more than the famous Peace Corps was able to field in the same length of time.

Is that a mess, or is that progress?

The Neighborhood Youth Corps has already provided jobs for upward of 100,000 high-school-age youths. Some of these youngsters were out of work and out of school; others were about to join the ranks of school dropouts. Now they are all learning self-respect and the value of education.

Ask them if the program is a mess. By the end of summer, their ranks will total about 265,000. These needy young men and women are doing jobs that are providing some useful service to their community and, at the same time, giving the youngsters the money and counseling which will help them to stay in school; or giving them a chance to increase their employability and enter the world of employment with a better understanding of themselves and of what is required to get and hold a permanent job.

I would like to quote from the reports sent by the project directors to the Neighborhood Youth Corps to show just what this program means to the youngsters in it and to the communities where it takes place.

From Wolfe County:

The students * * * are doing a splendid job * * * what a change has taken place since the work training program became effective in the school. All the students doing clerical work plan on making a career in this field. All these students are doing a good job; their supervisors are well pleased with them. The program has been wonderfully accepted by the public as well as the enrollees. The people realize that the training program is not a handout by the Federal Government, but rather a means by which many needy and deserving students may obtain a high school education. One student said: "I certainly appreciate the opportunity we have here to work under this program. I would have been forced to drop out of school in the near future because of sickness in the family."

From Breathitt High School:

The children are working diligently and earnestly in attempting to learn how to carry on their jobs effectively.

From Martin County:

The project has certainly been received with enthusiasm by enrollees, school employees, and the public. Many parents have

commented favorably on the project and the spirit of the enrollees is reflected in the improved appearances of the schools in which they are working and in the eagerness with which they generally attack their jobs. It is working well and will mean a great deal to the youth of the county. It is expected to prevent many high school dropouts.

Many inquiries are being received from youths who have dropped out of school as to whether they could return to school next year and participate in the program. It is anticipated that there will be a good number of reentrants of dropouts next year especially those under 18.

Comments by enrollees from Letcher County:

I've never had a chance like this in my life.

This NYC provides a wonderful opportunity to learn to do something.

I can buy some of the school things I need.

Boy, I'm happy in this.

And again from Wolfe County:

I feel that the reason the public accepted the work training program so well is because they see the students working, see the results from the work, and realize that the students are earning their money. The students have been spending their money wisely. They have been paying debts they owed the school for lunches, books, and other school supplies. They have also been spending some of their money on clothing. Several comments have been made that the overall appearance of the student body has improved.

BREATHITT COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION,

Jackson, Ky., July 12, 1965.

HON. CARL D. PERKINS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CARL: Our summer work training program for high school students has been in progress for 4 weeks and it is amazing the willingness and eagerness with which these boys and girls have entered into this program.

Seventy-five students are employed under the program for the summer months. We have had a group painting the classrooms at Breathitt High (and they have done a wonderful job); others have been assigned to the bus mechanic and the girls have been doing miscellaneous chores around the school such as mending textbooks and library titles, cleaning the windows and venetian blinds, and working for our guidance counselor, et cetera.

One of our special projects has been the beautification of our high school campus. The boys are getting some real good and practical experience in not only excavating and readying the ground for sodding, but also in actual laying and placing of sod. They have taken a very personal interest in keeping the campus mowed and the shrubbery trimmed.

We are quite pleased with the success of the program, and every person in charge of a group of these youngsters has been so complimentary of their attitude toward the program. We feel that the assurance and confidence that the program has instilled in these young people is one of the main purposes of the program, and we are looking forward to still greater returns when school starts this fall.

Sincerely yours,

MARIE R. TURNER,
Superintendent, Breathitt County
Schools.

It is obvious from these reports that the Neighborhood Youth Corps is meeting a tremendous need and is meeting it well.

Project Head Start has received one of the most enthusiastic public responses of any peacetime program within memory. This summer, over half a million children of poverty will get preschool training in more than 13,000 centers throughout the country.

Where is the mess here; where is the bog down?

This summer alone, some 40,000 college students from 750 colleges will benefit from the college work-study program—a program that has already given 75,000 students the means toward their educational ends.

Thirty-five States and the District of Columbia are establishing adult basic education programs. About 37,000 men and women who have been sunk in darkness of illiteracy are already emerging, via literacy training.

The work-experience program has some 88,000 adults—with a total of nearly 250,000 dependents—learning new job skills that will lift them from poverty, out of the morass of unemployment.

None of these programs indicate a mess or a bog down.

Neither does the fact that to date, some 700 grants have been made for Community Action programs, and 11,000 rural loans issued, under the Economic Opportunity Act. Community Action is at work in 250 cities and towns across America. Approximately \$235 million has already been obligated for these programs.

And all this, and more, in just 9 months of operation. In just 9 months over 3 million poor people have been reached, directly and indirectly. That is quite a gestation period.

Now, it is in the Community Action phase of the poverty program that most of the disagreement and controversy has occurred. But this was to be expected. In fact, I see it as an indication of progress, because it means that communities are being stirred up about their poverty problems. Various elements of the community are coming together to attack the problem, and disagreement is inevitable; far more than merely raising barriers to the program, it can stimulate communities to new ways of attacking poverty, to an exchange of ideas from which a consensus can emerge.

In many cases, the various segments are talking to each other, trying to work together, for the first time. And they are succeeding.

This kind of stimulation is, in my view, every bit as important as the quantitative results the program has achieved. What counts—what really counts—is that broad-based community organizations are being formed, that for the first time, the entire community is pulling together, despite disagreement, to worry about the poor, that for the first time Government and private agencies are locked in a special kind of partnership in a common cause, that for the first time, the poor have a forum in which they are represented, and in which their voice is being heard.

In Kentucky, one example of such pathfinding is a poverty program experiment for children. A grant was made

recently to the Kentucky Child Welfare Research Foundation for a demonstration project involving 14 rural early childhood centers in Appalachia. This project is designed to show the feasibility of training low-income people in the development and operation of child care centers. I am told it is progressing quite nicely; but I know that its true significance is not in the number of children it cares for, nor in the number of adults it trains, but in the possibilities it opens up for other areas by serving as an example.

We are finding new ideas born, new energies released, new methods employed across the country.

Old attitudes toward the poor are changing.

Old conceptions about the ways of fighting poverty are being revised.

Old myths about the causes of poverty are dissolving.

And all this is adding up to the glorious possibility that if the process is continued, if we are not discouraged by the carping of critics, if our hearts and minds remain open and our visions unclouded, we shall be able to really do something for the poor in this generation.

Mr. Chairman, the programs authorized by this legislation have only been in operation for a very few months and while the funds authorized by the legislation to implement these programs have been modest in proportion to the size of the problems with which they deal, broad public support and tangible results are beginning to appear.

I was enthusiastic about the prospects for the program when hearings were conducted during the last Congress and when the final legislation took form and was debated in committee and on this House floor. My enthusiasm continues to this hour and stems from the broad approach taken in dealing with several aspects of the total poverty problem and the manner in which the legislation called for participation by all elements of the community in increasing the opportunity of both young and old for work, income, education, training, health services, and the hope for increased participation in the expanding economic and social horizons of our country.

In the mountainous areas of eastern Kentucky where automation in the coal mining industry has produced a devastating toll of unemployment over the past decade, the work experience and training program offered under title V of the act has made a substantial difference in the lives of many unemployed persons and their dependents. H.R. 8283 would not only extend this program but would increase the funds available for it from \$150 to \$300 million.

Not only is this expansion justified but it is urgently needed in order for the program to be provided for the first time to many communities throughout eastern Kentucky and other portions of the Nation where jobless parents have absolutely no hope for employment and where there exist work projects which could contribute substantially to the betterment of these communities.

In the eastern Kentucky counties where this program is now operating, small communities and groups of families isolated completely by the lack of roads are seeing built public ways over which their children can maintain regular school attendance and the family can participate more fully in community activities and needs. These are small construction projects that would never be undertaken under any conceivable highway construction program for the area and which at the same time provide the unemployed, not just a subsistence check for his family, but a real opportunity to gain work experience and make a contribution of public improvement to his community.

Title V work experience program of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964 is one of the most effective instruments devised to combat poverty. The seed for this program was the successful operation of the pilot community work and training programs authorized by the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962 to the Social Security Act. Nothing has been done in the public welfare field in recent years which has drawn such positive response from recipients and the public at large. I was delighted to hear recently from Dr. Ellen Winston, U.S. Commissioner of Welfare, that it has been possible to develop this new program so as to meet in full the first year's target of approving work experience and training projects for 88,000 project participants and I wish to take note of this work experience program surpassing our expectations.

Counting the estimated 254,000 dependents of the participants that means a grand total of approximately 350,000 persons will directly and indirectly benefit from the first year of title V projects. As of today there are about 160 approved projects in 43 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. These projects are serving more than 300 cities, counties, and Indian reservations.

The basic objectives of title V projects are directed toward enabling individuals to be fully supportive as possible of their families. This is accomplished through the development or preservation of good work habits and attitudes, the conservation or improvement of existing work skills, and the development of new skills. Training can profitably cover such needs as basic literacy courses in reading and writing, instruction in simple arithmetic, in the importance of employee cooperation on the job, and the importance of good relations with the employer. Full use is made of the adult basic education program under the Economic Opportunities Act, and advanced courses for improving skills under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Vocational Education Act.

I feel I know much about the title V program because of what it is accomplishing for the people in 19 counties of my own State of Kentucky: one example offers an impressive result. Out of the 3,500 participants who were assigned to work experience activities in the first project of nine counties—Breathitt, Bell, Floyd, Harlan, Knott, Leslie, Letcher, Perry, and Pike—more than 90 percent

are taking adult basic education. This is a remarkable achievement in light of the fact that many of these persons are middle aged and elderly, received scant elementary schooling as children, and must travel long distances to attend classes which are held after working hours.

Work experience and training is accomplishing other fine results in Kentucky, one of which is shared by many other States and localities. In supporting the President's natural beautification program, Kentucky's title V projects include road and stream beautification activities. Beautification is also being carried out as part of work experience and training projects in other States—Rhode Island, Connecticut, Colorado, Arkansas, North Dakota, Louisiana—to name a few. Participants in these beautification activities receive training which increases their employability, so that while we improve the land we advance the man.

While we made substantial progress in the 19 counties in eastern Kentucky for which title V funds have been approved, there is much more to be done. For example, the program is now limited to unemployed fathers and it is desirable to expand the program so as to include unemployed women as well as other needy persons. To do this, as well as to expand title V to other hard-hit counties in eastern Kentucky and other areas of the Nation, additional funds are needed for fiscal year 1966. In view of the successful operation of this program, the House Committee on Education and Labor has recommended an increase in the appropriation authorization from \$150 to \$300 million for title V.

This is particularly significant because great interest in the title V program throughout the Nation is reflected in the 33 pending project proposals and amendments in Washington which now approximate about \$16 million; and by the fact that the cost of about 60 prospective projects being developed in the States and localities—already in the pipeline—to be submitted to Washington within the next few weeks will exceed \$42 million.

There are other title V program results and I select a few at random. The Fulton County, Georgia Project Uplift that has been in operation only a short time and which is now providing work experience and training to about 180 needy persons has already resulted in 18 persons, or 10 percent, obtaining private employment. In Madera County, Calif., out of 20 persons in training to operate farm tractors, 2 had promises of jobs before their training was completed. In Rhode Island, 60 men and women out of 124 persons being evaluated and selected for referral to the State's work experience and training program found jobs in the community.

State Administrator of Public Assistance, James H. Reilly, believes "the clearing process itself apparently stimulates people to try to get jobs on their own." Of the 49 in training in March there were 13 persons, or about 26 percent, who went into private employment after title V training.

Such title V program results are undoubtedly being duplicated wherever a

work experience and training project is underway, and I do not wish to take time to go over them one by one. Before consuming all of my time I would like to take this occasion to commend the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] for his outstanding leadership in sponsoring this legislation and his diligent efforts to see it projected to accomplish this most worthwhile objective. At the same time, I fully recognize that this legislation would not be possible without the fine support that has been given to it by the members of the Anti-poverty Subcommittee and the members of the full committee who have been active in their support. The chairman of the full committee is certainly to be commended for his conduct of the hearings and the task force studies made on the operation of the programs.

Of tremendous importance are projects under title I of the legislation providing opportunities for youth to gain education, training and work experience in three distinct programs—the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the college work-study program and the Job Corps.

Of tremendous importance are the provisions of title I(b) providing for programs of work experience and training for young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21 through participation in State and community efforts—popularly known as the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This part of the antipoverty program is a direct approach to the elimination of one of the causes and one of the remedies to the school dropout problem. In this program, full- or part-time work experience and related training is given young people, with compensation, thus enabling them to stay in or return to school—or in some instances to obtain employment.

By March 31 of this year a total of 167 Neighborhood Youth Corps projects had been announced by the Office of Economic Opportunity and had been submitted to the Governors of the various States for review. These projects were designed to accommodate more than 93,000 enrollees. In presentations to the Subcommittee on the War on Poverty Program it was indicated that in the fiscal year 1966 plans called for an enrollment in the Neighborhood Youth Corps of 265,000 young people including 50,000 summer enrollees in a total of 430 different projects.

This is a particularly meaningful program for the eastern Kentucky area which I am privileged to represent. Neighborhood Youth Corps projects have been approved for Pike, Wolfe, Breathitt, Martin, Letcher, Menifee, Floyd and Knott Counties. Applications for projects in Lee and Johnson Counties are pending. This program could effectively operate in all of the other counties of the 7th Congressional District and I am hopeful that these communities will soon take advantage of this very effective means of enabling needy children to maintain normal school attendance, receive work experience, and for those who have left school to find opportunities in further vocational training or educational pursuits and employment.

The legislation debated today carries with it authorizations of appropriations

which will enable the Job Corps to absorb 80,000 enrollees. While this is a modest number considering the national need, it represents an expansion of the program to a level considerably above what the present authorizations permit. In the State of Kentucky there have been 7,371 applicants for this particular program. I am hopeful that the increased authorization will enable the Job Corps program to accept the application of every young person desiring to gain the benefit of this residence work-education-training program.

The authorization provided in H.R. 8283 will enable 300,000 teenagers in 500 communities plus an additional 100,000 during the summer of 1966 to participate in these local work-education-training programs for community and youth betterment.

The provisions of this legislation would enlarge the college work-study program to accommodate approximately 145,000 students in 1,300 colleges. Participating in these programs in Kentucky are approximately 1,889 students in the following 15 institutions: Alice Lloyd College, Bellarmine College, Bera College, Campbellsville College, Cumberland College, Eastern Kentucky State College, Kentucky State College, Lee Junior College, Morehead State College, Murray State College, Pikeville College, Union College, University of Kentucky, Villa Madonna College, and Western Kentucky State College.

While the college work-study program has not received the public attention that has attended some of the other programs authorized by this legislation to my mind it can produce some of the best long-range benefits. The college work-study program will provide many young people the first hope that they have ever had of being able to pursue courses of college training.

I would also emphasize the importance of the rural loan provisions of the legislation provided in title III.

Finally, I want to call attention to the title II authorizations for community action programs. This is a tremendously important aspect of the total program because of the variety of ways afforded a local community in meeting the peculiar aspects of problems that might exist in such communities. Projects that might be undertaken under the community action program may involve such diverse subjects as remedial reading, literacy instruction, job development, vocational rehabilitation, and health services. It is under this title of the legislation that Project Head Starts are being initiated for preschool children this summer in many poverty-ridden communities throughout the Nation. The appropriate preparation of children from low-income families for their first year of school may have far-reaching effects on the progress that such students will make in their academic work and could well be extremely effective in making sizable reductions of the drop-out rate which is too frequently occasioned by the inability of students to keep up with their class.

Twenty counties of the 23-county district that I am privileged to represent

have approved Head Start projects to begin this summer.

I am hopeful that more communities will seize the opportunity afforded by title II to devise programs which will meet their special needs. One important factor of this program is the complete involvement of many local and State agencies in concerted effort to deal with the problems of poverty in a community. This organization involvement concerns not only governmental agencies, but it brings together business, private groups, and associations working together for community development and betterment.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] 15 minutes.

(Mr. BELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to doubling the financial authorization of this economic opportunity act for two basic reasons.

One reason is an insufficient study has been made of the operation of the economic opportunity act, by our committee.

No. 2—no substantive changes are proposed in H.R. 8283 which would remedy any of the numerous administrative deficiencies that are plaguing this program right now.

Very simply, a businesslike approach has not been taken in approaching this problem. It is neither wise nor businesslike to double our country's financial commitment in a venture that has been initiated for less than 1 year and which has become a little more than 50 percent operational—a venture that is entirely novel and which from its very inception raises very many practical questions.

I find it difficult to believe that the Congress of the United States will find such action prudent. Last year I opposed the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act because I felt at that time we had certain ongoing programs that we could have used and possibly expanded and improved such as the Manpower Development and Retraining Act, the vocational and educational programs, the ARA and many others that we could have used to fight poverty.

These programs combined with the recently passed elementary and secondary education act would accomplish a great deal more with greater efficiency.

Nothing in the few months that have passed since the economic opportunity act became law has led me to alter my viewpoint. As was predicted in the debate last year, great administrative and substantive problems have arisen in the program. Warring factions in most of the metropolitan areas of the country are today fighting for funds and leadership in the programs without an inkling of the direction that Congress envisions for the effort.

It was my hope that these problems would receive close attention in this session of the committee, and I am sorry to say they have not. No records were kept of the hearings or at least very few records were kept of the hearings of the several task forces in their onsite inspec-

tion of the projects. The hearings in Washington paid little attention to other titles and programs, only those under title II.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GIBBONS. Would the gentleman tell this committee how many of these field trips the gentleman participated in?

Mr. BELL. I did not happen to participate in any of the field trips. But I can tell the gentleman the field trips I would have participated in kept no records to speak of at all, and the hearings that I might have participated in did not have adequate records of what transpired.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield for an observation, I think the gentleman from California ever since the first year he came to the Congress knows that we conducted hearings on the job corps and the neighborhood youth corps for 4 continuous years. The gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] was on that subcommittee and assisted in conducting those hearings. That is correct; is it not?

Mr. BELL. The gentleman is talking about last year? Yes, last year I will say we did have hearings on the job corps.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. I wonder what good it is to hold hearings on a program before it is in operation? We can have all kinds of hearings before a program is in operation. We had hearings of the ad hoc committee on the war on poverty in order to find out what was going on and not to develop some unknown program. So that was long before the bill passed and was really meaningless.

Mr. BELL. I quite agree with the gentleman. Serious weaknesses and shortcomings in the program were brought out and they are detailed in the minority report; and this bill, H.R. 8283, does nothing to remedy them. Most alarming are the administrative complications that have developed.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman would yield, I would just like to ask at this point if you have overlooked that at the very opening of the formal hearings in Washington, at which time, and I can point out that they start on page 1 of the transcript of the formal hearings which runs several hundreds of pages.

The gentleman will find that each one of the four task forces which went about the country inspecting the program made very detailed reports. I rendered the report for the Midwest. The gentleman will note that Mr. AUGUSTUS HAWKINS reported for the Pacific coast task force, in the gentleman's absence, perhaps, but nevertheless it is a part of the formal record. I commend the beginning of the hearings and the formal report starting at page 1.

Mr. BELL. As I said earlier, adequate hearings were not held. There was not a court reporter or any other kind of reporter there to adequately take down

the hearings in California for task force inspection. I have talked to Mr. HAWKINS about this, and I believe he will concur that there was not adequate testimony taken down. It was a hit-and-miss type of operation. They found a girl who could take some notes and she took some shorthand notes, and that was it. I have tried to follow it, and it has been difficult even to know what was said.

Unlike any other legislation, this act attempts to create entirely new approaches to combating deprivation while disregarding successful existing experience of other programs and people.

All other education and training programs specifically seek to incorporate the knowledge and guidance of the State and local levels of government in locally oriented programs.

Development of programs and orderly procedures of funding them are carried out with the cooperation of experienced people in the State departments of education and welfare and local boards and councils.

This has been a proven method of administration and it should not be abandoned by this legislation.

Page 13 of the report makes favorable reference to programs in which the Federal Government and local government deal directly—specifically, urban renewal, public housing, manpower development and training, Federal aid to airports, and the "impact education" program.

The statement is made that these programs are "based on the theory that the local level of government and persons closest to the problem understand that problem best."

I could not agree more, but under the present Economic Opportunity Act this theory is not maintained, since the local government is not specifically given a role. All of these programs are part and parcel of the war against poverty and have proven themselves to be successful.

For example, could anybody say that urban renewal, public housing, manpower development and retraining, and "impact education" aid are not wars against poverty? Could anyone say that vocational education is not a war against poverty? Could anyone say that Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools is not a war against poverty? Of course no one could.

I wanted to make a point that was made earlier.

In all of these programs that are successful the local government has had some control. I would suggest to the gentleman from California, who mentioned something about dictatorship, that perhaps he would prefer to substitute a dictatorship from Washington over the local governments, which is what this bill in effect does.

I would point out that none of these programs ever raised the controversy and criticisms as has the Economic Opportunity Act during the first year of its operation.

Clearly, then, there is a difference between the approaches.

The difference is that under the Economic Opportunity Act an entirely new administrative concept has been attempted—a concept that I feel is basically unsound.

The partnership among the Federal, State and local governments is disregarded.

Funds are funneled directly from Washington to the community action groups, which in many cases are not responsible to the community as a whole. In fact, in some cases they are not responsible to anybody but themselves.

It is my hope that we may correct this situation by incorporating specific language into the act giving guidelines to communities and providing definitive roles for local and State governments, private charitable organizations, and the poor themselves.

Such amendments will be proposed, and I emphatically urge serious consideration of them.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The gentleman pointed out, quite correctly I think, that the war on poverty is not restricted to this particular effort. On the other hand, he said, in other areas we rely wholly or nearly so on local governments. Will the gentleman agree in the minimum wage legislation now under consideration this could be included in the war on poverty?

Mr. BELL. I think the minimum wage possibly could be considered such, although it is not geared to the type of operation that this is particularly tied to. It is not similar to the vocational education or the poverty act. It is a part of a general wage level, which we are all familiar with.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. If the gentleman will yield further, may I say he is absolutely correct and it is not the same. I am sure the gentleman would not give to every Governor or city council a veto over the minimum wage in his area. Similarly, all of the other various operations he mentioned have to be fitted into their own particular pattern. Here, if he will look at it, when we were talking about dictatorship, he will find that this is the most democratic effort probably ever launched in the war on poverty, because it does include the various elements of the community and includes the private agencies. Therefore, I hope the gentleman will understand we are not eliminating the people he is interested in, the mayors and the city councils, but they are joined together.

Mr. BELL. I think there is a considerable difference between the minimum wage program, the war on poverty program, and the vocational education program, and the manpower development and retraining program. They are entirely different types of programs and should be geared to the local effort. It is my feeling that this particular bill completely bypasses that function. That is why we are having so much administrative trouble. It is because they are not using the local organizations.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN].

(Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, the Office of Economic Opportunity has been in existence for only 9 months. Its operations during that period have confirmed apprehensions felt by many of us when we considered this program last year. By and large the antipoverty programs administered by the OEO have been failures. Some of the things done almost surely should not have been done. What has been accomplished could have been achieved more effectively and far less expensively through other means and through existing Federal programs.

The shortcomings of the program are partly Congress failure last year to establish guidelines under which successful projects might have been developed. Last August there was a compulsion to get the so-called war on poverty launched. This created the feeling that a reevaluation could be postponed safely until after the first year's operation. Democrats and Republicans tacitly agreed on the need for such a survey when they set up the OEO for 1 year only. The committee report on this bill, H.R. 8283, points this up very clearly. In the second paragraph of the majority report it is pointed out that a 1-year authorization was adopted as a control technique, developed by the Congress in order to require a close check and reevaluation of this new program.

When the House Committee on Education and Labor opened hearings last March, it seemed possible that the necessary examination and reevaluation of the OEO would take place. Unfortunately, these hopes were soon destroyed. Instead of making a serious effort to improve what is being done, the committee simply ignored most of the serious problems which had already become apparent and have since become increasingly in the news. The hearings accomplished little, and the net result was this bill, simply authorizing even more funds than the administration had asked for.

I would like to point again to the title of the bill. The function of this bill is to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of the programs under the OEO. However, nowhere is any significant improvement in the effectiveness of these programs offered by this bill. Our concern today is the way in which these programs are administered, and not the basic objectives which we seek by them. Without a reevaluation, without this effort to improve their effectiveness, it seems to me the height of folly for us to approve so much money.

In any event, how can we account for this astonishing lapse on the part of the Committee on Education and Labor, Mr. Chairman? Having served on that committee for 12 years perhaps I know the answer, but I will not give my own views.

In any event, in my own opinion, a new Federal program reaching deep into af-

fairly properly the concern of other Federal agencies and into the jurisdiction of other levels of government should have received the careful scrutiny which is so obviously needed.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, I have heard several remarks this afternoon criticizing the administrators of this program for a lack of business-like organization, lack of comptrollership, lack of review and analysis. I wonder if the gentleman from New Jersey realizes that the OEO has one of the most sophisticated comptrollership operations and has one of the most highly refined review and analysis procedures of any agency of the Federal Government.

For example, they have one of the top program analysts from the Army Air Force organizing a continuing input-output audit of the entire program. They have one of the top program analysts from the Rand Corp., organizing similar studies on each of the component parts of the program.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I decline to yield further. I might say to the gentleman, if what he tells us is the case, it astonishes me that more constructive suggestions were not made by the committee. The majority report itself says that a more complete investigation was not possible because of very heavy legislative schedules. That was their excuse for not coming up with more constructive suggestions.

Mr. SCHEUER. But, during the committee hearings Mr. Shriver articulated very interestingly their numerous concurrent investigations; the fact that they are investigating and following up every single person who comes in contact with the poverty program, from the Head Start child to the adult illiterate; and that they are going to follow them through their careers and compare them with a comparable "control" of persons not participating in the program, that they will therefore know which of the new tools, techniques, and approaches work—and which prove to be less effective.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from New York knows so much, why has there been such a tremendous dropout rate in the Job Corps?

Mr. SCHEUER. The dropout rate from the Job Corps is now about 15 percent for the first 3 months and about 3.2 percent thereafter. It compares extremely favorably with the dropout rate in our universities of about 50 percent; the dropout rate in our high schools of about 40 percent; the dropout rate in both the Peace Corps and in the CCC camps of a generation ago, both of which were 25 percent.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The gentleman's figures are not borne out by the testimony received by his committee. They are not borne out by the Director of the OEO himself, when he testified as to what the dropout rate is. They do not coincide with testimony which I have been able to develop on my own.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. The gentleman from New York is comparing apples and oranges, if he claims a rate of 15 percent in 3 months for the Job Corps and compares it with 50 percent in the institutions of higher education in the first 3 months. He is talking about the dropout rate in the entire 4 years. The same is true with the dropout rate in the high schools of 40 percent. That is a 4-year dropout rate. We found that the dropout rate at Catocin is 30 percent. We found out with references to the Job Corps camp in Oklahoma that out of the first 80, 20 of them went back home. They were from the East. The only time we get statistics from a particular camp on which we have a dropout rate, it is much higher.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I might say that in the Job Corps established in Wellfleet, in the State of Massachusetts, 29 out of an original class of 132 dropped out. Other examples of high dropout rates could be cited.

I would consider this dropout rate in Wellfleet is a very high percentage, no matter what kind of standards one adopts.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. I noted in the gentleman's colloquy with the gentleman from New York that the gentleman stated an analyst or expert in analysis from the Air Force was on loan to the Job Corps. I also happen to know that a Maj. June Henry who is considered by the Air Force to be a logistics expert has been participating in the debacle which has occurred at the St. Petersburg Job Corps Center.

I am wondering how many Air Force people or other military people are on loan to the Office of Economic Opportunity. I know that they are reimbursed, but the fact still remains that the retirement credit which is a considerable expense of the Department of Defense is being borne by the Department of Defense, which amounts to a subsidy to the Job Corps.

I am also wondering, since we have got a war going on in Vietnam and men are dying and we are going to call up the Reserves and we are going to ask people to come out of civilian life to help fight that war, why we have to use military personnel in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. SCHEUER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SCHEUER. The men involved are statistical and program analysts who are civilian employees of the Air Force. They have set up these highly rationalized, refined, and sophisticated analyses of the ongoing programs which will enable us to compare the progress of the recipients of aid all the way from the Head Start program to the adult illiteracy programs with the progress demonstrated by their counterpart control groups not receiving such aid. They are in the process of analyzing each program on its merits on a sophisticated input-output basis

with reference to the value received for the dollars spent, with reference to the degree of success the programs enjoyed in motivating, stimulating, and projecting these young people into the mainstream of our society. They also have, interestingly enough, a university research program comparing the effectiveness of all of the OEO programs, taken together, with the \$100 billion now being spent on present Federal, State and private welfare programs in an effort to see if there is not some way that the entire mix may be adjusted and rationalized in order to obtain a far better total result in motivating and stimulating this dependent welfare group into self sufficiency, pride, and independence.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The apologists for what the OEO is doing are content to pat themselves on the back. All I can say is that if so many analysts are making these highly refined and sophisticated analyses of these programs that the programs themselves should be better than they are now.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from California mentioned the first girls' Job Corps Center located at St. Petersburg, Fla.

I would like to ask a few questions about that program.

Is it true that the St. Petersburg program has a staff of 122 people, at a monthly salary of over \$55,000 to serve a student enrollment of 237 young women?

Does anyone have an answer to that question?

Mr. GIBBONS. If the gentleman will yield, I am sorry but I did not hear the full question.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I would suggest that perhaps someone who listened to the question might be able to help answer it better than the gentleman from Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, among other questions about the St. Petersburg Job Corps, is it true that 42 young women have already quit that particular Job Corps center, and that 8 others have been expelled for drinking? Furthermore, is it true, as reported in the newspapers, that the hotel at St. Petersburg, which they are now being asked to vacate, has been rented for an 18-month period for the sum of \$225,000?

Is it true also that that figure is \$20,000 more than the appraised value of the hotel made only a few years ago?

I would be glad to yield to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS] to answer these questions. The fact that this was not brought out in the testimony before his committee means that we need answers now.

Mr. PERKINS. Let me say to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey that we welcome him back to his old committee.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The gentleman is very kind.

Mr. PERKINS. May I say to the gentleman, assuming they do have all of the personnel referred to for the St. Petersburg Job Corps, and assuming that the

dropout rate is as high as the gentleman states it is, and further assuming that the incidents did take place, the gentleman from New Jersey will agree that incidents of that type take place in high schools of the country and in the schools of the country, and that the dropout rate is not excessive. But the point is, we should keep our eye on the polar star in this situation, and that is the good we are doing those remaining in the Job Corps and the amount of money we would spend to keep those people if they followed the juvenile delinquency path, or the path to continued public welfare, if we did not give them the type of training they are receiving.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The gentleman's argument is we do not know where we are, we do not know what the dropout rate is, we do not know how many young girls are drinking, nor how much it costs. He argues that we need not worry about how many are in school or what they are being taught. It is because we refuse to look facts in the face that the program is in trouble. Many mistakes have been made yet we try to brush them under the rug.

This program does not deserve an additional penny. I am informed that the other body has indicated through its majority leader they do not expect to bring this up in the present session. I suggest, therefore, that the proper thing to do is to refer it back to the committee. If the gentleman from Kentucky is not interested in the way the money is being spent and in the way these young people are given far too much freedom, I would hope others would be more serious concerning problems of this kind. This complacency is one of the fundamental problems under this OEO program.

Mr. PERKINS. The gentleman did not correctly state my position.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Maybe the gentleman did not state his position correctly. Maybe the gentleman would like to correct it.

Mr. PERKINS. We should use all the means at our command to keep these youngsters in the Job Corps and give them the best possible training. But that costs money, that takes money, instructors, and supervisors, and in spite of all of those things we are going to have some of these incidents. We should not judge this program on the basis of an isolated incident. It is my view that we are eliminating to a minimum these incidents, and that the Director is doing everything in his power to keep those incidents at a minimum.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. If there is one staff member for every two enrollees, you should have enough staff to lock step with these young women. We should send this back and take a better look at this program before we advocate the establishment of more of these camps throughout the country. I am not saying there is not some substance to some Job Corps, but if we refuse to recognize their weak points, if we refuse to do something about improving those weak points, we have something that we should not authorize at all.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and one Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN].

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield to the gentlewoman with pleasure.

Mrs. MINK. I am rather distressed that in evaluating the merits of this program, the gentleman has placed such great emphasis on the number of young women who have dropped out of the first center which was established in St. Petersburg and the number of women who have been caught and expelled for drinking. I think what we do, when we emphasize only the failures of an outstanding program such as this, is to neglect the fact that there are 237 other girls in the center who are getting great benefit out of this program through the instruction and through the experience of home living and training which they are receiving. I think it is regrettable that not all of the young women who are permitted to take part in a program like this can be successful. But I think it is obvious that the very reason a program such as this has to exist is the fact that these young women and young men from urban centers are coming from environments of deprivation and environments where they have had no one to care for them and give them the kind of motivation that one needs in order to succeed in life. Therefore, because we are drawing from these very segments of our community, these young people to be enrollees in the center, I think we must expect a certain number of them will not be successful in these centers. We are not going to be able to be 100 percent successful. Of course, it does not diminish the value of these programs because there are some individuals who may fail to accomplish their goals.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Let me say to the gentlewoman, I appreciate very much her eloquent statement. In dealing with these problems of young people, I do not mean by stressing the negative that there is no good involved in any part of it. Of course, there is good. What we are saying is that we must not overlook, we must not shove under the rug, the fact that there are problems. If we can put our finger on those problems and if we can do something to remedy the situation, we will do more good for the young people who may hereafter come under the program.

This is what disturbs me—the fact that we are going full steam ahead, we are going to beef up these programs even more without taking the kind of look that is so necessary. Our refusal to take such a look is going to lead to more trouble and not less trouble.

I might say also, and I could cite many more facts if time permitted, this is not an isolated case, unfortunately. The dropout rate in a great many areas is substantial. The problems faced both with respect to discipline and with summary firings from enrollment in the Job Corps have also been substantial. The fact is that the testimony before the Committee on Education and Labor hardly touched

on this. This is unfortunate, especially as the chairman at least indicated there were serious problems in connection with the administration of OEO which needed immediate attention.

I might point out that Mr. Shriver, the director of the so-called war on poverty, admitted recently that his office is still in the learning and experimental phases of the war on poverty. Of course, no one is likely to argue with Mr. Shriver on that point that his programs are experimental or that more needs to be learned about them and from them.

The war on poverty has a laudable goal but its promises are mocked by its methods. We must realize the lives of people are at stake here. We should not start a revolution of ambitions without the means or ability to fulfill expectations without adequate knowledge and evaluation of existing programs. Why should we make available such large sums now? If appropriations are made available to meet fully the demands of the OEO it will more than double the funds actually available for the fiscal year 1965. In addition, substantial funds from the year 1965 will be carried over for use next year.

My point, Mr. Chairman, is that such force feeding in a new and admittedly experimental program is unwise. Is it not the path of wisdom first to evaluate the various programs and then to proceed on a modest basis which can stand scrutiny?

How else can we justify to the taxpayers this spending of their money? How else can we avoid sinking deeper into the chaos and controversy which already surrounds the OEO?

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. I should like to ask my colleague if he is not satisfied with the fact that this is a modest program and that the results are constantly being researched and scrutinized? Is my colleague not satisfied with the modest dimensions of a program which is funded to reach only about 3 percent of the poverty stricken people in this country in its first full year of operations?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I would say to the gentleman that I am not a bit satisfied, or I would not have said what I said. I am not satisfied either about the way the program is going or its scope. We need to take a look now at these programs.

I am disturbed, furthermore, about a disturbing rumor now circulating that if this bill should be approved, the money sought by the OEO would be obtained by bypassing the House Committee on Appropriations? Should this in fact occur, the normal inquiry made by that knowledgeable committee would be omitted. Such a development, in my opinion, would be most unwise. The Appropriations Committee has a major job to do. Spending involved in these antipoverty programs is considerable; many of the programs being financed are controversial, and the increased rate of spending suggests ever-increasing demands on the Federal Treasury.

The lack of success of the antipoverty programs cannot be blamed wholly on Congress. Those responsible for the almost incredibly bad management of the Washington Office cannot escape criticism. Although the formal hearings unfortunately bear this out only indirectly, there is substantial evidence to prove that funds are being distributed in the most haphazard manner, and that extensive commitments are being made with little or no foresight.

Mr. Shriver, in recent testimony before a subcommittee of the other body, was frank in his admission that his anti-poverty war in years to come will "surely" expand to "several times" its present size. What a prospect. If spending increases as quickly as this present request would indicate, Congress surely created a monster last year when it established the OEO. At the very least, in my opinion, we should carefully and immediately evaluate the effectiveness of these many programs and seek to improve their administration.

This, however, has not even been attempted, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Shriver himself admits that there have already been some failures in the antipoverty program, but he tries to minimize them by asserting that "in most cases" the failures have been corrected. What are the admitted failures, Mr. Chairman, and why were they permitted? What failures have still not been corrected, and how much are we spending for these failures? And why are we even considering expanding our spending so drastically before we learn from these "experiments"?

The truth is that the poverty program is in trouble. The facade, so carefully polished by Czar Shriver's public relations men at the OEO, reveals deep faults and ever-widening flaws. Had the Education and Labor Committee probed more deeply than it did, it might have discovered why there has been so much trouble, and it might have recommended changes to improve the program. As it developed, however, this was not done.

During just five brief sessions of hearings, in an attempt to fill the gap in the legislative process, the Republican Task Force on Economic Opportunity undertook a further inquiry. It learned that almost every one of the many parts of the so-called war on poverty is paralyzed by a serious lack of information about the various programs and a complete breakdown in communications between the innumerable agencies supposed to be participating. The only coordination which the OEO seems capable of handling is that of advertising itself and Sargent Shriver.

It is indeed a new low, even for the OEO, when the Federal Government sponsors a rock-and-roll program in prime evening TV time to ask teenagers precisely what it is that the OEO should be doing. Actually, Mr. Shriver's office is trying to do far too much far too quickly with the taxpayers' money, with too little thought of the consequences. What of programs such as "Upward Bound," "New Chance," "Books for Appalachia"? These are just a few of the many special programs for which money

is being expended but about which no information is available. Instead of all this experimentation, why not try doing a few of those things well.

Financially speaking, the two largest programs under the ever-spreading OEO umbrella are the community action programs under title II of the act and the Job Corps under title I. In reference to the former, our task force hearings brought out a number of very basic difficulties. We, the Republicans of Congress, invited the administration to reason together with us to resolve these problems, but our invitation is unheeded. Instead, we are asked to rubberstamp a seriously defective bill—more than doubling OEO funds will not repair the flaws in the program. Indeed, increased spending without serious evaluation of what the spending is for will simply compound the problems.

The community action program, which involves about \$240 million in taxpayers' money, is supposed to be allocated among the States on the basis of a three-factor formula. According to the act, 20 percent of the appropriation can be "allotted among the States as the Director shall determine." The remainder shall be distributed in the following manner: One-third will be "an amount which bears the same ratio as the number of assistance recipients in such State bears to the total number of public assistance recipients in all the States." A second one-third of the amount is based on the annual-average number of persons unemployed in the State, relative to the national average. The final one-third is related to the number of children under 18 living in families with incomes of less than \$1,000.

Yet, as of the end of April, in the actual distribution of community action funds the formula worked out by Congress was ignored, and the OEO has doled out the money quite unevenly. The allotment for the District of Columbia, for example, is almost twice as large as its allowance, while Montana has received no OEO community action money.

In considering H.R. 8283, the Congress should remember that the Director of OEO has the power to allot these funds as he sees fit—there is no assurance that a State will actually receive even a dollar of its authorization. Since the District of Columbia had already received almost twice its authorized estimate by the end of March, Congress should consider establishing a safeguard for the proper distribution of these funds: For example, no State shall receive more than its authorized share until all States have received at least 50 percent of their estimate.

The name, community action, is a serious misnomer—as being administered, these programs could be more appropriately described by some term involving the names pork-barrel or boondoggle. In 1965, 170 of the programs approved by the OEO were for planning and 240 for action. The strategy for 1966 is to have 300 planning grants and 300 for action. Of course, we should not embark on so many untested programs without adequate preparation. In particular, Congress should really specify whether the

programs of the type described by Mayor Walsh of Syracuse as "dangerous social experimentation" are what we want. However, may I ask, Mr. Chairman, could we not use one of these 470 "planning" plans as a basis for action? Are we really so unsure of whether what we are doing is at all worthwhile?

Newspapers all over the country have been carrying stories about the political bickering associated with the title II program. Who does have the authority and the responsibility under the community action programs? According to the hearings on H.R. 8283, the "three-legged stool pattern" should be followed: The local government, private nonprofit corporations, that is existing private welfare agencies, and the resident poor are all somehow to get involved in both policy and administration. However, the three-legged stool almost never has all three of its leg and more often than not at least one of its legs is crooked. What seems to be occurring far too often is serious wrangling over "who owns the poor."

There can be no doubt that great difficulties have been encountered in getting any of the legs to stand up under the pressure of Federal bureaucracy. The U.S. Conference of Mayors, which "gave strong and full support to the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964" felt obliged to adopt a resolution at its 1965 meeting in early June in effect censuring the administration of the war on poverty. Quoting from the resolution, the mayors felt that "it is becoming clear that Federal administration policy is failing to recognize the legal and moral responsibilities of local officials who are accountable to the taxpayers for expenditure of local public funds."

Furthermore, the mayors took issue with the OEO workbook which implied that the goals of the program can only be achieved "by fostering class struggle." The resolution urged the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity "to provide effective and workable general standards of representation" so that they will "recognize the integrity of local government," "assure full participation of duly elected local officials," and "assure full and adequate participation of the poor."

This lack of sympathy, and indeed hostility, on the part of the Nation's mayors is no small problem, Mr. Chairman. For example, the Democratic mayor of Los Angeles, Samuel Yorty, has been deeply concerned, as has the Democratic mayor of San Francisco, Jack Shelley. We all know that a group of 11 influential mayors visited the Vice President himself on June 7 to express their concern.

The second major program, involving a 1965 fiscal year appropriation of \$183 million, is that of Job Corps centers. While I have always had a healthy interest in conservation of our natural resources, these centers seem to invite problems.

In the first place, the location of many of the job centers in faraway reservations creates problems. We may be witnessing the birth of "wildcat welfare"—the location of retraining centers in spots where wildcats would fear to

tread. But the relative isolation of these centers is not the only problem. Testimony given to our task force by Congressman MAY, of Washington, brought out truly shocking disregard for local attitudes and conditions.

In Mrs. MAY's district, two Job Corps centers were proposed—one near White Swan, Wash., and the other in the vicinity of Ephrata or Moses Lake, Wash. In the first case, a community of approximately 200 inhabitants received its first notification of a camp about the same size either by watching the building of the center which was surrounded by a "great deal of secrecy" or by hearing about "this community asset" from a highhanded bureaucratic announcement. In the second case, the city of Ephrata had "actively sought the center" and an announcement of such a center was made. "Within a matter of hours," Congresswoman MAY stated, "the announcement was withdrawn insofar as exact location is concerned." Furthermore, Mrs. MAY says:

No one in the Office of Economic Opportunity has ever explained to me why the announcement was made for Ephrata in the first place and, as a matter of fact, they won't even admit that it was announced for Ephrata even though I have a copy of the announcement in my possession.

Mrs. MAY concluded:

This, Mr. Chairman, strikes me as a prime example of the right bureaucratic hand not knowing what the left bureaucratic hand is doing.

I heartily concur in Mrs. MAY's observation—this is not an isolated incident.

Recent newspaper accounts of conditions at many Job Corps centers have focused on the lack of discipline and an extraordinarily high dropout rate. The rioting at the Tongue Point Job Corps Center in Oregon forced Gov. Mark Hatfield to send in "more security forces." The first camp in California, in Lewiston, produced a "long list of complaints" from local citizens—including a knifing, "a wild shooting," and "charges by merchants that adult corpsmen were buying liquor and providing it to camp minors." In St. Petersburg, Fla., the county school board voted unanimously to end the center, because of "complaints of residents living in the vicinity of the center."

Problems in the areas of recruitment and expensive dropout rates have been equally serious. A number of Washington Post articles, which could well be expected to be favorable to the program, have documented these problems. The Job Corps Center at Catocin, Md., has a dropout rate in excess of 30 percent, according to a story in the June 14 issue of the Washington Post. According to other newspaper accounts—unfortunately—the OEO refuses to release exact data to the Congress—a dropout rate of this size is about average. In his testimony of June 28 before the Senate Select Subcommittee on Poverty, part-time poverty czar Shriver claimed the dropout rate was only about 4 percent. For some strange reason, a youth is not considered a Job Corps member until he has had a month in the corps. By ex-

tending this statistical sleight-of-mouth, Mr. Shriver could, of course, get down to a zero dropout rate.

Despite all the public relations gyrations and despite all the wheeling and dealing, recruitment for both the Job Corps and VISTA remains a dismal failure. Despite directors who earn \$25,000 and above and Operation Head Start nursery school aids who get \$9 an hour, strategy is sadly absent from the war on poverty. Instead of wheeling this way, dealing that way, and throwing a little pork to everyone down the line, would it not be better to make an honest and thorough evaluation of all these programs now?

The administration is saying in effect: "We have the Congress so well in hand that what we actually do does not matter. After all, our large majority will always get the votes—even if an arm or two must be bent." We cannot permit this attitude to persist. The country expects some independence from the legislative branch.

We in Congress should put the rubber stamp back in the drawer and reach for a pen—to write legislation that is clear, that defines precisely the limits of OEO authority, that gives local officials rights and responsibilities, and that improves economic opportunities for everyone.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT].

(Mr. DENT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, less than a year ago, this Nation began the battle in the war on poverty. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, a grand achievement of the 88th Congress, boldly declared it "the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation."

Who could have imagined the swift mustering of teachers, technicians, nurses, and countless other talented persons to wage the first battle against deprivation? Or who could have predicted the unprecedented response of boys and girls who hungered for an opportunity to acquire skills and a new chance for a successful and productive life? For there have been 250,000 applicants for the Job Corps alone. Letters and cards have poured into the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As the noted economist Leon Keyserling says, "the war against poverty is eliciting the broadest national response, and this consensus is both a tribute to the President and the people, and an inestimable asset if properly used."

This quick response has enabled the Office of Economic Opportunity to advance rapidly. It has made 500 grants in 50 States affecting 4 million persons under the community action program. Two hundred thousand youth are enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The Job Corps is training 13,000 boys and girls for useful roles in a complex society.

But President Johnson has set before the Nation the goal of "total victory" in this great war. We have really only begun to fight.

Winston Churchill once said, in pleading for the lend-lease program, "Give us the tools and we shall do the job." The Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 should provide more tools "to do the job." These amendments must be approved if we are to continue to eliminate the paradox of poverty amidst affluence.

For although we have begun, there is much more we can do. First, by means of the amendments we can increase the Federal effort in this program to \$1.895 billion. We on the committee felt strongly that the war on poverty must be supported in a manner consistent with the high national purpose that it represents and the pressing need that exists.

Second, the amendments insure the success of the important work-training and work-study programs by extending 90 percent Federal financing through 1967. Localities need time to evaluate and plan these programs. To reduce the Federal share at an early date would inflict undue hardship on many communities interested in these programs. Certainly these programs are vital. All of our youth must be given the opportunity to obtain the best training and the best education.

Third, section 10 of this bill makes the important addition of allocating money to train teachers for instruction in the adult basic education programs. No aspect of the poverty program is more important. My own State of Pennsylvania had 630,417 persons in 1960 with less than 6 grades of school. We must not lose the battle on the education front.

Fourth, this bill eliminates the absolute veto power of the Governors, which is without precedent in similar Federal programs. Some opponents of the amendments argue that this makes the Director a "poverty czar." This is the usual argument directed against any effective Federal administration of a program. It is often used by the very persons who criticize the Federal Government for lack of checks and controls in a program. We must give the Director authority to exercise his judgments. He must be allowed to uphold Federal standards. This is a necessary amendment.

Fifth, H.R. 8283 will add a needed provision for the benefit of rural farm families. It provides that "Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed" and, therefore, eligible for training assistance. Workers in families with such a limited cash income certainly should be considered unemployed for the purposes of this program, since their farm work provides so little return.

Sixth, this bill opens up the avenues of service for VISTA volunteers—"the arms and legs of the antipoverty program." Our committee found too many arbitrary restrictions as to where these volunteers might serve. For example, with Indians living on reservations but not with Indians living as a distinct community off the reservation, in federally assisted mental hospitals but not in other hospitals where great need exists. The amendment allows volunteers to work in any program "eligible for assistance under this act."

These are a few highlights of the amendments to "expand the war on pov-

erty." Whether we succeed or not depends on the willingness of the Congress to meet the hopes of countless youth and men and women who want a chance to learn a skill, to get an education, to see a new horizon, to be a better citizen, a better American.

Let us meet their expectation by providing the tools and necessary support for "total victory" in the war on poverty.

Mr. Chairman, less than a year ago we started out on this program. This Nation began the battle at that time in the war on poverty, the first time in organized history that any nation started out with the intended purpose and goal of eliminating from its midst, poverty.

It has been said that unless you have tasted the pangs of hunger, you can never really evaluate a thick, juicy steak. So it is with poverty in the general course of living in a community in which there is both poverty and affluence.

I have often heard it said that a man who complains a great deal about having a sore hand seems to get over that pain immediately when he meets a man who has no arm. So it is in this war on poverty.

While we are all talking about this program, we find that even the opposition, while still trying to stay in bed with the poverty program's award of contracts is trying to tumble out of bed when it comes to sleeping with the responsibility for the act itself.

I come here this afternoon to praise Caesar and not to bury him, but it appears to me that the opposition comes to praise Caesar and to bury him. While they condemn the job being done by Mr. Shriver, they say he is a wonderful man and a very good administrator. He cannot be both. Either he is a bad administrator and a bad head of this department and his program is bad, or he is good all the way through.

Certainly, there are some bad situations. We see those everywhere in every area of public life.

We have heard talk about St. Petersburg, and some have talked about eight girls being dropped out. Why, those girls were dropouts to begin with. We took them out of poor poverty-stricken areas and homes and tried to make something out of them that they could not achieve in the regular course of their living in the communities in which they lived.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. Would the gentleman not ascribe some importance to the fact that these youngsters who come into the Jop Corps are the many-time failures and rejects of American life; that 30 percent are rejectees from the armed services; that 40 percent come from families on welfare; that 50 percent come from families in which both parents have less than eighth grade educations; that two-thirds come from families in which the primary wage earner is unemployed; that two-thirds have parents totally unskilled; that two-thirds come from families which are what the sociologists call

multiproblem deprived families? Is this not all a part of the problem we must consider—that these are not "cosmetic kids," these kids do not resemble the attractive, freckled face youngster down the block, these are not graduates of Hotchkiss, Choate, Andover, or Exeter, but youngsters whom society has failed.

The fact that we have a 3 percent dropout rate after the first 30 days of the program as compared to the 50 percent college dropout rate across the country and the 40 percent high school dropout rate and the 25 percent Peace Corps and Civilian Conservation Corps dropout rate is somewhat of a minor miracle in administration.

Mr. DENT. I agree with the gentleman from New York, and I might say that I was going to draw the parallel between these kids being dropped out for misbehavior, as one said. One said that eight of them drank and others were chased by boys. Now, maybe that is unusual in Florida, but it is not unusual where I come from. They said they were dropped out or expelled from school. Has anybody suggested that we close the Air Force Academy when the cream of the crop of American youth, which were sent there on recommendation of the Members of Congress, were expelled? And what about the Naval Academy and the Army Academy? They have all had their little cheating scandals that have come to light. Did we say close them? And how much money are we spending on each one of these kids that we are sending to the military academies?

We are talking about the cost per person. They used as an illustration \$55,000 was spent for 267 kids starting out in the St. Petersburg project. In my State of Pennsylvania the State pays \$190 per person for anyone they will take in, or any elderly people, for nothing but custodial care. They do not have to teach them anything or give them anything, but they just prepare some food for them and give them a good, clean bed to sleep in, and that costs \$190. You are complaining about kids picked up out of poverty where we are trying to give them something decent to look at and decent to live in. They are talking about the plush apartments that they live in and talk about this plush hotel and all of this that is too plush for them. After the kind of buildings we build for ourselves, can we stand here and condemn kids who are going to have, for once in their lives, a sofa with a soft seat on it? The first one in their lives?

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. First, I wish to compliment the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] for making such an eloquent statement. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania will agree that when the minority commences to quibble about these minor points and enumerates such minor evidences of misconduct, that is the best evidence we have that the program is operating successfully. I refer to the Job Corps program. The gentleman, I am sure, will further agree that we must give training and basic education to these disadvan-

tagged youngsters because they are not qualified to enter into any vocational schools or training centers. Am I correct in that?

Mr. DENT. You are not only correct, but the history of the St. Petersburg project alone is an illustration of the very reasons why this legislation was passed. Out of 247 kids in that particular project, only 2 out of the entire group had a 12th grade reading education. Now, are we trying to kid ourselves? These are not the cream of the crop. They are the cream of poverty that we are picking out and trying to make something of and put them on an equal footing with the better off and more fortunate citizens in the community. We are not gilding any lilies here. We just hope when we get through that they look like gilded lilies instead of a forgotten and wilted rose.

Mr. COLLIER. Now will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. COLLIER. I gather from what the gentleman from Pennsylvania said that there was apparently someone in favor of closing these camps because of what is an obvious problem.

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mr. COLLIER. I have been listening to the debate all day, and I never heard anyone on the floor suggest closing them any more than they suggested closing the Air Force Academy because of the unfortunate incident which occurred there. I would still like to know whether anyone suggested closing these places.

Mr. DENT. I might answer the gentleman very quickly and say that if you kill a program and you are opposed to it, will that close them or not?

Mr. COLLIER. Yes, but nobody has suggested killing the whole program.

Mr. DENT. Are they going to pick out the ones they condemn? The reason why they say they are opposed to them and want to close them is because of the failure of the project. If you oppose a project and want to kill it, you certainly close it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have one observation I want to make. I want to make sure I get into the political aspects of this, because I understand there is some hue and cry on the other side that there is politics in this.

I was foolish enough to step into that arena not too long ago when it was reported that the Governor of Pennsylvania who, incidentally, is a former Member of the House, and a Republican Governor—

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Would the gentleman from Pennsylvania be suggesting that in his State there is politics in connection with the poverty program?

Mr. DENT. I would like to answer the gentleman by saying that I did suggest that a little while ago and I got myself into it, because the Governor happens to be a Republican and so, or course, I was accused of playing politics because I condemned the Governor for making certain appointments of people who happen to be defeated Republican candi-

dates for the legislature. I said, "You are playing politics," but he assured me that he was acting in good conscience; as he said, the same as all the other Governors. That included our boys, too. So I had to shut up, because it seemed to me that they were both in the same poker game and both had the same marked deck, and each one of them knew it.

So I started to do a little investigating of my own and I found out that out of a total of 82 projects under all titles of the act in the State of Pennsylvania—of course, it is only incidental, and I mean this sincerely; it is only incidental that we have a Republican Governor. But anyway, out of 82 projects, 56 are in Republican counties and 26 are in Democratic counties. Now, that is a little bit of politics.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. With a great deal of pleasure I yield to one of the supporters of the bill.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. And a supporter of the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. Yes, surely.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. We people in Pennsylvania, of course, are divided between two major parties. I would say that in each party we play just as little politics as does the other party.

Mr. DENT. Right.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. But we have more Republican counties in Pennsylvania than we have Democratic counties. The two big Democratic counties are Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. So when you talk about counties, you are talking horses and elephants, or—what is the Democratic symbol—donkeys and elephants.

Mr. DENT. That is right.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. So it is not really a good comparison when you talk about Pittsburgh and Allegheny County and Philadelphia County and then you have some little county with about 10,000 or 12,000 people in it. In other words, when you compare them county by county, it is not a good comparison. But, may I say this, that we Republicans are amateurs compared to the good Democratic Party in Philadelphia and in Pittsburgh and in Pennsylvania. We are learning a few things, but do not criticize us too much for our amateurish approach.

Mr. DENT. I wish the gentleman had been here during the whole of this discussion on the floor, because he would have heard that I defended the Governor of Pennsylvania in that every time I got my foot into it by accusing him of politics I was assured that he was acting in just as good conscience as the other Governors of the country, which meant the Democrats.

I might say also, when the gentleman says that the Democrats are more proficient in plying the trade of politics or the profession of politics in Pennsylvania, than the Republicans, he must remember that in 140 years we have had four Governors, and they have had all the rest of them. So we are not doing too well.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Ray Bliss, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has informed us that the Republican Party nationally is in the process of building a new image. Would the gentleman care, in the light of this debate, to characterize that new image that the Republican Party seems to be building?

Mr. DENT. I am probably too old and my memory is somewhat befuddled, because I can only think of the old image. That is the only one I am stuck with. There might be new faces, new shadows, but it is the old image of opposition, criticism, cynicism, and absolute disbelief in everything except getting the contracts after we pass the program.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. I would like to know if what the gentleman has just related is not brilliantly exemplified by the policy of the opposition in saying, we are not against this program, we just want to cut the appropriations for it in half so that there will be no funds available for carrying out the program. We are for it in principle, they are saying; but we want to cut the heart and guts out of it. This bill carries the authorization of an appropriation of \$1,890 million this year in order to maintain the OEO program at its current level. If only half of that appropriation is authorized and then received, only half of the 550,000 Head Start kids are going to get the benefit of that program, only half of the 360,000 kids now in the Job Corps, the Youth Corps, and the work-study program, are going to get the benefits of those programs, and only half of the 30,000 adult illiterates are going to get the benefit of OEO training and literacy programs.

How can they have it both ways?

Mr. DENT. They always have it both ways. They remind me of the man who gets up in the morning and kisses his wife as he meets her in the kitchen and then slaps her face because she accidentally burned the toast.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. HOLIFIELD). The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and nine Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID].

(Mr. REID of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.

Mr. Chairman, I would remind my distinguished colleagues and the Speaker on the other side of the aisle that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the war on poverty, was passed with bipartisan support—226 to 185. Indeed, I am not sure that the program could have been passed without the support of 22 Members on this side of the aisle who be-

lieved in its fundamental principles.

This is not to say that many of us on this side of the aisle do not have some criticisms, that we may still offer some serious amendments, and I expect that we will. But let it be said before this House that some of us on this side of the aisle will join in bipartisan support of a program which we think is basic to the future of this country, to school dropout problems, to the young men and women of this country, and which will help many to break out of a hopeless cycle of poverty and despair and the lack of opportunity.

Second, Mr. Chairman, let me say that I am sure comments could be made with regard to both the majority and the minority report, and that the committee could have benefited from somewhat longer hearings.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise to commend the gentleman now in the well for the sound, constructive, and hard approach he has taken to this whole problem. We have had a lot of fun and a little levity here about parties, but I want to make it perfectly clear, having observed the work of the gentleman now in the well on this particular piece of legislation and other legislation before the Committee on Education and Labor, he is honest, conscientious, and a hard working Member of the Congress and of his party. I submit it is a fine position he takes on this legislation.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. I would like to add a word to what my colleague has said. I can say as a fellow member of the New York delegation that the gentleman from New York has worked closely with his fellow Democrats from New York and always in a helpful, constructive and thoughtful fashion.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman. I think it is the spirit of this House that on major legislation Members of both parties can find it in their hearts, and on the basis of need and sound information to work together in the national interest.

I believe the second point which should be made in regard to this legislation—that has been made clearly on our side of the aisle—is that the program is only 9 months old. The appropriation was not signed until October 7, 1964. The first Job Corps did not start until November 11 and the first community action program did not start until November 24. Hence, it is early to make any hard and fast judgments—prior to the program's first birthday.

Third, it seems to me there are a number of programs that are creative and based on sound principles. There is much hope in the country in regard to "Headstart" which already involves some 556,857 children in 13,345 centers.

I believe there has been no serious criticism of the work-study program, making it possible for many students to stay in college. During the past spring some

34,000 students were assisted in 648 institutions, and 40,500 students from 755 institutions are participating in the work-study program in summer school. I believe the domestic Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) some indication it will be as worthwhile as the overseas Peace Corps.

It is clear there are areas where there are proper criticisms. Some criticism can be directed at the speed of the program, perhaps at the administration, although I am frank to say Sargent Shriver is one of the most able administrators in the U.S. Government. He should be supported.

I will say also, as I have said before, it is difficult for any man to wear two hats in as important a program as this is.

If I may, I would like to mention briefly my limited experience with the programs in Westchester County. As many of the Members know, in Westchester we have some aspects of serious poverty amid affluence. While we have a median family income of over \$8,000, and an average of well over 12 years of education among heads of families, it is very clear that we also have poverty. In 1960, the Westchester Council of Social Agencies found that 1 in 12 families were living in "abject poverty," that is, making less than \$3,000 a year.

But this agency felt, and I agree, that this ratio did not wholly reflect the true dimensions. A more realistic figure would perhaps be \$5,000. If that is the criteria that is used, one in five families in Westchester County are "deprived." Poverty does not respect geography. Indeed, affluence can make human suffering and the disparity all the more poignant and its identification less likely as it is unexpected.

In Westchester County I would say programs that have started in White Plains and in New Rochelle and other parts of the county show some real promise. The White Plains community action program has started a special summer program for elementary school children. About 115 deprived youngsters will benefit from tutoring and language skill training through this program. Some 200 parents are being counseled on how to help the children at home.

In New Rochelle there are the beginnings of a worthwhile neighborhood youth corps which would help some 88 financially impoverished youths aged 16 through 21; a tutoring program for children from the 1st to the 12th grades; a preschool program for 200 children from 3½ to 4½ years old. There is a community program which will provide intensive social services—including legal aid, home management, budgeting, and family counseling—for some 400 residents of three low-rent housing projects.

The program here in a sense is not only trying to identify the problem of those living outside of the mainstreams of the community; but to try to create a measure of hope for those who may be in poor health and illiterate or undereducated. Therefore, I think in Westchester County there is not only need for the program but it is well launched.

I would submit the responsibility of this House is to improve legislation and to make such changes in it as are indicated. I intend to offer an amendment in this regard. But I believe strongly, and I think it would be a great mistake for this House either to seriously cut the program or to throw the baby out with the bath water. This program is in its beginnings. We have not had enough time to seriously judge it. We can question its rate of progress and its administration—but that it is backed by some basic principles with some very dedicated people throughout the United States, I think is clear. So I, for one, am sure that other Members will approach it in a constructive spirit doing what we can to further a program that is basic, if we are to break out of a cycle of hopelessness, to give all Americans a chance to maximize their potential and to live the kind of life in human dignity and in hope that this great country offers and that should be a reality for all.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DANIELS] 10 minutes.

(Mr. DANIELS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1965.

I would like to discuss that part of the bill known as the community action program. It is in this area that we have commenced a comprehensive program to alleviate the poverty cycle which is a fact of life in the great cities of this Nation. I would be less than candid if I did not concede that all programs have not always lived up to our expectations. It is easy to criticize but harder to build. I might add that in almost all cases the successes have far outweighed the failures.

The community action program provides technical and financial assistance to urban and rural communities to support comprehensive action programs developed by local community action organizations. Grants are primarily used as the funding vehicle. These grants are designed to provide the means for new programs and augment existing private and public resources by financing up to 90 percent of the costs of those new programs. Grants may be made to both public and private nonprofit agencies. Remedial reading, literacy courses, job training, employment counseling, homemaker services, job development, and health services are some of the many activities that can be supported and coordinated within a local anti-poverty program.

In addition to the operating and planning grants, funds are included to support research, training, and demonstration programs. Research programs are designed to identify the causes of poverty and variation in the patterns of poverty, regionally and locally. The training programs include internships with local, State, and Federal levels.

The demonstration programs include both experimental programs designed to test the value of proposed activities

prior to initiating their use, and national priority programs providing assistance on a widespread basis in order to expedite community understanding of the values or new programs.

Technical assistance is provided to both State agencies and local communities. It will have a particular impact on rural communities and the smaller cities which may not have resources to organize their own proposals.

Included within the community action programs is the migrant agricultural employees program. This activity provides a special program to meet the housing, sanitation, education, and day care needs of migratory agricultural workers and their families. Grants or contracts will be made to expedite the activities of public and nonprofit agencies now conducting programs of assistance to improve health and living conditions of migratory workers.

The community action program for fiscal 1965 was programed at \$235 million with which the Office of Economic Opportunity expected to approve a total of 500 grants in 350 communities. Over \$50 million of the funds programed in fiscal 1965 was used in Project Head Start which will provide preschool learning activities, medical and dental care, supervised field trips, and balanced meals for over 300,000 needy children.

It is estimated that \$638 million will be required to sustain and increase the scope of these programs in fiscal 1966. This increase in funds for fiscal 1966 will permit an estimated 650 grants to be approved. This increase of \$403 million between fiscal 1965 and fiscal 1966 is in large part determined by the increase programed for preschool programs during fiscal year 1966 and three other factors:

First. The number of communities seeking funds is rising very rapidly.

Second. Many of the grants funded in fiscal year 1965 were for the development of programs. When these development grants are funded for operational programs, their costs will be 10 to 20 times what they are at present.

Third. Programs which are currently funded for less than 1 year will, in most cases, receive full-year grants in fiscal year 1966.

There has been, I think, a high degree of success in bringing the poor into the community action programs.

In various parts of the country the programs are organized in different ways reflecting the feelings of local leaders as to how community action programs may be best put into effect. In some places the programs are run by public agencies and in others by private groups. Placing the administrative responsibilities on the local level is in the best American tradition.

Mr. Chairman, the community action program in some cities have not developed without controversy. But in almost all cases the war on poverty is moving ahead, and is achieving an increasingly meaningful and effective involvement by persons inhabiting impoverished neighborhoods. This fact, Mr. Chairman, constitutes a fundamental strength of the

war on poverty and a source of great hope for those of us who wish to see the blight of poverty eradicated from the American scene, as well as a compelling justification for enactment of the legislation now before this body.

I would like at this time to discuss New Jersey's role in getting the community action program into operation. I am very proud of the way the forward-looking administration of Gov. Richard J. Hughes on the State level and the many hard-working public officials and private citizens on the local level have gone to work to make this program a success.

Since the initiation of the community action program in 1964, the State of New Jersey has moved rapidly to insure the success of the war on poverty in every part of the State. Over \$6,600,000 in community action funds have been awarded to antipoverty programs throughout New Jersey. Major cities such as Trenton, Newark, Jersey City, and Elizabeth have already spent several months developing projects under program development grants. In Atlantic and Monmouth Counties, the community action organizations have moved to integrate the efforts of both the urban and rural sections of their respective counties and have begun to submit community action projects.

In the city of Trenton, a model of community action, all sections of the community have been involved in the development of the program approach. Education projects are already underway in this city and extension of the program into other fields is now being implemented. Involvement within the program of those citizens who reside in areas with a high incidence of poverty was achieved through a unique system of local elections which has come to be known nationally as the "Jersey plan." In Trenton, elections were actually held with the aid of voting machines and more than 25 percent of the poverty area residents reported to cast their ballot.

An impressive feature of the economic opportunity program in the State of New Jersey has been the New Jersey State Office of Economic Opportunity. A highly trained and competent staff has been created to serve communities with technical assistance in the development and submission of community action projects. Education specialists, manpower specialists, and specialists in the problem of rural areas are available to all communities in the State on a continuing basis. The State office itself has sponsored several projects including comprehensive rural programs for both the southern and northwestern regions of the State.

Local communities in the State of New Jersey have looked with great anticipation to the Office of Economic Opportunity for assistance in the development of community action programs. Local public officials have been enthusiastic in their support of the program and all groups within the community have seen the program as a new and broad avenue of social change. The State of New Jersey has been quick to recognize that poverty exists, that it must not continue to exist and that it need not continue to exist, if the State can continue to rely on the

support of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. Chairman, we have not won the war on poverty. We have, however, taken the most significant step. We have convinced the people of this Nation that rich, prosperous America can no longer afford to have soul searing misery existing in the midst of plenty. The war on poverty is a war that must be won.

A vote in favor of H.R. 8283 is a vote in favor of the great American dream. The dream that every American boy can move out of the slums into a richer and more rewarding life. We cannot allow the great potential of millions of Americans to be wasted. At this critical time in history we must use all our natural resources. The most valuable resource we possess is the creative instincts of all our people. We must insure that those Americans who are trapped in the vicious cycle are liberated so that they too may share in the benefits offered by citizenship in this Nation and that they too may be able to make a meaningful contribution to a better America.

A vote in favor of H.R. 8283 is an affirmation of our belief in America's future. I urge all Members to make this affirmation.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DANIELS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The gentleman mentioned that some \$235 million would be available in the fiscal year for the community action programs. Is it not true that something like \$640 million would be available, if this bill were approved, for these programs?

Mr. DANIELS. For the community action programs, as I understand it, we are asking an increase of \$438 million.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Would the gentleman also agree that these programs are gambles, all of them?

Mr. DANIELS. I certainly do not agree with my able colleague from New Jersey. We must realize that many of these programs are novel. They are planning grants. In initiating any kind of a new program to relieve such an important problem as poverty, ignorance and unemployment which exists today in many areas, it is only natural to expect that some mistakes will be made. I do not know of anyone who never admitted having made a mistake, including myself.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I was not asking the gentleman to agree with me. I was asking him to agree with Mr. Shriver, who said that all of these local programs are gambles—all of them. I am just quoting Mr. Shriver; as reported in *Look* magazine on July 27, in asking the question. I did not mean to trap the gentleman, but I was not asking him to agree with me. Mr. Shriver describes these programs as experimental. He says that these programs are all gambles.

I am discussing the fact that a great deal more money is asked for all of these programs, which the Director admits are gambles.

I am quoting Mr. Shriver:

We don't know, and the community doesn't know, if every single one of these projects is exactly the right combination to eliminate poverty today, tomorrow or the next day.

Now, this is a mighty big program about which we know very little, that we are being asked to provide.

Mr. DANIELS. I may say to my good friend, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], if Mr. Shriver employed the word "gamble," he may not have employed the proper descriptive word for these projects. I do know that in our own State of New Jersey we have several of these community action programs in operation and they are doing a very fine job. I think the gentleman will admit it, also.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I might say to the gentleman, if he will yield further, I am not trying to embroil him in an argument with the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. DANIELS. I do not think that we are going to be embroiled in an argument with the Director. I think Sargent Shriver, for whom I have the greatest admiration and respect, if he did use the word "gamble," as was stated by the gentleman from New Jersey, perhaps used an improper descriptive word for the problem.

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. DANIELS. Yes, I do.

Mr. KREBS. I wonder if my colleague from New Jersey at the end of his presentation will read some of the statistics revealing the programs already in operation in the State of New Jersey from which State Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN also comes so that he can see the positive side of this situation.

Mr. DANIELS. If time permits, I will be only too happy to do so.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. DANIELS. I now yield to my colleague from California, a member of the committee.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I thank my good friend and colleague for yielding to me.

May I say with reference to your colleague and friend, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], of course, there is risk in this program. There is risk in every program which tries to attack a problem in a different way, but I think we have already shown by the results which have been achieved to date that this risk is diminishing every day, and it certainly justifies us in going ahead with the program at the rate now asked for.

Mr. DANIELS. I thank you for your contribution.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. DANIELS. Yes; I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I would like to thank the gentleman for his kindness in yielding so often.

I do not say that no good comes from the expenditure of this money for the community action programs. I am quite sure our own State of New Jersey will benefit to some extent. However, what does worry me, as the gentleman from California points out, is the way in which we do it. The way may not be appropriate. In many cases, as a practical matter, we are bypassing the local community, as in the case of the gentleman from California's own city of Los Angeles, in the development of these programs. You are

upsetting the tried and proven ways of combating poverty.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and eight members are present, a quorum.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. GLENN ANDREWS].

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to go back to the subject, first of all, of the Air Academy and say that the discovery that 100 students had been cheating at the Air Academy is no excuse for doubling the size of the Air Academy.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this bill in its present form. I rise in praise of the great idea behind this poverty bill. I rise to criticize and demand some important changes in order to protect or even permit the implementation of this great idea. Paraphrasing Dickens, this is either the best of bills or it is the worst of bills.

If this bill be an instrument for setting up political Tammany Halls all over the Nation with new and untried wardheelers and indigenous political authorities, then I am against it. If it be an instrument for perfecting the united Cook Counties of America for the political exploitation of the poor, then I am against it. If this bill be a method of further erosion of State function in order to concentrate power in the Office of Economic Opportunity, then I am against it. If this bill is a blueprint for revolution—if it would storm the Bastille of all present political structure with a double-barreled pork barrel, then I am against it.

There are seven, eight, or nine programs wrapped up in this poverty bill. In my committee we held extensive hearings on one section only. Under this section, the community action program, disclosure of all the tendencies I have just mentioned dominated these hearings. Our chairman called the community action program a "political fiesta." Evidence of this sort of thing came through clear from all over the Nation. Practically nothing good was heard in all the testimony except good intentions—only Tammany Halls, Cook Counties, revolutions, State or Governor function bypass, concentration of power in Washington, pork barrel. Most of the reports were bad. Only one of the programs out of nine was even discussed. This was not the evidence which should have caused my committee to double the funds and start the bill on its second year. This was a most astonishing performance. This was surely not one of the mandates of the election of November 1964. Someone surely is misinterpreting this mandate.

This bill could have promise. It could be a great idea if we are able to put it properly to work. On our side of the aisle we have a series of changes and amendments which will help it, and if they are enacted this measure will gain my full support. This should be an education bill, not a political bill. This bill should educate the poor to find some

productive and worthwhile place in a highly competitive society. It should not set them up for political exploitation and/or teach them how to use the ballot for Treasury raids or handouts. This bill should not make poverty attractive, but should prepare the victims of poverty for escape. Education and development of all our people is the avenue of escape—the liberation of the individual from the poverty cycle, the enrichment of life—the key to a fuller life. Education stirs the imagination and whets the appetite for good things. Education builds drive and ambition. As an advertising man, I know that knowledge does whet the appetite and gives drive and ambition.

There are excellent promises to some of these programs. Operation Head Start, on the preschool training of the poor and educationally deprived, has great merit. The effort to keep all our people in school is commensurate with the situation in this abundant land when jobs are too few.

This bill could very well be a great economy measure. I read the other day where it would take \$100,000 to institutionalize a mentally retarded child for lifetime. I attended in my State last week a meeting of the Alabama Mentally Retarded Children's Association. It was shown there that to teach this child with patience how to dress and undress would cut down heavily on this enormous public cost.

Each new training given the mentally retarded child teaching him to do for himself cuts down further on the cost of his life to the public in taking care of him. Initially, costly, highly specialized education then has an advantage to the child and to the public when this child is a ward of the State.

The problem of the poor resembles somewhat the problem with the mentally retarded.

We are not specifically dealing with mentally retarded children in this poverty bill. But the educational thrust of the effort on those who through poverty of environment are deficient in knowledge is a parallel problem. This bill should be aimed at keeping people off the relief rolls. This is the great idea behind it. It purports to do for the educationally poor what manpower development and vocational training does for the job displaced and unemployed.

The problem down in Alabama as well as the rest of the Nation is jobs—particularly for the poor and uneducated. This poverty program could get these jobs. It might not help people get into unions, which are concerned primarily today with the skilled or productive jobs, but it will help them get some jobs where they have not before been able to hold a job. Adult education itself will help people get and hold jobs. The ability to read and write will help in getting and holding a job.

The greatest friend of discrimination is lack of jobs. This bill is concerned with the people on the bottom of the economic ladder. It could help them get and hold jobs. Every State and every community has the job problem. Every developed individual in a State is an increased asset to the State and no longer a liability. He builds his own social se-

curity and shrinks the relief rolls. Man is happier when he is busy. Occupation itself is education.

Help get politics out of this bill with some of our amendments—and let us turn this into an education bill, instead of a political bill.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY].

(Mrs. MAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Chairman, a great deal of concern is being expressed today by a number of my respected colleagues. For the most part this concern is over the manner in which the poverty program is being administered.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to join my colleagues in expressing similar concern.

I do regret, Mr. Chairman, that there is so much evidence from all parts of the country that the poverty program is not working well, and I take no pleasure in finding that my worse fears about the administration of this program have materialized. I think what the Congress needs is some assurance that attempts will be made to correct some of the more serious errors, some of which, I am sure, were made because this program is relatively new and experience in this field was lacking.

But, Mr. Chairman, at least as far as my personal experience with the Office of Economic Opportunity is concerned, such promise of "we will try to do better" is completely lacking. After all, if many of these programs have hope of really assisting the poverty stricken, they must be administered in such a manner as to do everything possible to enhance the success of the various programs of this act. It was with this point in mind that I offered some constructive suggestions when the task force on economic opportunity of the Republican planning and research committee invited testimony last month. I offered these suggestions after describing what I consider to be mishandling of two Job Corps Conservation Centers proposed for my congressional district. In one case the circumstances surrounding a 1-year delay in establishing such a camp must be borne by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In the other instance, the Office of Economic Opportunity made a pretty bad blunder in officially announcing a conservation center would be located in one community of my district that had sought the project, only to take the project away from that community and give it to a neighboring community which had not actively sought the project.

I was, quite frankly, shocked at the response to my testimony, recently received from the Office of Economic Opportunity, because all the response received did was to try to justify—unsuccessfully—the errors previously committed by that office. I have been here long enough to know that trying to get admission from a Federal agency that they erred is not the easiest thing in the world to do, but when that agency commits serious errors in attempting to justify previous errors with an indication that more of the same can be expected

in the future, this certainly does not act as an incentive to me to support the agency's request for twice as much money. I predict that unless we severely amend the committee bill before us today, the Office of Economic Opportunity will be committing twice as many mistakes simply because they will be able to double the scope of the present programs which so badly need improvement.

For the information of my colleagues I am glad to include at this point in the RECORD the formal statement I made before the Republican task force, a response that statement received from the Office of Economic Opportunity in the form of a letter signed by Sargent Shriver, together with my subsequent reply to Sargent Shriver:

STATEMENT OF CATHERINE MAY, REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON, BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN PLANNING AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE, TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, JUNE 16, 1965

Mr. Chairman and members of the task force on economic opportunity, as a Member of Congress from an area in which the Office of Economic Opportunity has a number of projects on-going or contemplated, I am, quite naturally, anxious that these programs succeed. It is my understanding this task force committee wants constructive criticism to insure that they succeed. Where the programs are bogging down, where experience has shown improvements are necessary, where constructive suggestions can be made, I feel we would all be derelict in our duty if we chose to ignore our responsibility to not only the poverty-stricken—which these programs are supposed to help—but also to all the American people. This is why I welcome the opportunity to discuss with the task force on economic opportunity the experiences in the Fourth Congressional District of the State of Washington on two proposed Job Corps conservation centers—one to be established on the Yakima Indian Reservation at Fort Simcoe near White Swan, Wash., and the other on the Columbia Basin reclamation project in the vicinity of Ephrata or Moses Lake, Wash.

I do not intend, Mr. Chairman, to discuss with the task force the merits of Job Corps conservation centers, other than to state it is my firm belief that the success or failure of such centers from the standpoint of the enrollees will be heavily dependent upon community acceptance. Certainly, if I may draw a parallel, the success of the Peace Corps is largely attributed to acceptance of Peace Corps efforts by the people of the countries in which Peace Corps volunteers have been working. At least, this is what Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver has told us. It is in this context that I am concerned because of the two Job Corps conservation centers announced by the Office of Economic Opportunity for my congressional district. No initial effort to secure community cooperation is evident on the part of the Office of Economic Opportunity in this regard.

The first situation I would like to discuss is the announced establishment of a Job Corps conservation center to be located on the Yakima Indian Reservation near the small community of White Swan.

The official announcement concerning this Job Corps camp was contained in a press release from the Office of the Secretary of the Interior which detailed the locations of 14 Job Corps camp in 10 States to be activated early that fall. The Secretary's announcement states, "Each of these camps will also be a great community asset." This press release, which was received in my office on August 19, 1964, the date it was to be re-

leased, was the first notification received by me of this project and was, in fact the first official notification received by the people of White Swan, a community of approximately 200 inhabitants and approximately 2 miles from the announced site of the camp.

From information I was able to piece together later, it became evident that a great deal of secrecy had surrounded the circumstances in arriving at the selection of this site for a Job Corps camp. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, once a decision had been made, consulted only with the Yakima Tribal Council and it is my understanding the Bureau told the tribal council that Indians would be put to work and that the work to be accomplished would be in the nature of work which would benefit the Indian reservation. The Secretary of the Interior's announcement of August 19, 1964, in fact, stated, "The enrollees will be concerned primarily with timber and range conservation practices such as timber thinning and construction of fire roads and trails."

It is not difficult to understand the immediate reaction of the people of White Swan who naturally were concerned over the effect on their community of the arrival of as many Job Corps "guests" as there are inhabitants. Urgent requests for complete information on the impact of such a facility were made to my office. I point out again that no such information had been volunteered either prior to or following the brief original announcement. Inquiries were initiated by my office to the Bureau of Indian Affairs because the Office of Economic Opportunity advised they had no information with which to respond to the community concern. To give an example of this kind of bureaucratic attitude, we were told by a spokesman of the Bureau of Indian Affairs that "if a community wishes to protest it should do so to the Yakima Indian Agency superintendent." On August 28, 1964, we were also advised that this was only a "proposed" establishment since Congress had not as yet appropriated the money to establish any of the Job Corps centers. This fact brought out yet another interesting point because I was later informed that even prior to the August 19 announcement work crews contracted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were busy clearing a site for the proposed establishment. I still do not know the source of the funds for this preliminary work. To compound the good reason for local concern in the community of White Swan was an application which was received by a White Swan resident for the job of camp director which asked the applicant exactly how he would handle certain hypothetical situations if they should develop at the camp. I quote the five situations listed in the application form:

"1. Assume that you receive an anonymous note indicating that there are homosexual practices actively going on among several campers and that the informant has been approached. You have no other information.

"2. Assume that from time to time over a period of a month, tools and equipment have disappeared from a project to which seven boys have been assigned. You have no reason to suspect one boy more than any other. The boys are of different racial origins and have as their primary friendship groups, boys other than those in the work group—the project will be completed in three days.

"3. Assume that one of the boys has reported for treatment for a superficial knife wound. He claims that the wound was accidentally self-inflicted, but you have excellent reason to suspect otherwise. He has been involved in fist fights on two previous occasions, where he had been provoked into a fight. You know that once knifings begin, they tend to become prevalent.

"4. Assume that you return from a trip to learn that six teams have been chosen for a

football competition by boys originally appointed as team captains. Two boys—one white and one Negro—have each purposely chosen only members of his own race for his own team. Other teams are mixed. One game has been played by each team without incident—nine more games are scheduled for each team.

"5. Assume that you receive a phone call at 3 a.m. from the police chief in a small neighboring community informing you that he has in custody one of your campers. The boy has been accused rape and assault with a local teenager as his victim."

Naturally, Mr. Chairman, the local recipient of this communication from the Office of Economic Opportunity was concerned that such problems could occur and he advised the local newspaper of the contents of the application form. It is not difficult to imagine the reaction that ensued from a community seeking information about the proposed Job Corps conservation center to be constructed in their area.

On August 28, 1964, I asked Sargent Shriver, Director of the President's Task Force on the War on Poverty, to arrange for a public hearing on the announced establishment of a Job Corps camp near White Swan. I advised Mr. Shriver that since the August 19, 1964, announcement of the location of the camp a number of residents of nearby communities had indicated their concern over the location of such a camp in their area and that many of these individuals were asking questions which deserved factual answers. I advised Mr. Shriver that I had discussed the situation with the Governor's representative appointed to handle antipoverty programs in the State (who incidentally had not been provided answers to the questions being asked) and that we both agreed that a full public hearing should be held in the area as soon as possible so that all the individual citizens would have all the facts upon which to base opinions. On September 2, 1964, I was advised by the Governor's representative that the Bureau of Indian Affairs regional office had notified him that they would hold a public meeting in the White Swan High School on September 9 to inform the community of plans for the proposed Job Corps camp. I initiated telephone calls to the Office of Economic Opportunity to ask whether this meeting was in response to my request for a hearing and was advised that a representative of Sargent Shriver's office would attend the meeting. I did not receive any written response to my letter requesting a hearing.

The meeting was held in the White Swan High School the evening of September 9, 1964. I was subsequently advised that only written questions were allowed from an audience of about 350 persons and no oral discussion was permitted. One gentleman stood up and demanded that he be heard and was given the opportunity to make a brief statement. This, Mr. Chairman, was not the kind of hearing I had requested, although I was given to understand that generally speaking the audience seemed to be satisfied with the answers received to their written questions, mostly handled by the representative from Sargent Shriver's office.

I won't go into any more details of subsequent events except to state that the controversy raged on with local residents signing petitions to the Governor of the State of Washington and Sargent Shriver's office expressing either support or opposition to the establishment of a Job Corps camp. According to a newspaper article, on October 13, 1964, the deadline set by the Governor's representative for filing of statements concerning the camp, opinions stood 1,378 in favor and 714 against.

The then Governor of the State of Washington subsequently approved the camp. It was about this time that a local attorney for a group of White Swan residents pro-

tested to the Office of Economic Opportunity the establishment of the camp, contending that work planned by occupants of the camp would benefit Yakima Indians only and, therefore, was discriminatory against non-Indians. The attorney based his contention on the Civil Rights Act passed by Congress in 1964. The general counsel for the Office of Economic Opportunity advised the local attorney, "We are acquainted with no law or policy against discrimination on the basis of race which is violated by the operation of a conservation center on the Yakima Indian Reservation Center." The general counsel went on to state in his letter, "Government policy against discrimination, whatever source, does not generally prevent the expenditure of money to benefit Indians on an Indian reservation." The local attorney said he could not agree and that he would seek a Federal injunction to stop the establishment of a camp. The new Governor agreed that before he would approve the camp that assurance would have to be given that the general public would have access to and use of facilities constructed by the Job Corps. There the matter rested for many months. However, as recently as early this month, Otis A. Singletary, director of the Job Corps, said in a letter to the local newspaper in Yakima, Wash., the largest nearby community, that he was holding up approval of the White Swan camp because of "poor community attitudes." Apparently recognizing the former Governor's approval of the site and not waiting for the new Governor's recommendation, Dr. Singletary indicated in his letter that the Office of Economic Opportunity had every legal right to proceed with the camp, but the delay was "based solely on my concern for the enrollees."

In the meantime, the new Governor, continuing to be concerned over the two questions; that of community acceptance and that of general public use of an access to the facilities, obtained from local communities assurances that public opinion had gradually changed to favor the camp and new letters were received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Yakima Tribal Council giving assurances the public would have access to and use of the facilities, after all. The Governor just last week wrote to the Office of Economic Opportunity approving the location of the camp and this last Friday evening, June 11, my office was called by the Deputy Director for the Job Corps to be advised that that office would now proceed with the camp.

I might say parenthetically that when I asked the Office of Economic Opportunity last Friday evening for details I was advised they had none. They assumed the camp would be established as originally proposed, but that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would have to provide the details. Once again, Mr. Chairman, the local citizens found themselves in the dark as to details of the situation.

I will not dwell long on the second Job Corps camp proposal in my district.

This is a camp to be administered by the Bureau of Reclamation to be located on the Columbia Basin reclamation project. In February of this year it was announced by the Bureau of Reclamation headquarters on the project that the Office of Economic Opportunity had requested a recommendation for a location of a Job Corps conservation center on the Columbia Basin project. This was undertaken and on April 27 of this year the President announced a number of new Job Corps conservation centers, including one on the Columbia Basin project. Accompanying the White House announcement was a detailed fact sheet which stated that the Columbia Basin center would be located on land owned by the city of Ephrata. The announcement went on to state that two buildings consisting of a two-story dormi-

tory building and a former mess hall will be made available by the city of Ephrata. The city of Ephrata was delighted by this announcement because the people of Ephrata had actively sought the center and the Ephrata location had received a favorable recommendation from the Bureau of Reclamation.

Within a matter of hours after the President's announcement, however, the announcement was withdrawn insofar as exact location is concerned and I received from the Ephrata Chamber of Commerce an urgent letter wanting to know what had happened and reaffirming its wishes for the center. My office, Mr. Chairman, made repeated calls to the Office of Economic Opportunity from Dr. Singletary on down and about all we could learn was that the Office of Economic Opportunity thinks it will establish the Job Corps center at Larson Air Force Base near Moses Lake, Wash., instead of Ephrata. As nearly as I can tell, no local request for establishment of the center at Larson Air Force Base or at Moses Lake was ever made. The people of Ephrata are understandably angry, especially because the center was announced for their town and then the announcement withdrawn. No one is the Office of Economic Opportunity has ever explained to me why the announcement was made for Ephrata in the first place and as a matter of fact, they won't even admit that it was announced for Ephrata even though I have a copy of the announcement in my possession. This, Mr. Chairman, strikes me as a prime example of the right bureaucratic hand not knowing what the left bureaucratic hand is doing.

Again, Mr. Chairman, one would think the people in the Office of Economic Opportunity would have learned from the White Swan situation, but experience made no difference in the case of the Columbia Basin center. What I am afraid of now, Mr. Chairman, is that the Ephrata people will be hostile to the project and will not be in a mood to cooperate with the trainees. Ephrata is only 26 miles from Moses Lake.

In conclusion I would like to quote from an editorial in the Yakima Daily Republic of Yakima, Wash., which, it seems to me, should apply to all proposals to locate Job Corps camps throughout our Nation. The editorial states:

"The issue does raise a serious question about a philosophy that seems ingrained among Government workers of all administrations, regardless of political attachments. That is the assumption of some staffers that what they do is nobody's business, unless some busybody or nosey newspaperman starts to pry.

"Well, the painful truth is that everything a bureau worker does—whether it's his coffee break, thinking time, or a major decision—is the business of you and your neighbor and your cousins and friends. It's taxpayers' money that pays for every stitch of Government, and it's taxpayers' business that is transacted.

"And when the staffers resent having to throw their actions open to public gaze, they should be reminded—as they doubtless have in the Fort Simcoe Job Corps hassle—that their first responsibility is to the public and that's everybody."

Thank you for the opportunity to describe the problems we have had on this subject in my congressional district.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
Washington, June 28, 1965.

HON. CATHERINE MAY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN MAY: In your testimony before the House Republican planning and research committee task force on economic opportunity, on June 16, 1965, you stated that the selection of the Yakima In-

dian Reservation at Fort Simcoe as a site for establishment of a Job Corps conservation center was veiled in secrecy. No less than two public documents—Senate hearings on S. 2462 (June 17-25, 1964) and Yakima Tribal resolution T-17-65 (August 14, 1964)—which antedate the Department of the Interior's public announcement of preliminary plans for establishing a conservation center at Fort Simcoe, indicate the possible use of this site by Job Corps. The hearings, at page 152, list the White Swan Mission at Fort Simcoe, among other Federal lands in the State of Washington, as a possible Job Corps conservation center. The resolution requests establishment of a Youth Corps camp on the reservation "southwesterly from Fort Simcoe."

You state further that no initial effort to secure community cooperation is evident on the part of the Office of Economic Opportunity in establishment of conservation centers, while you note in the same testimony that prior to Gov. Albert Rosellini's approval of the center at Fort Simcoe, a public poll indicated 1,378 local residents in favor of the center, as opposed to 714 against it. The 30-day period in which a Governor must either approve or reject an announced center enables him to assess community attitudes which may influence his decision.

You also inferred that Columbia Basin Job Corps conservation center site was removed from the city of Ephrata to Moses Lake at the whim of OEO in spite of the protests of the residents of Ephrata, who had actively sought the center. Moses Lake, the residents of which were equally as receptive to establishment of the center, is but 25 miles from Ephrata and a far less expensive site, as noted by cost data shown below:

Ephrata (construction only)-----	\$567,000
Moses Lake (Larson Air Force Base) (rehabilitation only)-----	220,000

Sincerely,

SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 29, 1965.

HON. R. SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHRIVER: I have received your June 28 letter relating to my recent testimony before the House Republican planning and research committee, task force on economic opportunity, in which I discussed experiences in the State of Washington in the establishment of Job Corps conservation centers on the Yakima Indian Reservation and on the Columbia Basin project.

While I appreciate hearing from you on these two subjects, it is with regret I note your letter seems to indicate that you feel the manner in which these two centers have been handled was proper. It had been my hope that my testimony would be accepted in the spirit in which it was intended—that of constructive criticism. Instead, your letter attempts to refute certain statements in my testimony with information that has little or no relationship to the statements I made.

The first paragraph of your letter seems to deny that the selection of the site southwesterly from Fort Simcoe as a proposed Job Corps conservation center on the Yakima Indian Reservation was veiled in secrecy, and describes two documents as an indication there was no attempt at secrecy. You point out the Senate hearings on S. 2462 in June, 1964, list the White Swan Mission at Fort Simcoe as a possible Job Corps conservation center. I feel it necessary to point out that the White Swan Mission is not at Fort Simcoe, the White Swan Mission is not the site selected for the Job Corps center, and the White Swan Mission is not located southwesterly from Fort Simcoe. In short, the site selected for this center

was at a location different from that described in the Senate hearings. Second, the Yakima Indian Tribal Council resolution was unknown to local residents until after they discovered a site was being cleared for the camp southwesterly from Fort Simcoe. According to local residents, the people preparing the site were instructed to keep secret the purposes for which the land was being cleared. Enclosed are copies of editorials from the September 4 and September 11, 1964, issues of the Yakima Daily Republic which comment on the situation at that time.

The second paragraph of your letter describes a public poll as evidence that the Office of Economic Opportunity attempted to secure community cooperation in connection with the Job Corps conservation center near Fort Simcoe. The public poll, rather than being initiated by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was initiated by local residents who were either for or against the proposal. Many of those opposing the establishment of the center based their opposition on the fact that they could not get factual answers to their questions about the center. Your letter further states: "The 30-day period in which a Governor must either approve or reject an announced center enables him to assess community attitudes which may influence his decision." The then Governor of the State of Washington neither approved or rejected this proposal within the 30-day period from the August 19, 1964, public announcement of the proposal. The Governor's approval came in November, following the general election in which he was defeated. Further, it is my understanding that the 1965 Poverty Act amendments proposed by you would effectively eliminate the veto power of the State Governors in this field.

The third paragraph of your letter discusses the advantages of a Moses Lake location over an Ephrata location of a proposed Job Corps center on the Columbia Basin project. Although I am glad to have the cost data you have provided, the point I was attempting to make, as you will note from the enclosed copy of my prepared testimony, was that the worse possible community attitude was invited by the Office of Economic Opportunity when it first announced the selection of Ephrata as the site, and then, a few hours later the announcement was withdrawn. In connection with this, I still have not been informed by the Office of Economic Opportunity which site has been selected, although I was assured several weeks ago a decision would be made very shortly and I would be informed.

The main point I was trying to make in my testimony was that if the Office of Economic Opportunity would initiate some kind of public relations effort with the people in the affected areas, a great deal of the bitterness local residents have experienced could be avoided. The one year delay could have been avoided in getting the Job Corps center on the Yakima Indian Reservation into operation. Also the bitterness created by your office in the situation involving the neighboring communities of Ephrata and Moses Lake could have been avoided.

I would like to see the Job Corps program work, and work well, and I trust that in this we are in agreement.

Sincerely yours,

CATHERINE MAY,
Member of Congress.

[From the Yakima Daily Republic, Sept. 4, 1964]

WHOSE BUSINESS?

We suspect that the irksome secrecy surrounding the establishment of a Job Corps camp near Fort Simcoe was the product of bureau-oriented thinking somewhere along the line. With a public meeting called for

September 9, it also seems probable that the whole thing will be ironed out, and plans for the camp explained and continued.

The issue does raise a serious question about a philosophy that seems ingrained among Government workers of all administrations, regardless of political attachments. That is the assumption of some staffers that what they do is nobody's business, unless some busybody or nosey newspaperman starts to pry.

Well, the painful truth is that everything a bureau worker does—whether it's his coffee break, thinking time or a major decision—is the business of you and your neighbor and your cousins and friends. It's taxpayers' money that pays for every stitch of Government, and it's taxpayers' business that is transacted.

And when the staffers resent having to throw their actions open to public gaze, they should be reminded—as they doubtless have in the Fort Simcoe Job Corps hassle—that their first responsibility is to the public and that's everybody.

[From the Yakima Daily Republic, Sept. 11, 1964]

WHY SO CAGEY?

If the Office of Economic Development is sincere in its assertion that Job Corps youth camps will not be located where communities do not want them, then the people of White Swan should be granted a public hearing at which protests—if there are any—may be voiced. Many of the 350 valley residents who attended a meeting Wednesday night came away disappointed. The session, at which OEO assistant Pat Healy spoke, was a question-and-answer meeting at which no opinions were invited.

It is entirely possible that protests already raised might be readily explained. It is also possible that the protests might be well-founded. And it is possible that some other area of central Washington might want the Job Corps camp now apparently tagged for the Fort Simcoe area near White Swan, if the White Swan people do not want it.

Those are details that can be ironed out only in a public hearing. As matters stand, the only chance for expressing local opinion lies in letters to Jack Gordon, State employment security commissioner, in Olympia.

If there actually is no politics involved in the Job Corps section of the President's anti-poverty law, the machinery thus far operating in the White Swan instance is throwing a fog of suspicion over what may actually be an innocent project. We fail to see the reason for refusing to expose the plan to public discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. If the material the gentlewoman refers to is her own statement, it may be included in the RECORD.

Mrs. MAY. Yes, it is, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. MAY. I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I want to thank the gentlewoman. I simply want to take this opportunity to thank her very much for her appearance before the task force on economic opportunity, and her presentation of a very practical problem which could have been avoided if the Office of Economic Opportunity had been at all aware of the necessity of keeping in touch with the community that they were going into. In this case, of course, more than one community was involved and in spite of the fact that

their attention was called to the problem they were creating they still did nothing to correct it.

That is very specific evidence of the kind of problem the OEO is getting into. It has been dramatically set forth here by the gentlewoman.

Mrs. MAY. I thank the gentleman for his comment.

Mr. QUIE. The gentlewoman was mentioning to me some other difficulties for the State office, with the Governor. I was wondering if she could bring this to light at this time.

Mrs. MAY. Within the limits of my time, I was not going to make this a part of my regular statement today. But to give just a recent example. The Governor of the State of Washington, Dan Evans, last April appointed a Mr. Byron E. Brady as director of the Washington State Office of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Following his appointment, Mr. Brady came to Washington, D.C., where he spent the better part of a week meeting with the staff of the Economic Opportunity Office in an effort to establish an effective liaison between that Office and his office under the Governor.

I was terribly surprised when just the other day I received a letter signed by the Director of the Office, Mr. Shriver, which was a copy of a letter to one of my constituents which told that constituent that he should get in touch with Mr. James Dolliver as the State coordinator for the antipoverty program. Mr. Dolliver, I might explain, did hold that position briefly last April, but has since been administrative assistant to our Governor. I feel sure Mr. Brady would be very shocked to know that his trip to Washington, which was for the purpose of establishing and encouraging an effective liaison between his office and that of Washington, was not even noted by the Office downtown because they were not aware of his name.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CAREY].

(Mr. CAREY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, and our distinguished floor manager for the bill today, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS], I very much appreciate this allocation of time. However, I have noticed during the last several hours the great energy and devotion of our distinguished Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, my great and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], in maintaining a most precarious quorum. I am somewhat fearful lest my powers of persuasion and strength of conviction be such that I might alienate someone on the minority side of the Chamber and force that person from this room thereby endangering that precarious quorum. However, Mr. Chairman, the importance of this legislation is such that I must take that risk.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation to extend and expand equality of economic opportunity. I do so with a

full sense of the magnitude of the task before us. I am prepared to acknowledge that we have just begun, but our beginnings are as good, and hopeful, as they are bold and fresh. Mistakes have been made and errors uncovered but I am frankly surprised and delighted because the mistakes have been few and the errors far between.

During the spring of this year I served with my colleagues from New York, Representatives OGDEN REID and JAMES SCHEUER, as chairman of a task force charged with surveillance on oversight on the program as it got underway in the District, and other cities from Maine to Virginia. I want to assure this committee that in my experiences whenever I met with any situation which tended to transgress the will of the Congress as set forth in this legislation, we received prompt and full cooperation from the Director, Mr. Sargent Shriver, and his able assistant for congressional affairs, our distinguished former colleague, Gillis Long. Here and now I want to state that the administration, and indeed our country, but most particularly the beneficiaries of this program are truly fortunate to have the talent and devotion of Mr. Shriver and his staff guiding and moving the operation.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee, you have heard and you will hear, scorn and opprobrium heaped on such areas as community action, Job Corps, preschool and work training because here and there the critics of this legislation have found fissures and faults which they would have you believe are of great magnitude.

I tell you, as one who has lived with our effort at equal economic opportunity since its infancy that these few isolated defects are miniscule in proportion to the magnitude of our undertaking. In truth, speaking of infancy, this program is still in its infancy and fledgling stage and like any infant or fledgling it will get its share of knocks and falls and bruises.

But you do not stop feeding a child because he breaks a saucer and you do not give up on a growing boy because he barks his shins. This program is a growing, living, breathing force in our civilization today. If we would grow as a country we must grow totally, in all sectors among all groups with no leftouts or castoffs or forgotten men and this legislation is vital to that kind of growth.

I recall a witness on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee before our Committee, who spoke in behalf of a project undertaken in migrant labor camps, not in the West but in the East—a project to try and develop leadership and family stability, health, hygiene and appreciation of human and community values. The worst fear the witness had—this diligent, devoted and selfless volunteer—was not that this project would fail or that it was too difficult. Her fear, well expressed, was that that particular project and other projects would be judged prematurely, rashly, and harshly by Congress. She feared that Congress, sensitive to criticism because we are supporting new, different, changing, and challenging undertakings would lose patience and faith and heart.

I would like to assure that person and all the thousands of workers, who are launched in this great national effort to bring dignity and respect to the families in the subcellars of society, that we will not lose heart nor judge this venture prematurely. This Nation has never lost any great crusade for freedom abroad and we certainly cannot afford to think in terms of losing the crusade against conquerable poverty and deprivation within our domestic borders.

I think it is time we looked at the objectives we have already gained and it will become clear that not only do we know what we are doing and where we are going but for the first time in the history of mankind the dream of equal opportunity will in this century be a realization.

Remember that some of these objectives were considered insurmountable less than a year ago and then look at our achievements at this early hour.

Here, in part, is the record to date:

Some 1,735,000 persons have been aided directly and 2,080,000 indirectly by the following:

More than 824 grants totaling over \$152 million have been made for community action programs in 50 States. In testing whether the grass roots of our country are receptive to this program consider that every one of these community action programs originated and is operated at a local level, a level of community initiative not Federal subvention.

Job Corps started nationwide recruiting on January 1 this year. In the first 40 days, 123,000 young people applied and the total is now over 304,000 with 48 centers already in operation. Here is the answer to those who said that adolescents and teenagers could not be motivated and energized to seek training work disciplines and improve themselves. We owe it to these applicants to make the funds available to open enough camps, provide enough teachers and counselors so that no applicant is turned away and every enrollee receives the best possible education and training. Keep in mind that the total Job Corps applications are five times the size of our combat strength in South Vietnam and you will be forced to agree that this is a manpower potential we cannot, dare not, neglect. We must make certain that no applicant is turned away and every individual's potential is developed and that is why we need an extended and expanded Opportunity Act at this time.

Project Head Start is not only off and running, its progress is lengths ahead of our most extravagant hopes. Over 2,300 grants have established 13,345 classes to enable 516,000 children to enter preschool programs this summer. Without reservation or hesitation I submit to the members of this committee that this program, dovetailed with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 could be the most important educational undertaking of this generation. Let me cite just a few significant aspects of this new dawn of learning for needy children.

First. Not only the children are involved but the parents who were resigned to seeing their children lag behind others in school are participating in the

centers. Even more impressive is the fact that elderly persons are engaged in these activities through the grandparents for progress activities in preschool programs which have been initiated in many communities.

This involvement of the elderly is most important when we consider that 27 percent of our impoverished population are over 65 and more than half of all our citizens over 65 have incomes below the level of dignified existence.

I cite this detail on the elderly again to emphasize the span and scope of our undertaking to bring economic well-being to those most in need.

Second. In another context Project Head Start confounded the cynics who feared and doubted that public and parochial school officials could work together without friction. In my city and in many States and other large cities the children of the poor are receiving devoted and effective care and instruction from public and nonpublic teachers and supervisors working together.

Third. The initiation of preschool activities with funds under the program has inspired and promoted State and local and private agencies to activate continuing Head Start programs. This is most important because at best our Federal support level even under the terms of this new legislation has afforded enough funds for summer month activity only. Clearly, however, on the basis of our experience and the results achieved, preschool education is needed year round and this bill will serve to assist communities in meeting that need through training and organizing teams to conduct such programs.

In a real sense it can be said that the effect of this act in many ways multiplies results far greater than the net worth of dollars invested.

This is because the activities of volunteers and voluntary agencies contributed and added to the Federal aid dollars extended and stretched these dollars to reach places and people who have been heretofore beyond aid and without help.

This is why it is important for us to continue to involve, to use, to encourage private voluntary agencies to participate in this campaign.

The dimensions of their value to this program can be estimated very easily when one considers that one agency alone, United Community Fund, annually distributes as much money to those in need as does this entire program at present levels. And I might add that officials and fundraisers in this type agency are paid on the average a great deal more than those who administer these Federal programs.

I would continue to recite our successes to date in work study, in small business, in neighborhood youth corps, aid to migrants and adult education, but other members of our committee have done a splendid job of spreading the story of these gains upon the record.

I should like to close by pointing to what is underway in my own city to demonstrate what this act means to urban areas.

Fortunately I do not need to recite the record at any great length because that good Republican newspaper, the New

York Herald Tribune, chronicled our New York status in a most complete way on Sunday, July 18, and I submit this account for the RECORD at this point, entitled "Ray of Hope Out of Cloud of Poverty," by Marshall Peck.

RAY OF HOPE OUT OF A CLOUD OF POVERTY
(By Marshall Peck)

A lack of 15 cents caused James Bennett to walk a mile to the subway the other day—that and a lot of hope.

Mr. Bennett, with a wife and three children, is on welfare—but he's on his way back.

James Bennett—World War II veteran, TB victim, on the welfare rolls since April 1964—heads one of New York's 317,000 families that live under the cloud of poverty. After serving with the Navy, he worked as an office clerk and an elevator operator. But in 1957, he was sidelined for a year with tuberculosis; bad health has plagued him since, and he has managed only occasional work as an elevator operator, a porter, a night watchman. He and his family live in four rooms on the fourth floor of a walk-up at the far end of Coney Island.

Something has become important on Bennett's horizon in the past month: A chance to learn a trade; a chance to pull himself out of the abyss life has shaped around him. Bennett didn't turn down the chance, and his effort can be offered as part of the picture, of what this country's antipoverty campaign is all about.

The Economic Opportunity Act, which last year launched the so-called war on poverty in this country, is designed to reclaim, revitalize, repair, renew. Its vast variety of programs involves children—in Head Start, for instance, teenagers in the Job Corps; and older men and women. One of the projects—the one that reached down and tapped James Bennett—offers the opportunity for a man to fight back, if he wants to.

Mr. Bennett, the morning he walked a mile to the subway, was on his way to courses in a city-funded \$2.2 million "fight back" program set up by the City Department of Labor and the Port of New York Authority. The purpose of the year-long training program is to train 6,000 men, the majority of them unemployed, in trades of work for which a demand by employers exists.

When the program started on June 7, at the Port Authority Building at 30 Church Street, there were 1,500 applicants for the 700 openings in the first class.

Those who could not be admitted for the first class will be accommodated later; currently, there are more than 2,000 waiting to get in the program.

During the course period—which may vary from 8 to 12 weeks, according to the trade—the enrollee continues to receive his regular unemployment or welfare benefits. Some provision is being made to remunerate men on welfare with travel and lunch expense money (an instructor, incidentally, loaned Mr. Bennett bus fare for the ride home).

Bennett is taking the course in air-conditioning repair and installation. Other courses include heavy vehicle driving, general maintenance, oil burner repair and installation, building and grounds sanitation, and gardening. There are 220,000 unemployed in New York City, but there are also 53,000 vacant jobs, many of them in these categories.

Indeed, there is much optimism that a large number of the first class, which starts being graduated on August 7, will be placed in jobs almost immediately. For example, the Kinney Service Corp. has pledged to hire the entire 100-plus men following the course in buildings and grounds sanitation. Representatives of other firms have been to the port authority to look for potential employees.

"This is a challenge to do something practical, to learn by doing," said James J. McFadden, acting labor commissioner. "The big thing is that it gives a man a chance to break the relief chain."

At the port authority, which has been offering these courses to employees in the past, the program is supervised by Thomas J. Riley. The second and sixth floors are given over to bang and clatter training and to classes in remedial English and mathematics.

A city official pointed out, that if 2,000 of the 6,000 men taking the course this year are from the welfare list and are placed in jobs and have been receiving for their family an average relief check of \$250 a month, it would mean a reduction of \$6 million in annual payments.

Of course, the primary way that this official and others look at the program is in the terms of the men who have availed themselves. They make their way to class, some not able to afford lunch, because they are men who may have been knocked down but don't intend to stay that way.

TASK FORCES IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

Despite confusion and delays, caused by controversy about the structure and control of the antipoverty program, New York City has been able to inaugurate a number of projects aimed at helping the poor and disadvantaged. The following is a situation chart of the major projects that are now underway. There are 14 programs which are earmarked for Federal grants totaling \$29,678,536. In addition, \$12,174,177 has been committed by the city for some 50 programs. Haryou-Act, the Harlem community organization, is the only social action group to be directly financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington with Federal funds. Some programs pool State and city moneys. The projects listed here have been approved for grants of more than \$500,000 from either the Federal Government or New York City, and the figures are for a 1-year period, unless otherwise noted (as in the case of summer programs). Some projects have been underway since last fall; others are still organizing.

Community action program

Objective: The organization of 6 community progress centers in the areas considered the neediest of the 16 neighborhoods designated as poverty targets. The centers will provide actual employment for 10,200 poor and services to more than 55,000 persons. Community committees will act as the boards of directors of the centers. The CAP will also prepare for the election of target population representatives to the New York City Council Against Poverty.

Present status: It is anticipated that at least three centers will open before September 1. Plans are now underway for formation of community committees and for broadening of the council to include 32 members of the poor. Several hundred community groups have applied for funding for neighborhood projects as part of the CAP.

Who's in charge: Economic Opportunity Committee, the operational arm of the New York City Council Against Poverty.

Budget: \$9,183,616 in Federal funds.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

Objective: The creation of 17,200 jobs for young people, 16 to 21, this summer.

Present status: Nearly 10,000 now employed in variety of tasks in city agencies, or non-profit voluntary agencies. Pay is \$1.25 an hour for a 30-hour week.

Who's in charge: Economic Opportunity Committee.

Budget: \$9,156,310 in Federal funds.

Project Head Start

Objective: Preschool training for 2 months for 25,675 children from slum areas, with emphasis on close contact with parents. Included are complete medical examinations

and treatment where necessary. The 5- and 6-year-old children get free lunches and recreational activities aimed at educational and cultural enrichment.

Present status: Nearly 26,000 children are enrolled in program that started July 6. They meet in 280 centers located in public and parochial schools, settlement houses and other locations in the 16 poverty-target areas.

Who's in charge: Economic Opportunity Committee.

Budget: \$4,759,000 in Federal funds (New York City advanced \$1 million to enable many agencies to get started without waiting for Federal funds).

Summer crash program

Objective: Summer activities ranging from recreational camps for 11,200 children, to cultural programs, training projects and home management assistance geared for older children, teenagers and adults.

Present status: The 34 agencies involved now are tooling up for actual operation. It is expected that children will start departing for camps in 1 week.

Who's in charge: Coordinated by the Community Council of Greater New York, under direction of the EOC.

Budget: \$2,368,870 in Federal funds. (New York City has advanced \$750,000 while awaiting Federal funds.)

New York Medical College Institute for Developmental Studies

Objective: To attempt to reverse the effects of social disadvantage or deprivation through a 5-year experimental and demonstration program by offering a special curriculum in courses covering five age groups, from pre-kindergarten through third grade.

Present status: The program was started in 1962 through private funding. It has enrolled 1 successive class each year and now has 400 children.

Who's in charge: New York Medical College Institute of Developmental Studies.

Budget: \$558,480, in Federal funds.

Harlem Youth Unlimited program

Objective: To offer young people their own social action program, covering eight general areas; personnel, fiscal, legal, community action, community services, arts and culture, business enterprise, and public relations.

Present status: About 1,500 enrolled in 35 units.

Who's in charge: Haryou-ACT.

Budget: \$597,276 in city funds and \$82,839 in Federal funds.

Occupational job training program

Objective: The training of heretofore unemployable young boys and girls, 16 to 21, and providing them with skills through on-the-job-training in a number of job categories, including household appliance and refrigeration repair, auto body work, hair-making (wigs), cabinetmaking, shoe repair.

Present status: There are 145 now engaged in on-the-job training work through arrangements with business organizations.

Who's in charge: Haryou-ACT.

Budget: \$567,000 in Federal funds.

Project uplift

Objective: Engaging youngsters in purposeful activities through a 10 week summer crash training program that will fulfill some of Harlem's needs. Projects envisioned call for tree planting, creation of miniature parks by the cleaning up of debris-ridden empty lots, repair and refurbishment work where it can be used, and assistance in tenant and block organization by older participants.

Present status: To date, 2,500 persons are enlisted. Young adults, 22 to 25 years old, can earn up to \$80 a week as supervisors in sports and city day camps that will serve 16,000 children. Those in the 14 to 21 age group earn \$1.25 an hour. Handling parts of the program are the Urban League, Associated Community Teams, the Harlem

Neighborhood Association, and the Harlem Action Committee.

Who's in charge: Haryou-ACT.

Budget: \$2.1 million in Federal funds.

Arts and sciences

Objective: To instill cultural awareness in Harlem youth and develop their talents in the arts. Program helps find jobs.

Present status: About 700 young people are involved in courses in the dance, drama, fashion and design, film and sound, newspaper work, band music, culture.

Who's in charge: Haryou-ACT.

Budget: \$452,000 from the city and \$82,735 in Federal funds.

New York City Department of Labor—Port of New York Authority training program

Objective: The training through a 1-year program of 6,000 men who are on welfare or who are unemployed, and at end of training periods placing them on jobs. Training includes heavy vehicle driving, oil burner and air-conditioning maintenance, custodial, and gardening work.

Present status: There were 1,500 applicants for enrollment, and 700 are now taking courses in the first training period. After they leave, other applicants will be received throughout the year.

Who is in charge: Port of New York Authority, under responsibility of city labor department.

Budget: \$1,836,167 in city funds.

College discovery program

Objective: To help students, disadvantaged by socioeconomic circumstances, whose teachers in high school believe they have potential beyond their grades because of interest and motivation.

Present status: The program was started in 1964 with State funds, and 210 young people entered community colleges of the City University of New York. The program will be doubled this year.

Who is in charge: City University of New York.

Budget: \$1 million from New York State and \$500,000 in city funds.

My whole thesis on what this means in my city can be summed up in this observation: Last year in July we had riots, violence, desperation, and disorder all over our city. This year thankfully thus far we have had no such recurrence. Maybe it is not out attention to the poor and community action that is bringing peace in some way to my town but we must be doing something right and if the war on poverty is that something I am going to support it with faith and hope.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and six Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. EDWARDS].

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, I regret that I must rise in opposition to H.R. 8283 since the goal of the poverty program is one that I share, but the bill now before us is possibly the worst example of an ill-conceived attempt at buying votes by a Federal giveaway program.

In an attempt to secure some information about this program, the Republican task force on economic opportunity held 5 days of hearings which began on June 8 and ended on June 17.

On June 9 the task force heard from Carl H. Madden, director of the depart-

ment of economic research of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Dr. Madden's statement was an eloquent repudiation of H.R. 8283, which would double funds for the hastily contrived programs administered by the OEO. Dr. Madden's statement was almost identical to the one which he had submitted to the House Committee on Education and Labor and it was meant to be placed into the record of the brief hearings held by Chairman POWELL, but it was, perhaps inadvertently, left out of the published materials.

Dr. Madden explained that the chamber had cautioned against hasty enactment of this legislation when it was first proposed last year, since there were and still are serious gaps in our knowledge and understanding about poverty in America. Despite the fact that this program will have a very large impact on the lives of many of our citizens, the vote-buying power of the proposals was apparently so strong that the half-baked program was rushed through the last Congress—unfortunately, without heeding past mistakes in similar programs. The Congress was promised a full review of this program for the 89th Congress, but all we got was a picture book, glossing over any attempts at constructive discussion.

The chamber's opposition to the bill in the last Congress and Dr. Madden's serious reservations about the bill now before us do not imply in any way that the business community regards the problem of poverty as insignificant. According to Dr. Madden, the business community is indeed concerned, as witnessed by the impressive list of experts contacted by the chamber's study group on the subject, but the chamber advocates greater use of existing Federal programs to fight poverty until the problem is better understood. Doubling of funds only doubles mistakes and may actually reduce understanding. Since the 10 or 11 programs under OEO's direction established new social institutions, which manipulate the lives of people by their very nature, the war on poverty must proceed with care and discretion.

A great many problems have been uncovered by our task force hearings in a brief 5 days. Work-training programs are encouraging some youngsters to drop out of school; Job Corps camps are the scenes of riots; and continuous administrative bickering over who owns them is the only way in which the poor are being involved. The task force believes that more information is necessary about the successes and failures of prior campaigns. I repeat, doubling the funds for programs already in trouble leads only to an escalation of these difficulties.

Since I come from a State where 40 percent of all families have incomes below \$3,000, I am indeed anxious to see victory over poverty. Yet, I question whether programs involving tight bureaucratic Federal control are an efficient way to do this. Local authorities who are much closer to the problem and are politically responsive to the needs of their people are the ones who should have a major share of the responsibility and, therefore, also the control. They should

not be bypassed and all decisions left to the OEO office in Washington. I firmly believe that effective antipoverty programs cannot be conducted by a centralized bureaucracy, which is isolated from the problem and, in particular, by a part-time Administrator.

I do believe that poverty can be eliminated and the distress of the poor alleviated. Since the Federal Government classifies almost a quarter of my constituents as poor, my personal concern is strengthened by my political responsibility. However, I am sure that the vicious cycle of poverty for my constituents will never be broken by the present program.

A more correct approach to the solution of the poverty problem may involve some of the programs presently advocated by House Republicans and other concerned citizens. The education tax credits, extension of the work-study program, and technical assistance to States are the cornerstones upon which a meaningful poverty program might be built. Furthermore, I believe that the surest cure for the disease of poverty is vigorous economic growth in the private sector. We should not give up on free enterprise which has done the job so well in the past.

In short, I am as eager as anyone for a constructive program to alleviate the conditions under which a sizable part of our Nation's families must live. I am, however, opposed to doubling the authorization for a program which was built on false premises, hastily concocted, and is now being administered without any regard to local sensibilities. I believe very strongly that the solution lies in the greater utilization of the private sector and not in huge Federal giveaway programs that are constructed by using plans drawn up on the basis of political expediency, rather than economic efficiency. Therefore, I regret that I must oppose H.R. 8283.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. In light of the gentleman's comment with regard to doubling the program, is the gentleman aware of the fact that the authorization asked for in the amendments now pending before this body would do nothing more than maintain, and perhaps not fully, the present level of spending, without increasing the size or magnitude of a single program presently conceived and in operation at the local level?

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. We have been told that but it appears from the way we are beginning that next year we will be told that we will need \$4 billion in order to do the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. I thank the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I might point out that a tremendous amount of the money that was appropriated for the fiscal year we have passed, fiscal year 1965, was incurred, was obligated but it was not spent. That money will be spent in this coming fiscal year. The authorization provided for in this bill if it is fully

appropriated would be on top of that amount. So it is not \$1.9 billion about which we are talking that could be spent in fiscal year 1966, but it is also the money that has been obligated but not spent for fiscal year 1965 as well. The figures I have received from OEO are as follows:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Fiscal summary of obligations

[Thousands of dollars]

	Fiscal year program	Incurred to June 19, 1965	Incurred to June 30, 1965	Unobligated balances
Direct programs:				
Job Corps.....	183,000	173,000	178,950	4,050
Community action program.....	240,100	196,899	236,819	3,281
Migratory agricultural workers.....	15,000	11,739	14,945	55
VISTA program.....	3,200	2,507	2,750	450
General direction and administration.....	6,500	4,906	6,291	209
Total direct programs.....	447,800	389,310	439,755	6,045
Delegated programs:				
Working training, Labor.....	132,500	125,205	132,142	358
Work study, HEW.....	56,000	31,417	55,088	912
Rural areas, FHA.....	25,700	18,296	20,150	5,550
Work experience, HEW.....	112,000	81,592	111,983	17
Adult literacy, HEW.....	19,000	2,692	4,438	14,562
Total delegated programs.....	345,200	259,202	323,801	21,499
Total OEO programs.....	793,000	648,512	763,556	29,444

NOTE.—The fact that so much of the funds have so recently been incurred indicates that they will actually be spent after July 1, 1965.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. I should like to correct the RECORD. The statement made by the gentleman from Minnesota is entirely incorrect and not at all in keeping with the facts of the matter.

In my own State of Michigan I can demonstrate numerous programs which have been approved and which are awaiting the new authorization because the funds for the carrying out of the programs have been exhausted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has again expired.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI].

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to get into any dialog with my colleague on the committee who criticized the Chicago program.

The record will show that Chicago today has the best antipoverty program in this country. We have seven community action centers actually operating. We have 20,000 youngsters in Head Start. We have utilized every aspect of this program.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the Chicago program will stand up to any test that anyone wants to offer.

Mr. Chairman, my purpose in discussing this bill today is to discuss the part which deals with the elderly people in this program. We frequently get the impression that the President's anti-

poverty program is directed primarily at young people, certainly, because problems have been most acute among the young people.

President Johnson, in announcing this program, said it was his great hope we might be able to make some dent in the tragic trend of one generation after another of Americans remaining in poverty. So, quite understandingly and properly, the main crux of this program has been at the young people, but I want my colleagues to know that the Office of Economic Opportunity regards the plight of the aged poor as a matter of highest priority. It has taken steps both to implement its own attack on their severe and only partially resolved problems, and to lend its weight to major, existing programs.

The OEO has shown itself acutely conscious of the fact that one-third of our citizens over 65 are poor. At a time when, by any humane standard, these men and women should be free of harassing and debilitating problems—free to enjoy peace of mind based on secure leisure or constructive work within their capacities—they are as troubled—more troubled—than in the days of their prime.

The OEO, I understand, has accepted a triple role in helping to solve their problems:

First, initiating and conducting programs based on analysis of the problems peculiar to the aged poor;

Second, seeing to it that the elderly are not slighted in the existing community action programs now functioning in more than 600 cities and counties throughout the nation;

And third—keeping these citizens informed of those benefits available to them under all existing legislation. So far, no study has been made, to my

knowledge, of the number of these elderly persons who know vaguely of all such legislation designed to help them. I venture to guess the number is small. Because of incapacity, many cannot get down to the corner drugstore for a newspaper, or even lack the bus fare to get to the office where they can be served. Then there are the additional hindrances of having to fill out applications, long waits in the office, and the long waiting thereafter for help to arrive.

Here is how the poverty war is going to attack the problems of the elderly.

Along with the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, it will launch within the next few weeks what is known as the foster grandparents program. This program will employ poor persons, 55 and older, to help care for infants and young children in charity wards, institutions for abandoned and neglected children, in pediatric and general hospitals. These institutions house tens of thousands of healthy but neglected youngsters. The OEO proposes to find and to finance jobs for the elderly to help care for, and to stimulate the minds of, these children. I believe this program will open an opportunity to a substantial number of the aged poor to supplement their meager incomes to a point where they can at least hold the line against poverty, while giving them simultaneously a sense of worth in helping solve a very serious social problem.

A second program is also soon to be implemented—one designed to help the chronically ill and physically disabled by sending elderly visitors to homes of shut-ins, making life a little more cheerful for them while providing useful work for the visitors. The elderly can provide such services as shopping, cleaning, cooking, and make it possible to keep scores out of institutions. A demonstration project along these lines has been funded in Baltimore—a project providing help for the chronically ill over 60. Johns Hopkins University Hospital, the University of Maryland Hospital, the city hospitals, the Department of Public Health, and the Visiting Nurses Association—all are cooperating.

Of course, the deep substantive effort for the elderly poor must continue to be made by the social security program with its new medicare provisions, the omnibus housing bill, the grants involved in the Older Americans Act, and others. But the antipoverty program is now ready to supplement these measures with concrete and dynamic programs.

This is not a babysitter project but rather a sincere effort to make maximum use of the excellent help we can get from America's senior citizens in raising the standards of impoverished children.

In Chicago alone, we need today 70,000 foster homes to help these unfortunate youngsters—the senior citizens contemplated in this project will not provide foster homes but they will provide the next best thing—guidance for these youngsters in public institutions on a part-time basis.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN].

(Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

MR. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, earlier in this debate reference has been made to the fact that the primary problems of the War on Poverty are due to the partisan politics involved in the administration of the program. It has also been suggested that anyone criticizing the program is doing so for purely partisan political reasons. Mr. Chairman, I want to bring this type of comment to a screeching halt because I am personally convinced that no benefits will accrue to the program or the Congress generally by a continuance of this type of remark or reference.

I would make this observation, however, that I believe every Member of this House has a continuing responsibility to oppose that which he or she feels is not in the best interests of this country's progress and in particular to see that our taxpayer and constituent interests are protected. If the day ever comes when we are not permitted to constructively criticize any part of the Federal Government's vast operations. God help us.

While many people may be back here for the sole purpose of rubberstamping every legislative proposal of the administration, I want to make it perfectly clear that I shall never yield my right to forthrightly present an opposing point of view. Conversely, I will be among the first to support and praise a program when I think it serves the best interests of all our people. I believe my record will bear this out.

For many of us who serve on committees other than the Education and Labor Committee, our only opportunity to hear comment on the poverty program comes from constituent correspondence or some of the committee reports. However, in order to better inform myself on this vital subject, I was asked and subsequently consented to serve on a special study committee formed to evaluate and hear testimony from people throughout the country who were becoming disenchanted with the administration of the program. Briefly, I would like to offer a few of the observations made.

First, let me say there are some very fine and dedicated people who are working diligently to improve the lot of underprivileged people throughout the Nation. They were working before this so-called war on poverty program was established and I am convinced they will be working toward the same goals long after this program either ceases or is revised because this is the kind of people they are. Quite frankly the great volunteer organizations of this Nation have been the backbone of the outstanding humanitarian efforts which truly represent what is great about America—the unselfish devotion to help our fellowman in time of need. I like to think that I have made some small contribution to the advancement of a number of these programs in the communities of my residence.

Secondly, I am going to say there has been a considerable amount of good in this program, because if one is honest and realistic, I believe there is good to be found in any program and this is no

exception. The thing that does concern me and I know many of my colleagues is how sensitive the proponents of this legislation are to criticism or offers of amendments to improve the bill.

If any program at any level of government cannot stand the test of committee scrutiny, that program is unworthy of the support of this Congress and should be stopped.

The members of the committee have expressed consistent displeasure with the lack of adequate committee hearings on all sections of the bill. Again, I believe it is the responsibility of this committee to hear all sides of what has developed into a controversial piece of legislation, thereby permitting the concerned citizenry to either praise or condemn the various sections of the bill. Apparently, the majority has not seen fit to do so, even though the Members of the Senate are asking that this be done. My colleagues, a price will be paid for the railroading of legislation through this House—a price in dollars wasted and a price in some of the improper sense of values being created by certain portions of the bill.

The Republican Task Force on Economic Opportunity, of which I am a member, has examined a number of the programs established under the Economic Opportunity Act. This brief examination reveals that the whole anti-poverty program is based on false premises. The program was enacted in haste, without careful consideration of the experience of existing programs, and with little regard for what the local authorities were trying to do. The desire to do something to help those who are living in poverty is one which I wholeheartedly share, but the poverty program as it now operates is not the answer. It would be extremely undesirable to double the funds for an as yet unproven program in which more flaws are appearing every day. For these reasons, I have grave reservations about lending support to the passage of H.R. 8283.

One of the task force witnesses, Rose Friedman, an economist from the University of Chicago, testified before us on June 10. In her statement, and in her book, "Poverty: Definition and Perspective," Mrs. Friedman stresses what is perhaps the most questionable assumption of the whole poverty program: The implicit acceptance of an unsuitable definition of poverty. Mrs. Friedman concludes that there is no objective criterion of poverty, because there is no objective and unchanging way to rank people according to their level of living, and no unambiguous way to draw a dividing line separating those in poverty from those who are not. Investigators have been driven to concentrate on the material standard of life; that is, the money value of the goods and services a family can acquire.

Unable to arrive at a true money value of these goods and services, these investigators have turned to the most elementary of the material needs of life. The \$3,000 definition of poverty which was presented in the 1964 report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers is implicitly based on food expenditures

as a criterion for defining poverty: The estimated cost of adequate nutrition derived by the Department of Agriculture was multiplied by an estimate of what part of a family's income is spent for food, ignoring the widely accepted fact that as income rises, the percentage spent on food goes down.

The acceptance of the \$3,000 criterion is misleading. The number of people considered to be living in poverty is grossly overestimated as a result of this definition of poverty which fails to take into account the size of family, regional differences, nonmoney income, or many other factors.

An even more important problem created by acceptance of the simple \$3,000 boundary is that the poor are misidentified, and programs are aimed at the wrong area. The community action programs and the Job Corps, for example, often ignore the basic problems such as making sure that large families have enough to eat, and that the children of large families are able to receive education. Adherence to the \$3,000 definition of poverty has already encumbered the operation of work-study programs set up under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The Economic Opportunity Act programs, aside from being based on misleading definition of poverty, have committed errors in bypassing local authorities and organizations. The projects have begun to replace existing agencies and church organizations without pausing to learn from their experience. Considerably more involvement of these long-standing, established agencies is called for, but the OEO bureaucracy has virtually ignored them. The bureaucrats who direct the OEO program do not have the knowledge or the understanding of local problems; they are making an irreparable mistake in ignoring past experiences and neglecting to profit from the expertise of local administrators.

Initiative is stifled and volunteer programs abandoned when poorly directed Federal money pours into an area. Who will continue to support the Salvation Army, when the Federal Government promises to perform all its functions without asking for local money or volunteers? The something for nothing idea of the EOA is appealing, but fatal to local initiative.

If we cannot reexamine the poverty program with an eye to correcting its flaws, at least we need not double our authorization to it to perpetrate these errors. Unless amendments are adopted to improve the bill, I shall have to oppose this legislation.

Today the gentlemen from California [Mr. BELL and Mr. ROOSEVELT] engaged themselves in a brief colloquy about certain veto powers to either be included or left out of this legislation.

As the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUAY] has so ably pointed out—the success of the program is entirely dependent upon the full cooperation of the local units of government, the States and the people involved in the actual poverty areas.

The gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] has charged that to grant the local unit of government a veto

power over this program would be like establishing a dictatorship. I now see why he was rejected by the voters of Los Angeles in the recent mayoralty primary—he just does not understand the workings of local government and in particular California's local government, which is generally recognized as nearly the best, if not the finest, in the United States.

All of these representatives, serving as councilmen and supervisors are elected, I repeat, elected to their respective offices. If this is a dictatorship, I think Mr. Webster's dictionary needs to be revised. This is truly representative government at the level closest to the people where the problems actually exist. They, too, have a responsibility to be concerned about the problems of their respective communities. Above all, these representatives of local government should have the maximum opportunity to have a say in any governmental program—if anyone is entitled to a veto power, it should be these elected officials, be they mayor, supervisor, or councilman. The Governor of each State should have a similar right in order to guarantee against a wasteful duplication of effort and money. One of the greatest dangers of this bill lies in the possible circumvention of local and State authorities. Every successful program thus far developed such as Vocational Education and the Manpower Development and Training Acts have provided this basic recognition of State and local government participation and responsibility. This program will not be successful unless this concept is recognized and included in the language of the bill.

As I have said before, one must praise segments of legislation if experience proves the overall benefits and success of a program to be worthwhile.

Without question, the so-called Project Headstart portion of the bill has received high praise in many sections of the country. This pleases me for two reasons.

First, this headstart concept is included in an education bill that I introduced, along with some of my Republican colleagues as an alternative to the administration's Federal aid to education and secondly, this concept had the endorsement and approval of our California Teachers Association. This again proves that worthwhile recommendations can stand up under the most careful scrutiny of any congressional committee, providing the committee has the unrestricted opportunity to work its will—free from partisan political bickering or steam-roller tactics.

The St. Petersburg problem heretofore referred to in this debate has developed some facts that suggest a thorough investigation by an appropriate committee of the Congress. In view of remarks made here today, some rather serious allegations have been made and it leads one to believe that certain aspects of the operations might properly come within the purview of Federal grand juries.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I want to make my position abundantly clear. I will vote for any program that has been carefully worked out by any congress-

sional committee that clearly recognizes the basic authority and responsibility of all levels of Government. My own committee on Public Works recently presented to this House the water pollution bill. This legislation, I am proud to say, was one of the few bills in the history of this Congress to pass unanimously. This should prove rather specifically that we practice what we preach.

It is very regrettable that the House Committee on Education and Labor has not seen fit to carry on its proceedings in a similar manner.

In order to have true representative government function at its best we must permit all Members to participate in the development of our legislation. There is no one Member of this Congress who knows all the answers to all problems. Real progress is born as a result of a clash of ideas—mutually dedicated to a common goal. This is the inherent objective of our great two-party system. Continued acceptance of this practice will always lead to success and political expedience, without proper checks, will lead to failure—our history is full of ill-advised attempts to circumvent the regularly established authorities of this Nation. I hope the Members will permit the Committee of this Whole House to work its will during the time for amendments. I thank the committee members for granting me this time to express myself on this measure.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, there are only a couple more speakers on this side. I should like to inquire of the gentleman from Minnesota whether he is ready to wind up general debate on this today. Any other speakers we have would certainly be willing to extend their remarks at this time.

I do not wish to delay the House or to hold Members here all night or anything like that. I thought perhaps we could reach some amicable conclusion of the general debate. I understand there are 21 amendments to be considered tomorrow under the 5-minute rule. I do not wish to be arbitrary about the time under the 5-minute rule tomorrow. I should like to allow plenty of time. I thought perhaps we could work out some amicable arrangement for ending the discussion today.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I promised these gentlemen an opportunity to speak today. I feel obligated to permit them to do so.

Mr. GIBBONS. So far as I am concerned, Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Minnesota will proceed and yield time for his people to speak, I will not impose on my colleagues.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN].

(Mr. BUCHANAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I am a member of the Manpower Utilization Subcommittee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee which, ably

chaired by the gentleman from North Carolina DAVID HENDERSON, has, I believe, already saved this country millions of dollars in its work, in taking a hard look at the executive side of this Government and recommending improvements in the use of personnel.

At a recent hearing we had before us officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Our primary witness was Mr. Jack T. Conway, its Deputy Director. In the course of that hearing I began a line of questioning which brought me into an area which gives me great concern.

Mr. Conway testified that among the other groups in the community action program of the war on poverty which are participating were church and other religious organizations. This represents only a tiny minority of the programs in existence.

For example, under the project Head Start program only some 86 out of 2,400 or 2,500 Head Start project grants were made to church or religious organizations. Doing away with this portion involving church and religious organizations in these government projects would in no way endanger the poverty program or limit it from the point of view of its most ardent supporters.

May I point out that in my State, out of some 62 Project Head Start programs, 38 are being handled by county or city boards of education, which seems to me entirely fitting and proper. Four are handled by individual schools, and 16 by civic groups, including three PTA groups. All of these are proper groups to administer such a program. But four of these projects are handled by church organizations. Only 4 out of some 62 I know of in my State are handled that way. I believe this to be typical around the country. This is a tiny minority, but one which gets us into an area in which it seems to me we are operating in direct conflict with the first amendment to the Constitution. I do not believe that this was the intent of the Congress in the passage of the act. There is nothing in the bill that I can find which would give leeway for the use of church organizations in dispensing Federal funds.

Such an arrangement means that either the church is acting as an agency of the Government and therefore coming under the Government, which is an improper arrangement for a church, or it means that Federal funds are being expended to carry on a church program with tax money.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Is the gentleman aware of the fact that the projects he is talking about are based on applications not made directly by the churches or any religious group but by a corporation chartered expressly for the purpose of carrying out the purposes for which the application is made? I might say to the gentleman that in my own State of Michigan there is such an organization of Protestant welfare groups and a Catholic welfare conference representing the Catholic churches which went to work and chartered just such a corpora-

tion. Is it not true that if we adopt the reason the gentleman is now putting forth, we would prevent these two fine organizations, representing the two principal religious groups in my State, from forming such a public corporation for the purpose of carrying on the migrant worker program?

Mr. BUCHANAN. May I say to the gentleman for 2,000 years the Christian church has operated without the assistance of taxpayers' money but with offerings from the hearts of people and works from the hands of people voluntarily given in caring for widows and orphans and carrying on programs of benevolence. May I say further that one of the greatest dangers to the church in our time is that it is losing its centrality and importance in our society because it is turning over such benevolent functions to secular organizations and the State.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. AYRES. For the benefit of the members of the Committee, I would like to say that the gentleman from Alabama now in the well speaks as an authority on the subject as one of the few ordained ministers in the House. I commend him for the thoroughness with which he has gone into this and for bringing it before the House, because it is a very, very serious question.

[Mr. HORTON addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Chairman, the war on poverty is not a slogan nor an objective. It is a number of federally financed programs administered variously by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Small Business Administration, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

No real understanding can be had of the various programs if they are lumped together in discussion, for they have little in common with each other.

I had the opportunity earlier this year to express my point of view before the Tri-County Long Island Labor-Management Institute, which is jointly sponsored by the Long Island Press in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

I fully agree with the objective of eliminating poverty in our Nation. I worked toward this end from my first day in Congress. But I did not in the name of antipoverty support programs that could not be demonstrated to have a reasonable chance to achieve their ends.

The resources of our Treasury and the patience of our taxpayers are limited. They should not be squandered nor wasted, but they should be utilized wisely, soundly, and where they will do the most good.

To put it graphically—if we load our cannon in this war with duds, then no matter how high and lofty our aim, we are sure to fail.

For example: The manpower retraining program, which I supported, had defined goals, and a system of achievement

spelled out in reasonable detail. It has produced results and will continue to do so.

On the other hand, the poverty program was literally thrown at Congress without proper committee study, and passed without deliberation. As a result the program contains more hope than substance and is a dangerous delusion.

Its noble aims are no answer to attacks being launched from all quarters upon it.

Its mistake is that while it is in the main an experimental program, it is financed as an operational one.

For example: The community action programs are not really programs but merely Federal financing for programs and should have been tried experimentally and developed in a few communities. This experience would have demonstrated the means to success and would have eliminated the causes of the failures.

Instead, we are simultaneously starting thousands of programs at the cost of billions of dollars. The frustration, confusion, and waste of funds that has resulted are inevitable.

There are those who justify this procedure because of the emergency nature of the poverty problem arising from its racial aspects. I agree that we should be bold and more daring because of this, but I believe it more dangerous in the long run to promise more than can be delivered, and the waste of our resources will embitter those who need help, and whose help we need the most.

Personally, my conscience is not eased nor is my sense of civic responsibility reassured by the spending of large amounts of tax dollars.

Rather, I am deeply disturbed by the daily recitation in the press of the struggle for control of the Federal dollars—an aspect that makes the war on poverty appear to be a civil war between the poor and the politicians.

I am confused by the argument over allowing the poor to run the programs when being poor is subject to changing bureaucratic definition, and when it is evident that immediately upon going to work for the poverty program, the poor person is no longer a member of the poverty-stricken group.

I am apprehensive of public reaction when I find that children of non-poverty-stricken parents will be allowed to attend free, federally financed nursery schools.

I question the wisdom of paying those who drop out of school to return because of the example it sets for those left behind on the borderline.

Last year when I raised these questions, mine was a lonely voice. Now that a chorus of dissent is being raised, I find no pleasure in adding to the din.

I want the program to succeed, and I do believe it can be of help. But it will fail if public confidence is undermined. This was the fate of the Area Redevelopment Administration.

I call now for a dimension to the program that is in keeping with our state of the art. The program should be of a size to be administered effectively. It should be treated as an experiment, and all groups should be given an opportunity to demonstrate how their programs will achieve results.

Politics and patronage must be totally excluded. Accountability must be maintained.

I am preparing an amendment which will call for an effective audit by the General Accounting Office of all Federal funds spent by private organizations and councils under this program. I intend to offer it on the floor when the bill is open for amendments under the rule.

I hope it will be adopted.

Our purpose must be to maintain public confidence in the program—for without public backing no war can be won.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, for evidence of how well this war on poverty is doing, I naturally look first to Rhode Island. And what I have seen there—what I have watched develop in just the past few months—is one of the most heartening and promising peacetime programs I have ever witnessed in my State.

For what I find there are not just tangible and immediate results—though those have been ample. I find that a process of progress has been set in motion, that there is an impetus toward far greater achievement in the future. I find that our communities have geared up to eradicate poverty from their midsts. I find that citizens of all interests and all walks of life have mobilized into active forces against this common enemy. I find them joined together in a special partnership dedicated to helping the poor and, by so doing, elevating the whole community.

A new spirit of initiative has come alive in this great movement of conscience. I take great pride in citing some of its achievements.

The Second Congressional District of Rhode Island has so far been granted well over \$3 million by the Office of Economic Opportunity. With these funds, first of all, a special program is underway to help school-age children—those from poor families who are potential dropouts—make a success of school. Some 5,500 of them have been or will be aided in projects that will run through next June.

Four of our communities have opened Project Head Start child development centers, where 720 children are being helped to get a good start in school next September. And the project is reaching a lot of adults, too—67 mothers of these children, all of them poor, are employed by the centers. About 50 other residents of the poverty areas are working as volunteer aids.

But of even broader significance are the funds the cities of Providence and Warwick have received for program development—grants that are helping them to identify their poverty problems and formulate a solid plan of attack.

Program development in Providence was an 8-month project, and it is almost completed. Long-range plans are about to be put into effect. Under the local antipoverty organization, called Progress for Providence, Inc., data has been collected and analyzed and used as a sound basis for plans. It will not be long now before the plans are converted into projects that will reach into the roots of poverty and weed it out.

Like Providence, Warwick has a program development organization that is

broadly representative of public and private agencies, various interest groups and—most importantly—the poor themselves. The Warwick group is called the Committee for Economic Opportunity, and like the Providence organization, it was responsible for the Head Start and other school projects.

There are other examples of how the war on poverty is affecting my district. There is the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which is keeping some 1,700 Providence youths employed, helping them to stay in school or teaching them job skills. There are the VISTA volunteers assigned to South Providence to expand the city's pioneering effort to improve the living conditions of families trapped in poverty.

We are being asked to authorize more than twice the original appropriations for this humanitarian war. By and large, this increase is not a new investment. It is not so much a matter of making a new commitment as simply keeping the old one.

The real commitment was made last year. We committed enough funds to put the staffs together, design the operation, lay the plans and make the rules, and finally to get the production lines rolling—producing opportunity for 35 million of our fellow citizens. And the demand for our product has been overwhelming.

But the question now is: will we keep the supply coming? After creating hope in America's needy millions, after having let them sample opportunity, will we move on to give them a full measure of what the program promised? Or will we disappoint them, as they have so often been disappointed in the past? Will we have raised their expectations, only to sink them under the weight of our own falling spirits?

We cannot and we will not. We must back up our initial investment with continued dedication to, and belief in, our great enterprise.

And I for one see no reason to hedge or waiver now. Indeed, there is every reason to believe the program has progressed beyond all reasonable expectations—in Rhode Island as throughout the country. A total of more than 3½ million poor people already benefited. And the faith of the Congress that the American people, given only the chance and the impetus, would join together in a massive demonstration of their wills to improve the plight of their less fortunate neighbors, is being vindicated.

The war on poverty is essentially a hometown fight by all citizens. Thus, to curtail it now, to arbitrarily weaken or slow it, would be a betrayal of all our people.

I feel that an increase in appropriations is fully justified—not only in the light of future promises, not only in the light of past accomplishments, but in the light of what past efforts promise in the way of future achievement. And in the light of the program's goals—the banishment of poverty from our land—an increase seems to me absolutely vital.

Mr. Chairman, let me add that my faith in the American people to implement this program is matched by my faith in the OEO to administer it well.

Under its dynamic director, Sargent Shriver, that agency has carried on a program that is prudent, practical, and purposeful. I have every confidence that it will continue to be so.

And so, Mr. Chairman, I do not hesitate to give my full support to the bill before us. And I urge my colleagues to join me in lining up to the commitment, and the promise, we made to America last year.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 8238, the bill to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The bill we passed last year establishing this novel and very worthwhile program carried an authorization for an appropriation for only 1 year. This legislation will authorize an antipoverty program of \$1,895 billion for another year. The Committee on Education and Labor points out in its report that the authorizations contained in the bill are estimated as sufficient to support the following program levels:

Job Corps 80,000 enrollees; Community Action, 1,100 grants in 700 communities; Volunteers In Service to America—VISTA—5,000 volunteers in 200 communities; Neighborhood Youth Corps, 300,000 teenagers in 500 communities, plus an additional 100,000 during the summer of 1966; college work-study, approximately 145,000 students in 1,300 colleges; adult basic education, 70,000 trainees in 50 States and 4 territories; work experience, 224,000 participants in 50 States and 4 territories; and rural loans, \$36,800,000 for 22,100 individual loans and \$8,200,000 for 410 co-op loans.

Mr. Chairman, I agree with the committee report that the war on poverty, although only 10 months old, has been well begun. The programs seem soundly conceived and the administration of it, while experiencing some growing pains, is being well and faithfully carried out by a very small but hard-working, zealous, and dedicated staff under the directorship of Sargent Shriver. I know that the poverty programs have been well received by all of the public and private social agencies in the communities of my congressional district. The cities of Springfield and Chicopee and the town of Palmer have made significant progress in establishing community action commissions, making applications for grants, and initiating programs available under this war-on-poverty legislation. Other communities in my district are now organizing their community action commissions and will soon arrive at the stage of formal applications submission. I have kept in close touch with these communities, their programs, and their progress, and given them every bit of assistance possible in launching their efforts in the war on poverty. I want to take this opportunity to thank Director Shriver and the members of his dedicated and overworked staff, and the staffs of the separate agencies participating in the antipoverty programs, such as Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, for their fine cooperation and courtesy extended to me and my office staff in checking out programs, policies

and applications so that we can be of assistance to the communities of the Second District of Massachusetts in the war on poverty.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to support this authorization so that this antipoverty program can continue to help people help themselves.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, every so often, perhaps once in a generation, the American people are joined together in a cause so universal, so unquestionably worthy, that it transcends all boundaries of race, religion, political affiliation, social status, and economic interest. Such a cause, I believe, is the war on poverty. I do not know of any peacetime effort that has so engrossed so many of our people, from so wide a range of backgrounds and interests.

And so, when we consider this year's bill to conduct this great campaign, let us remember this: the concerns of Americans on all levels—not just of the poor themselves—are at stake.

We know this program is not just a Government effort. We know it cannot be, without falling into the same bottomless pit that has consumed so many other welfare projects. The fact that poverty is still shockingly with us indicates the need for a new approach. And the approach called for—by the Economic Opportunity Act and by our common humanity—is a joining of hands and resources, public and private.

Now, this is being done on a grand and inspiring scale. But it seems to me that so much attention has been given public efforts, the work of the private sector has been overshadowed and overlooked. We have failed to give due credit to a vital ally in this struggle.

I am speaking of American business and industry. In a recent article, the renowned columnist, Miss Sylvia Porter, gave credit where credit is due. She shed light on a facet of this tremendous national undertaking that has been obscured too long.

She gives a few poignant examples of what the private sector is doing. Such as:

The American Optometric Association has offered the services of its 12,000 members to both Project Head Start preschoolers and Job Corps enrollees. It will provide free eye exams and glasses to thousands of these youngsters.

The communications media—newspapers, magazines, TV, radio, billboards—have contributed \$8 million of free publicity to promote the poverty program's Job Corps, Head Start and VISTA volunteer projects.

Five great industries are running urban Job Corps centers on a very slim margin of profit—far below what they might expect on normal investments. And one of them—Ford—has donated \$20,000 worth of equipment for training auto mechanics.

Industry's involvement in the war on poverty is thorough; industrialists are setting up business leadership advisory councils to work with Government-sponsored antipoverty programs; the American Bankers Association has created a bankers council on economic opportunity; chambers of commerce are

studying local poverty conditions and needs; the New York Stock Exchange will hire Job Corps graduates, despite the lack of the usual educational requirements; individual businessmen are lending their special talents to their community programs, joining with other segments of the community in this united campaign.

Corporations across the country are opening job opportunities to young people trained by the war on poverty. And they are spending billions on their own training and retraining programs.

All in all, industry's private war on poverty is costing some \$17 billion a year—or more than half of what government on all levels is spending to help the poor.

All these efforts deserve the highest commendation. It is obvious that industry is doing more than merely cooperating in a Government program. It is assuming leadership in a program that depends on the resources of all segments of our Nation for success. And it is proving once again that it can and will respond to the Nation's needs—freely and generously.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has recognized industry's contributions. And they have emphasized that the war on poverty is doomed without the support of the private sector.

It is crystal clear that such support is being given. And with this kind of stability, this kind of balance, the program has proved itself worthy of our continued enthusiasm.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, the so-called Bell amendment would destroy the concept of community action as created by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and since the object of the amendment is to destroy that concept it is fitting to refresh the minds of the Members here as to the relevant purposes of that concept.

The community action program was to draw upon all resources of the community both public and private, both from persons experienced in sociological difficulties in poverty and from the groups to be served by this legislation. It was the intention of title IIA to carry out a multifaceted coordinated attack on the interrelated causes of poverty. The attack was to be comprehensive. And the attack was to make use of the agencies, private as well as public, who had gained experience with the problem under attack through long years of attempting to deal with it.

This task has been undertaken. Where the concept has been followed the community action concept has been confirmed as a proper objective. The difficulty thus far has not been with the concept of community action but with conformity with that concept.

Having stated this, the deficiencies of the Bell amendment will be apparent. It will make the elimination of poverty in these communities more expensive. First, by eliminating the partnership of private resources in combatting poverty, and secondly, by disregarding the efforts of the groups served by this legislation in helping themselves. In other words, the amendment would permanently damage

the tri-partite partnership of the resources which are waiting to be called forth for the eradication of poverty.

It may be argued that despite the fact that the mayors and county boards may veto these programs, the private agency will still have a role to perform. However, it is less likely that they will engage freely in these programs when they may be frustrated at every turn by Government officials, when an overall limitation on their actions may be imposed by politicians not favoring these groups. Indeed, experience has shown that municipal government has a tendency to desire complete control of these programs under the present act as it is on the books and to exclude the partnership and participation of private agencies and the residents of the areas and members of the groups served unless they have such control. This is wasteful of funds and personnel anxious to help the poor and waiting to be called forward, experienced by years of trying to end the misery of poverty.

There is an additional problem of what might be termed rural confusion or chaos. A number of geographic areas throughout this country are so sparsely populated as to prevent the formation of a community action program under any form of a local centralized governing body. One community action program in Louisiana encompasses six parishes. Southern Georgia and northern Florida each have multicounty community action programs. The need for such spread out community action programs are evident when we consider the fiscal responsibility of making each community action program worth its investment. It would be financially unfeasible to expend large sums of money in administrative costs for a program that would encompass relatively few people. Therefore, we must of necessity in many cases take more than one county or parish in a State and combine these sparsely populated areas so that we can reach enough people in a community action program to make the investment profitable. When such a situation arises, we quite logically will be dealing with multiple political subdivisions at the county and local levels. To adopt the Bell amendment would be to draw these programs into hopeless confusion. There would be no way of determining whether the city council, city manager, city mayor, county manager, county mayor, or any other city or county or groups of city or county governing heads would have the right to veto such a program.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to express my support for the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965. I had the privilege of serving on the Committee on Education and Labor in the 88th Congress, and of participating in a small way in the development of the act as it was passed last year. Because of a long-standing concern for the problems of adult education, I was particularly pleased and honored to be the primary author of the Adult Basic Education Act of 1964, which, although not passed in its original form, was incorporated into the Economic Opportunity Act as title II-B.

I would, therefore, like to say a few words about the operation of this phase of our war on poverty in the United States.

Of all the causes of poverty, none is more serious than the lack of a basic education. The adult basic education program is designed to provide an elementary level education for the 11½ million adults of our country who have less than a sixth grade education. Instruction, under this program, emphasizes mastering of the fundamental skills of reading, writing, speaking, and basic arithmetic. Course content for teaching these skills includes such adult experiences as getting and keeping a job, consumer buying practices, health habits, relationships with other members of the family and community, homemaking, and citizenship responsibilities.

U.S. Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, in a statement made before the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the Poverty War Program of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, April 30, 1965, said of this program:

A beginning step has been taken on what will be a long journey. I am delighted to say that the enthusiasm of the people for this program at all levels has exceeded our most optimistic expectations. We have plenty of poor people wanting to enter this program and I might add that the overwhelming majority of our participants are from the miserably poor.

When the adult basic education program was established, the goal set for fiscal year 1965 was 37,500 participants in all 50 States and the several territories. With only eight States actually operating programs as of June 21, 1965, the enrollment has reached 30,000 in these eight States alone and by June 30, was expected to have 39,000 adults enrolled. In North Carolina alone, there are 15,000 currently enrolled in the ABE program. All of this has taken place in less than 4 months after the first adult basic education programs were made available.

A brief boxscore of accomplishments so far under the adult basic education is revealing.

Adult basic education boxscore (As of June 21, 1965)	
Number of State plans approved.....	39
Number of State plans pending approval.....	6
Total.....	45
Number of participants.....	29,880
Number of staff (Federal) recruited.....	21
Number of teachers trained by the States (estimated).....	3,000
Number of teacher trainers trained at 3 nationwide institutes (held at the University of Maryland, University of New Mexico, University of Washington) (estimated).....	120
Number of State programs funded.....	13

A superintendent of schools in Boone County, N.C., recently summed it up by saying:

A bootstrap adult basic education program in my county is serving as a working example to many other small communities that good adult education classes need not always be located in the larger cities and towns. Cooperation with local, civic, business, and education groups; dedicated leadership; and the full use of all available State and Federal funds have enabled this program—with-

out a single pencil, desk, teacher, or director in 1961—to become a showcase for the entire State.

The development of adequate State plans is a time-consuming process. It requires the involvement of local persons in the planning who are familiar with the problems of illiteracy. The State plan is required to reflect the needs as determined by the local communities and the States. Consequently, when a State plan finally is developed, there has been thorough involvement of persons and agencies at all levels within the State. Characteristically, it is this very involvement procedure buttressed by careful planning and teacher training that will in the very near future allow the adult basic education program to accelerate at a much swifter rate the number of people being served by programs at the local level.

The States with approved adult basic education plans involve commitments of fiscal year 1965 allotments totaling \$17,215,041. With the 1966 appropriation and the carryover of the fiscal year 1965 funds in the States and territories with approved plans, we expect a minimum of 105,000 adults to be enrolled in adult basic education classes throughout the Nation in the current fiscal year.

Recent information from many State Departments of Education attests to the tremendous need for this program and the great effort being expended to reach and teach those unfortunate masses who are effectively shut out of the American mainstream because of their inability to read and write. To cite only a few instances of progress:

First. In Hawaii this week 1,000 persons are registered in 86 adult basic education classes. For the first time ever, summer classes have been made possible.

Second. In Kentucky, total State enrollment from April to June of this year reached 7,650 persons. In the 19-county Appalachian area project, 4,715 adults were enrolled in basic education classes in cooperation with title V, work experience, program. On July 14, recognition day was held in Floyd County for the 635 enrollees whose classes recently ended. Over 300 of these enrollees were totally illiterate. At a cost of only 46 cents per clock hour, these individuals have achieved gains in grade ranging from .5 to 4.8 grade levels with only 150 hours of instruction.

Third. New York City expected to have 250-275 classes beginning July 6, averaging 15 people each. The city will add an additional 200 hours of instruction in English for their Spanish-speaking population in advance of adult basic education, because experience has proved this training to be necessary.

It hardly seems possible that this great Nation of ours can afford any longer to ignore or short change the millions of adults in our society who are unemployed and unemployable and who represent, therefore, a tremendous drag on our economy. We are paying the cost of limited educational attainment of a large segment of our population in terms of unemployment, low levels of trainable adults, decline in the strength of the family structure, and reduction of par-

ticipation in the political institutions of our great country.

Funds provided through title II-B of the Economic Opportunity Act in fiscal year 1965 have helped develop an organizational structure, an expertise, and a procedure for attacking the problem. Public school educators have become aware of the pockets of illiteracy all around them. True it is that the 30,000 persons reached so far and the 105,000 who will be reached in fiscal year 1966 are only a beginning attack on the big problem ahead of us. But with sufficient funds it is possible for this, the richest nation in the world, to begin on the long road that will lead to making our country 96 or even 98 percent functionally literate. We have the resources and we know the goal.

We believe there is now a national will to do that recognizes that, to make even a minimal impact on the total problem, the Federal Government should aim to reach effectively no less than 5 million illiterates in the next 10 years.

A firm foundation for the Adult Basic Education Program has been built. Let us proceed now to construct a plan for the future that will substantially conquer our illiteracy problem throughout this great country.

I would be remiss in not concluding by pointing out the great benefit which this part of the Economic Opportunity Act confers upon my own State of California. We are a great State—now the largest in the Union in terms of population—because of a great influx of new citizens who constantly enter our portals.

Many of these new residents are from our sister Republic of Mexico, and other Latin American countries, and are immediately faced with a language barrier and a cultural barrier—of which language is a major part. They are not literate in the English language, although they may be skilled and hardworking citizens who have an adequate mastery of their own tongue. The Adult Basic Education provisions of this legislation will make it possible to take great strides toward meeting the needs of these adults and, by virtue of this, to ease the impact of acculturation on them and upon their children.

Similarly, we are experiencing a great migration of citizens from other States—particularly from the South—and, in many cases, these citizens are undereducated, from rural backgrounds, with many problems of adjustment to an urban culture. Adult Basic Education will provide an opportunity which has implications and results far greater than merely teaching an adult the basic skills of reading and writing.

It has been found over and over again that it is the children from families where the parents do not read and write, where books are a rarity, and where there is little regard for the learning process, who become the problem children in our schools. These are the ones who become dropouts, delinquents, or welfare cases.

California has had more than her share of this kind of problem. Despite her great resources and high standards of education the State has not been able to conquer that problem. So it has been

that the help offered by the Economic Opportunity Act will be, if anything, of greater benefit to California than to many of the more economically depressed States of the Union.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that my colleagues will join with me in supporting this legislation and in seeking, with all our ability, to eliminate the scourge of illiteracy in this country and, therefore, the poverty which invariably accompanies that illiteracy.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Eighty-eight Members are present, not a quorum.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. ROONEY of New York, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that the Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, had come to no resolution thereon.

THE LATE NEIL CURRY

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to advise the House that a distinguished American, Mr. Neil Curry, has passed away. Mr. Curry was a great public-spirited citizen whose activities embraced business, politics, civic work, and philanthropy. He was probably known to more Members of Congress than any other person in the country who had not actually served in this body.

He was one of the recognized business geniuses of this country; he served actively on the boards of directors of some 30 of our most prominent corporations. Only a deep and abiding sense of public responsibility and compassion could motivate a man already so burdened to engage, as he did, in so many important civic and charitable undertakings. Mr. Curry was especially fond of children and there is no estimating his contributions to the welfare of asthmatic children and others having medical problems. He was the greatest friend to children that I have ever known; he gave unstintingly to them of both his time and his fortune.

He was eminently admired and loved in Oklahoma. I am sad indeed to announce that this man who was my friend, a friend of my State, of so many Members of Congress, and of so many Americans, will be with us no longer. His good works attest to the worth of his life and stand as towering memorials to his values and his achievements.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his widow, his son and daughters, his grandchildren, and loved ones.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

ties of the civilian leaders and an appreciation by the civilian leadership of the unique experience of our military leaders.

This country is fortunate to have officers like Generals LeMay and Power in key positions in its defense forces. Their experience, knowledge, and calm resolution contribute the kind of strength we need in these trying times. Knowing war well, they want to know peace even better.

Last year a distinguished European, Andre Malraux, French Minister of State for Cultural Affairs, paid a great tribute to our Nation. It seems to me that in doing so he unconsciously paid high tribute to the U.S. military man, as well as to our system of Government with its checks and balances, and to the moral strength of our people.

He said that ours is "the only nation that has waged war but not worshipped it, that has won the greatest power in the world but not sought it, that has wrought the greatest weapon of death but has not wished to wield. May it inspire men with dreams worthy of its action."

To the noble words of this tribute to all Americans I would like simply to add these: May this Nation continue to inspire military men with actions worthy of its dreams.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF EUGENE M. ZUCKERT, SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE

Mr. Zuckert was born November 9, 1911, in New York City and is the son of Harry M. and Eugenie Adrienne Pincoffs Zuckert (deceased).

He attended public elementary and high schools of suburban New York, received preparatory education at the Salisbury School, Salisbury, Conn., and obtained his B.A. from Yale University in 1933; in 1937, received LL.B. from Yale was a certificate for completion of the combined law-business course at Harvard and Yale. At Yale he was a member of the Beta Theta Pi fraternity.

Mr. Zuckert is a member of the bar in Connecticut, New York, and the District of Columbia and has practiced law in these States; however, most of his professional career has been devoted to public service.

From 1937 to 1940, Mr. Zuckert was attorney for the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission at Washington and New York. From 1940 to 1944 he was an instructor in relations between Government and business at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, advancing to assistant professor and later to assistant dean of the school. During this period, he also served as administrative head of the first advanced management course given at the Harvard Graduate School.

In 1944, Mr. Zuckert entered the U.S. Navy on military duty and served in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations as a lieutenant (jg). On September 26, 1947, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Air Force under Secretary of the Air Force Stuart Symington.

He was appointed a member of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission on January 21, 1952, and served until June 30, 1954, when he returned to the private practice of law specializing as a consultant in the field of atomic energy. He coauthored with Arnold Kramish the book, "Atomic Energy for Your Business."

Secretary Zuckert is a director of the People-to-People Health Foundation, Inc., a nonprofit organization which is operating the *Hope* ship as part of the President's people-to-people program.

Mr. Zuckert has received an honorably LL.D degree from George Washington University and an honorary doctor of engineering degree from Clarkson College, N.Y.

Mr. Zuckert was sworn in as Secretary of the Air Force on January 24, 1961. He is

married to the former Barbara Jackman of Newburyport, Mass. He has three children; two daughters, Adrienne K., and Gene, and a son, Robert B.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the life and service of the Hon. Eugene M. Zuckert, Secretary of the Air Force.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

FAILURE OF MANUFACTURERS TO PASS ON EXCISE TAX CUTS TO THE CONSUMER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] is recognized for 10 minutes.

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include a table.)

Effect of excise tax reduction on Government purchase of business machines

Machine	Prior to June 22	Federal excise tax	June 22-30	Portion of excise tax retained by company		July 1 on	Portion of excise tax returned to Government	
				Amount	Per cent		Amount	Per cent
Gestetner model 360	\$686.50		\$640.00			\$640.00		
Gestetner model 320	425.70		396.00			396.00		
Gestetner model 310	382.70		376.00			376.50		
A. B. Dick model 525	408.00	\$25.50	382.50			382.50		
A. B. Dick model 438	705.00	43.50	661.50	\$36.00	83	697.00	\$7.50	17
Elliott model 2200	903.95		850.25			850.25		
IBM typewriter model C	441.60	27.60	414.00	9.00	33	423.00	18.60	67
IBM typewriter model 713	480.00		450.00			450.00		
IBM typewriter model 723	456.00	28.50	427.50	13.50	47	441.00	15.00	53
IBM typewriter model Executive	619.20	38.70	580.50	13.50	35	594.00	25.20	65
IBM dictator model 211	445.20	25.20	420.00	10.00	40	430.00	15.20	60
IBM dictator model 212	418.70	23.70	395.00	10.00	42	405.00	13.70	58
IBM dictator model 213	498.20	28.20	470.00	25.00	89	495.00	3.20	11
IBM dictator model 214	429.30	24.30	405.00	15.00	62	420.00	9.30	38
Remington typewriter	437.10		409.50			409.50		
Smith-Corona typewriter model 250	241.00		225.00			225.00		
Smith-Corona typewriter model 410	452.34	29.34	423.00	9.00	31	432.00	20.34	69
Dictaphone recorder	434.60	24.60	410.00	10.00	41	420.00	14.60	59
Dictaphone transcriber	420.82	23.82	397.00	10.00	43	407.00	13.82	58
Dictaphone combination	503.50		475.00			475.00		
SoundScriber communicator	417.91		395.00			395.00		
SoundScriber transcriber	407.33		385.00			385.00		

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

(Mr. BOB WILSON (at the request of Mr. BROCK) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, for the past 6 years, the third week of July in this country has observed a Captive Nations Week during which the plight of the people behind the Iron Curtain is officially noted. We do this because the Congress, in Public Law 86-90, unanimously declared that it should be done, but more than that, I hope we do it because we honestly know of the aspirations of the captive peoples of the world and want them to know we care.

It seems particularly important to me that as the international political struggle tightens around us almost daily that we realize what happened to the nations of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia,

mission to revise and extend his remarks and to include a table.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in checking over the new price lists of business machines to the U.S. Government, I am shocked to learn that the Government itself is being bilked of its proper share of the excise tax reduction on business machines. It seems incredible that manufacturers of business machines who a short time ago promised to pass on the excise tax cut to the consumer should be taking advantage of the Federal Government itself. From the following table, it can be seen that certain manufacturers of business machine are keeping in their pockets up to 89 percent of the excise tax cut.

Congress may be compelled to reconsider its recent reduction of excise tax where tax benefits are retained by the manufacturer as extra profits.

Following is a table listing the Government's prices on leading business machines:

White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azorbaigan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ukal, Tibet, Cosacki, Turkestan, and others. Certainly we can see what is happening in Vietnam just by picking up a daily paper and looking at the front page.

The people from the captive nations have a better understanding of the truth about Soviet communism than anyone. They know from firsthand experience how the Russians overran their countries and denied the people their freedom. Let us learn from them.

One of America's most vigorous anti-Communist statesman was the late John Foster Dulles, President Eisenhower's dedicated Secretary of State. I like to recall what he had to say about this struggle. In November 1958 he said:

There are some who seem to feel that, because international communism is a powerful and stubborn force, we should give way before it. Nothing could be more dangerous

than to operate on the theory that, if hostile and evil forces do not readily change, it is always we who must change to accommodate them.

Communism is stubborn for the wrong; let us be steadfast for the right. A capacity to change is indispensable. Equally indispensable is the capacity to hold fast that which is good. But let us make our opposition not just a barren negative but a positive alternative.

Despotisms, with their iron discipline, their materialistic productions, their hard and glittering exterior, always seem to have the advantage over democracies which advertise their differences to all the world and which often appear as about to fall apart.

The fact is that the despotisms are always weaker than they appear and the free nations are usually stronger than they seem.

Dealing with this "stubborn wrong"—as Dulles called it—often seems like an impossible job, especially when it is geographically remote and it seems that we are only indirectly involved.

In recent years, however, Americans have realized that the tenacles of communism didn't stop in Eastern Europe. We were confronted—and still are, for that matter—with a Communist beachhead right here in our own hemisphere. This probably did not surprise many of the captive peoples of Eastern Europe who understand communism and its ways much better than we ever seemed to want to.

It is regrettable that we must be brought to our senses by painful object lessons like Vietnam. It is a tragedy when more blood has to be spilled because of an earlier failure to stand firm against the stubborn wrong.

Let us salute the captive peoples this week in their brave fight against despotism. Let us give them every encouragement and let us give them hope through our better recognition of the problem that confronts not just them but us.

Let us show them that the positive alternative we offer is justice, and freedom. As we offer our prayers and hopes for those who have fallen to communism. Let us show our conviction and dedication to principle to the whole world that it might hearten the conquered and discourage the conqueror.

A SON OF ILLINOIS COMES HOME

(Mr. McCLODY (at the request of Mr. Brock) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. McCLODY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my personal sympathy and that of other members of my family and in behalf of all of the residents of the 12th Illinois District on the occasion of the passing of Adlai E. Stevenson. Our sympathy is directed to Ambassador Stevenson's bereaved family as well as to the many intimate friends to whom his passing is a deep personal loss.

Millions of words of eulogy are being, and have been, written and spoken on Adlai Stevenson's career as a statesman and world leader. But I am inclined to recall him as my most illustrious constituent—one whose life path reached from the prairies of Illinois to a pinnacle

of national and international prominence. I am grateful that my life touched his at several points.

I had known Adlai Stevenson for many years as a neighbor and as a friend. His home was only a few miles away from mine in Lake County. For many years I knew Adlai Stevenson as a distinguished fellow attorney at the Illinois bar. I had the privilege of serving in the Illinois General Assembly during Adlai Stevenson's term as Governor of Illinois. Our great love for the State of Illinois has been beautifully described in his own eloquent words:

Here, on the prairies of Illinois and the Middle West, we can see a long way in all directions. We look to east, to west, to north and south. Our commerce, our ideas come and go in all directions. Here are no barriers, no defenses to ideas and aspirations. We want none; we want no shackles on the mind or the spirit, no rigid patterns of thought, no iron conformity. We want only the faith and conviction that triumph in free contest.

Following the 1948 general election, Adlai E. Stevenson went to Springfield as the Governor of Illinois. As a representative in the general assembly for our district during part of his term, I knew him intimately as Illinois' chief executive and as a State leader of integrity, vision, and idealism.

As his path advanced into national and international affairs, I saw Governor Stevenson less frequently. Often he was far from Lake County—as he was at the time of his passing—but he spoke of "back home." His most recent personal plans had included vacationing at his Libertyville home with his sons and their families—a vacation scheduled to begin this week.

Now he has gone beyond our sight and sound and we seek to explain the void of his absence. I like to think of him as resting in our beloved State of Illinois with his own words as eulogy and epitaph:

No American can travel the long road I have traveled and not find his faith renewed, his faith in his country and its future.

I have traversed the New England hills, ablaze with autumn color, and felt the touch of the soft air of the Southland.

I have flown over the mighty mountains to the Golden Gate and the blue Pacific.

I have flown over the fir-clad slopes and the rolling wheatlands of the great Northwest, and over the lonely cattle lands of the old Southwest.

I have traveled the routes that my forebears followed westward to Illinois. I have seen the old stone houses in the Pennsylvania hills, and I have come home to the sweep and the swell of the free soil of our beloved Illinois.

GILBERT AMENDMENT TO THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

(Mr. BOW (at the request of Mr. Brock) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, during the consideration and passage of H.R. 6400, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, I was necessarily absent. In view of the fact that I did not anticipate the presentation or any vote thereon of the Gilbert

amendment, I left no instructions for pairing. Inadvertently, on rollcall No. 177, I am recorded as paired against the amendment. However, had I been present and voting I would have voted in the affirmative and I take this opportunity to clarify my position on this amendment.

OPPOSITION OF REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE TO H.R. 8283

(Mr. RHODES of Arizona (at the request of Mr. Brock) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I rise as chairman of the House Republican policy committee to express the opposition of the committee to H.R. 8283.

This bill extends a program which has shown itself to be largely ineffective and badly mismanaged. Although it doubles the cost of the program, there was no real investigation into the shoddy operation that even the few days of hearings revealed.

Mr. Chairman, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD at this point my statement on the bill as issued following the policy committee's action in opposing the bill as presently written:

STATEMENT BY MR. RHODES OF ARIZONA

The opposition of the Republican policy committee to H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1965 is based upon the unfortunate fact that the so-called war on poverty is becoming a rout for the forces of affluence.

The administration of the program, guided by a part-time administrator has been so poor as to create the real possibility that the entire program may collapse under the weight of mismanagement, shoddy political patronage and crude power politics.

The majority of the Republican members of the Education and Labor Committee have pointed to some of the more serious defects in the program which this bill seeks to implement:

1. The community action program has fallen into the hands of big city political bosses "whose only interest in the poor is to exploit them."

2. "The entire act is the least coordinated, most confused tangle in recent memory and this has been made even worse by removing the last vestige of State authority—giving the Director of OEO the power to override the Governor's veto."

3. "The OEO, under the part-time czar, is an administrative shambles in which a fantastic number of highly paid, casually selected amateurs frantically attempt to patch together programs that will reflect a favorable image to the Congress and public."

4. The bill doubles appropriation authorizations in spite of the fact that no meaningful evaluation of the real worth of the present program has been undertaken.

A brief look at the present act is called for. By March 31 of this year only 1 of the 9 programs authorized by the act had been funded in excess of 35 percent. Other programs ranged from a fraction of 1 to 35 percent.

There is only one item upon which the OEO has managed to spend lavishly—itsself. The OEO has spent a whopping 85 percent of the \$5.5 million budgeted for personnel and administration.

The brief hearings on the community action program, shut off abruptly over the protests of the committee Republicans, opened a

crack in the door just wide enough for glimpses to be had of the unbelievable misuse of this program across the Nation.

This minute glimpse was sufficient to show that the community action program is little more than a sham—a hoax upon the poor.

In light of these facts the Republican policy committee is opposed to the bill as written. We join the minority members of the committee in the hope that the bill will not be enacted unless the following steps are taken:

1. An investigation of the entire existing program by a bipartisan committee selected by the Speaker.

2. The restoration of the veto power of State Governors and the institution of arrangements for State coordination of community action programs.

3. The appointment of a full-time administrator who is barred from holding other Federal posts.

4. The reduction of the authorization of funds to the present level until a proper evaluation of the existing act can be undertaken and completed.

In the name of the poverty stricken of the Nation who need pity, not patronage for politicians, protection and assistance, not shining promises, we urge that these essential measures be undertaken immediately.

NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGION CALLS FOR NATIONAL CEMETERY IN NEW ENGLAND

(Mr. CLEVELAND (at the request of Mr. Brock) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, on June 26, the American Legion, department of New Hampshire, completed a most productive convention, adopting a series of resolutions concerning issues of importance to the Nation generally, and to veterans in particular. I was especially pleased to note the Legion's endorsement for proposals to establish a national cemetery in New England. On March 24, I introduced H.R. 6678, a duplicate of a bill I sponsored in the 88th Congress for the purpose of creating such a cemetery. I heartily endorse the resolution and offer it at this point in the RECORD:

VETERANS' AFFAIRS RESOLUTION 2

Whereas there does not now exist a national cemetery anywhere in the New England States; and

Whereas there is cause for a national cemetery to be established in New England: Therefore be it

Resolved by the New Hampshire department, the American Legion, in convention assembled this 26th day of June, 1965, in Laconia, N.H., That suitable legislation be enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Army to establish a national cemetery in New England, the Secretary of the Army to acquire by gift, purchase, or condemnation an amount of land not to exceed 500 acres for the purpose of establishing such cemetery; and be it further

Resolved, That by this legislation the Secretary of the Army be authorized and directed to provide for the care and maintenance of the national cemetery established under authority of the first section of this act.

HUMANE TREATMENT FOR LABORATORY ANIMALS; KEENE, N.H. GARDEN CLUB ENDORSES CLEVELAND BILL

(Mr. CLEVELAND (at the request of Mr. Brock) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that the Old Homestead Garden Club of Keene, N.H., has voted its support of my bill, H.R. 5647, which would establish humane standards for the treatment of experimental animals used in research financed all or in part by the Federal Government. Mrs. Alton Collier, president of the club, has forwarded to me the text of the resolution, which I offer at this point in the RECORD, along with my reply to her letter:

THE OLD HOMESTEAD GARDEN CLUB,
Swansey, N.H., July 6, 1965.

Congressman JAMES CLEVELAND,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The Old Homestead Garden Club of Keene, N.H., has unanimously passed the following resolution:

"That the Congress and Senate committees hold hearings on humane animals legislation without further delay, and endorse bill H.R. 5647, introduced by Representative JAMES CLEVELAND, and bill S. 1071, introduced by Senator JOSEPH CLARK, identical bills. These two bills meet the six basic humane requirements to prevent needless suffering of animals used in laboratories and other research, and urge the passage of these bills during the present session of Congress."

Respectfully,

Mrs. ALTON COLLIER,
President.

JULY 8, 1965.

Mrs. ALTON COLLIER,
President, the Old Homestead Garden Club,
Swansey, N.H.

DEAR Mrs. COLLIER: Thank you for informing me of the encouraging resolution passed by the Old Homestead Garden Club of Keene, N.H., concerning the humane treatment of experimental animals.

This support, following that recently given by the New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs, is very much appreciated.

In this regard, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed insert from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 3, 1965.

Regards and best wishes,

JAMES C. CLEVELAND,
Member of Congress.

NOW THE RECORD IS STRAIGHT

(Mr. BATTIN (at the request of Mr. Brock) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Speaker, in the RECORD of July 7, I entered the transcript of an NBC television program, "Situation Report," of July 1, which dealt with the debate now going on in Congress about our Government's policies in Vietnam. NBC News Correspondent Robert Goralski was the commentator.

I called attention to some inaccuracies in that broadcast, particularly to a statement implying that the distinguished chairman of the Republican conference, the gentleman from Wisconsin

[Mr. LAIRD], had recommended that the United States "pour combat troops into South Vietnam's jungles" and that U.S. planes "would destroy everything in sight north of the 17th parallel, including Hanoi itself."

On the following Thursday, July 8, Mr. Goralski, on the same broadcast, made some clarification of his remarks when he said:

Before going into tonight's "Situation Report," I'd like to clarify a point made on last Thursday's program. In referring to Republican calls for new military efforts in Vietnam, I may have left the impression that Representative MELVIN LAIRD, of Wisconsin, was calling for a further buildup of American ground forces. Representative LAIRD has never made such a proposal * * * he's urged consideration of more extensive use of air and naval forces. The point needed clarifying.

I appreciate the correction of Mr. Goralski has made and under unanimous consent, I include the full transcript of "Situation Report" of July 8 in the RECORD at this point:

SITUATION REPORT, JULY 8

(By Robert Goralski)

South Vietnam's problems will be all too familiar to Henry Cabot Lodge when he returns to Saigon. A "Situation Report" after this.

Before going into tonight's "Situation Report," I'd like to clarify a point made on last Thursday's program. In referring to Republican calls for new military efforts in Vietnam, I may have left the impression that Representative MELVIN LAIRD, of Wisconsin, was calling for a further buildup of American ground forces there. Representative LAIRD has never made such a proposal * * * he's urged consideration of more extensive use of air and naval forces. The point needed clarifying.

Henry Cabot Lodge's reappointment as Ambassador to Saigon will probably be well received by the Vietnamese. He was always popular—he was charming and affable as he was insistence that the war be prosecuted to a successful conclusion.

But Mr. Lodge is going to find that when he returns to the Embassy in Saigon the internal political situation is just as confused as ever. Today's government may not be there tomorrow. His task is going to be made doubly difficult because of the latest premier, Air Vice Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky. The young Vietnamese is impetuous and bold, and his actions are raising many an eyebrow. Ky has promised to execute war profiteers personally, picking his victims in an arbitrary manner.

What concerns most people, however, is a statement Ky reportedly made to a correspondent for the London Sunday Mirror. According to the paper, Ky said he had only one hero—that was Adolf Hitler. He is further quoted as saying what South Vietnam needs are four or five Hitlers. Since publication of the article, there's been no effort by Ky to retract.

If true, it's an appalling statement. The most immediate effect has been a propaganda field day for the Communists. Radio Moscow and other Communists news organs have picked up the remarks and are painting the United States as supporting a government headed by a man who worships the memory of Hitler. It places the United States in a most embarrassing position, to be sure.

If Ky honestly holds Hitler as his model, one might wonder what he has in store for the South Vietnamese. He's already cracked down on war profiteers, draft dodgers—desirable measures, but what's he going to do next.

Henry Cabot Lodge will undoubtedly have his hands full with Ky. Chronic political instability is not going to be relieved with Ky moving in wild directions. The colorful airman is known to favor air strikes against Hanoi; he's now taken up the call to liberate North Vietnam, presumably by an army marching north over the 17th parallel.

The months ahead should be interesting, and Henry Cabot Lodge surely will have one of the most difficult jobs in his long career of public service.

BRILLIANCE IN THE BERKSHIRES

(Mr. CONTE (at the request of Mr. BROCK) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, among the most distinguished summer residents of my congressional district are the members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and their renowned conductor, Erich Leinsdorf. For 7 weeks the beautiful Tanglewood estate overlooking Lake Mahkeenac near Lenox, Mass., becomes a musician's paradise as the Symphony gathers there to perform a series of 24 concerts comprising the Berkshire Music Festival. Tanglewood also houses an educational center where promising young musicians can study under the guidance of the most talented men in the country. This year Tanglewood is attracting such distinguished musicians as Van Cliburn, Aaron Copland, Charles Munch, Rudolf Serkin, Isaac Stern, Leopold Stokowski, and others too numerous to mention. The Harvard Glee Club and Radcliffe Choral Society will sing. Chamber music groups will perform. As a grand finale, the final weekend will be devoted to a complete performance of Richard Wagner's Lohengrin.

Presiding over this rich mélange of talent is Erich Leinsdorf. Last week Life magazine wrote a short but perceptive article about Mr. Leinsdorf, and I enjoyed it so much that I want all of my colleagues to have the opportunity to read it. I have included here the text of the article and picture captions which are self-explanatory. I regret that the RECORD has no facilities for printing Life's excellent photographs. There is one especially good one; it shows Leinsdorf in bed, his hand to his brow in a gesture of disbelief, reading a copy of the RECORD. Says Leinsdorf:

I take the RECORD to bed with me every night—and I don't mean that reading it puts me to sleep. It is marvelous. Where else can you find out exactly what is going on in this country? I especially look for WAYNE MORSE. What a maverick.

The article follows:

ERICH LEINSDORF IS BOSTON'S INSATIABLE PERFECTIONIST: THE MAESTRO DEMANDS BRILLIANCE

With fierce and tender concentration, Erich Leinsdorf hones his Boston Symphony Orchestra to brilliant precision. Perfection is his passion, and last week he was demanding it in the hills of Tanglewood, Mass., at the opening of the annual Berkshire Music

Festival. Living up to his own exacting standard, Leinsdorf has made his gem-like orchestra one of the finest ornaments of American music. "I am in heaven when I play with him," says pianist Artur Schnabel.

Vienna-born Leinsdorf, 53, made his American debut with the Metropolitan Opera in 1938 and has lived here ever since. Though stiff and uncompromising on the podium, off stage he is an amiable, gregarious father of five who collects clothes, stamps, wines, and mechanical toys. But even in these pursuits there is no such thing as a casual approach. "When my sons became interested in baseball," he says, "I briefed myself on it. I even corresponded with Red Barber." Once feared as an arrogant martinet, he has mellowed with success. "I used to think there was only one right way," he says, "but now I know there are right ways and right ways."

Here are some of Leinsdorf's comments about his world:

"Boston is a liberal city, and the old ladies on Friday afternoon are the most liberal audience because they have heard the most music. They might not like everything, but they appreciate an expanding repertory.

"We are today in a mass culture. There are more audiences, and I think it is a very exciting thing. But we are not compromising on account of our large audiences quite the contrary.

"Today's young musicians have gone from the horse and buggy to the airplane without having gone through the railroad station. All these kids jump the 19th century. They accept Vivaldi and Bach, but they loathe Wagner and Tchaikovsky.

"I have a quiet period in the morning and always before I go to a concert, I need an awful lot of time to myself.

"There are three worlds of music—the composer's, the performer's, and the critic's. I believe in friction, for without friction there can be no progress. The music world cannot live without it.

"I've always felt that operatic work and concert work together make up a complete musical life. But in symphony conducting the conductor is a larger percentage of the show than in opera. There is not the visual to fall back on, and thus one's resources must be richer.

"My orchestra is a wonderful blend of Europe and America. You eat dinner somewhere with the orchestra and first someone comes up and addresses you in perfect French, and then along comes a young man from Indiana.

"To have been graced by providence with special aptitudes and abilities, maybe even genius, does not at once entitle the bearer to present a bill to the world for remittance.

"Conducting is a matter of knowing that there is much you don't conduct. It's constantly alternating between listening and leading. Beating time is not conducting an orchestra.

"We have a crazy schedule in Boston—too much work and too many vacations. Each year I conduct 100 concerts. To relax I like to walk and ride horseback. I like to ride in the mountains especially. And I read a lot, mainly history."

DEFER BERLIN CRISIS VETERANS

(Mr. SCHWEIKER (at the request of Mr. BROCK) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, Congress should act to defer any active duty callup of reservists and National Guardsmen who were mobilized during the 1961 Berlin crisis or whose enlist-

ments were extended for more than 90 days during the Berlin crisis. These personnel should not be recalled to active duty in any current callup unless absolutely vital to the national security.

I am today introducing a House concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that "the President should, insofar as it is consistent with the national defense and security, defer until last" the callup of personnel who were returned to active duty for more than 30 days during the Berlin crisis or whose enlistments were extended for more than 90 days.

As my colleagues know, there has been no notification of any impending callup by the President but there are indications such a mobilization is pending. I am not in a position to evaluate the need for a callup until further information is made available by Defense Secretary McNamara. Assuming, however, that the President intends such a callup, I urge that the Congress act promptly on this resolution.

Some 148,000 reservists and guardsmen were recalled to active duty in 1961 for the Berlin crisis. In addition, more than 300,000 Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine personnel then on active duty had their terms of service extended by order of the President. Many served up to 10 months of additional active duty time.

A joint resolution signed into law August 1, 1961, formed the basis of President Kennedy's Executive order of August 10, 1961, authorizing the mobilization of up to 250,000 ready reservists for not more than 12 months. The same order authorized the Secretary of Defense to involuntarily extend enlistments and periods of obligated service for up to 12 months.

Mr. Speaker, I welcome the support of my colleagues for this resolution and urge speedy approval.

(Mr. KEITH (at the request of Mr. BROCK) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KEITH'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

LAWLESSNESS OF RACE DEMONSTRATIONS

(Mr. WAGGONER (at the request of Mr. VIVIAN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WAGGONER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure you appreciate the feeling some of us who represent the Southern States feel when we rise to discuss any measure dealing with so-called civil rights. We have taken the floor in the vast majority of cases in an effort to urge commonsense in the face of irrational, extremist proposals whose singlemost feature is their premise that the end justifies any means necessary, including unconstitutional legislation, discriminatory legislation, and legislation that is admitted to be faulty and hasty in the cloakrooms but

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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Issued July 22, 1965
For actions of July 21, 1965
89th-1st; No. 132

CONTENTS

Acreage allotments.....11	Feed grains.....11	Potatoes.....7
Adjournment.....25	Food stamps.....9	Poultry.....10
Administrative provisions.....11	Foreign aid.....8	Poverty.....1
Appropriations.....2	Forestry.....11,14	Recreation.....11
Cigarette labeling.....23	Health.....5	Research.....16
Corn.....8	Labor standards.....21,22	Tobacco.....11
Cotton.....11	Lands.....4,14	Transportation.....13
Disaster relief.....3,11	Loans.....11,14,27	Water pollution.....20
Education.....6,15	Milk.....17	Water systems.....11,27
Electrification.....19	Minerals.....26	Watersheds.....12
Farm labor.....21,22	Monopolies.....18	Wheat.....11
Farm program.....24	Patents.....28	
	Peanuts.....11	

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee voted to report following bills: rural water facilities; diversion payments on acreage affected by disaster; implementation of
Continued page 4

HOUSE

1. **POVERTY.** Continued debate on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (pp. 16947-96). Agreed to an amendment by Rep. Reid to provide public access to information relating to community action programs (pp. 16991-2).
2. **LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION BILL.** Both Houses agreed to the conference report on this bill, H. R. 8775. This bill will now be sent to the President. pp. 16945-7, 17136-9
3. **DISASTER RELIEF.** The Banking and Currency Committee reported without amendment S. 408, to authorize a study of methods of helping to provide financial assistance to victims of future flood disasters (H. Rept. 632). p. 17052

4. LANDS. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 6646, with amendment, to amend the Recreation and Public Purposes Act pertaining to the leasing of public lands to States and political subdivisions, and H. R. 5984, with amendment, to amend Secs. 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes with respect to certain lands granted to the States. p. D682
5. HEALTH. At the request of Rep. Mills, consent was granted to the managers on the part of the House to file a conference report on H. R. 6675, the medicare bill, by midnight Mon., July 26. Rep. Mills inserted a summary of the major decisions of the conference committee. pp. 16941-4
6. EDUCATION. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of H. R. 8310, the Educational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1965. pp. 16944-5
7. POTATOES. Rep. Monagan called the recent rise in the price of potatoes "a national scandal," and stated that it "clearly indicates the need for careful scrutiny of the program of the potato producers." pp. 17037-8
8. CORN; FOREIGN AID. Rep. Halpern stated that a GAO report reveals "that almost half of the 186,000 tons of corn given by the United States to the United Arab Republic, in 1961, ostensibly for distribution to the needy, was sold by Nasser's government," and called on the President to "suspend any portion of the \$37.5 million remaining under the agricultural assistance program to Egypt." p. 17043
9. FOOD STAMPS. Rep. Conyers commended this Departments food stamp program as providing better diets for the people who participate and bringing economic benefits to entire communities. pp. 17050-1
10. POULTRY. Rep. Walker, Miss., inserted his statement critical of "the attitude taken by the USDA and the ARA toward putting Federal money into a poultry complex to the tune of \$2,720,000 in Newcastle, Pa., when the poultry industry in the Nation is in such a depressed condition." pp. 17043-4

SENATE

11. AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY COMMITTEE voted to report (but did not actually report): With amendment S. 1766, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make loans to public agencies and nonprofit corporations for the development of water systems serving rural areas, and S. 7, to provide for the establishment of the Spruce Knob-Seneca Rocks National Recreation Area, W. Va.; and without amendment H. R. 5508, the Department's administrative omnibus bill; H. R. 8620, to take into consideration floods and other natural disasters in reference to the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965; S. 1270, to extend for 2 years the exemption of green peanuts from marketing quotas; S. 1271, to extend for 2 years provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act permitting the lease of tobacco acreage allotments; and S. 2294, to extend for 1 additional year the International Wheat Agreement Act of 1949. p. D679
12. WATERSHEDS. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee approved plans for works of improvement on the following watershed projects: Cottonwood Creek, Nebr.; Lakin, Kans.; Mills Creek, Fla.; Mitchell Swamp-Pleasant Meadow Branch, S. C.; Standing Pine Creek, Miss.; Turkey Creek, Iowa; and Willis River, Va. p. D679

Unfortunately one, for example, was the subject of a report I received from the Department of Justice. I am not going to name names, I am not going to tell you how horrendous that report was, but no Member of this House in his right senses could have embraced as a member of the professional staff that professional who was the subject of that report. It was an outrageous report. How in the thunder could I accept on the staff of the Judiciary Committee a man who had been so excoriated by the Department of Justice?

So it was with the other gentleman that was named. I said, "Name another name." No, the gentleman insists upon those names. Therefore, we came to an impasse.

The subcommittee has made innumerable reports, reports of all sorts, which are the reports that undoubtedly the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality would also make. Let me give you some of the names of these comprehensive report made by our Subcommittee on Immigration.

Study of population and immigration problems in the United States.

Study of population and immigration problems of the world.

Asian populations.

Trends in Canadian populations.

The demographic position of the Caribbean.

The growth of the population in Central and South America.

Immigration to the United States, as presented by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The population of western Europe.

Nonimmigrant visa issuance and registered demand for quota immigrant visas.

Refugees and international migration.

Admission of aliens into the United States for temporary employment.

Commuter workers.

Study of population and immigration problems.

Inquiry into the alien medical examination program of the U.S. Public Health Service.

Inquiry into the entries of aliens under administration discretionary (parole) authority.

Inquiry into the selection, security screenings, admission, emergency care, and resettlement of Cuban refugees in the United States.

Inquiry into the enlistment of nations of the Republic of the Philippines in the U.S. Navy, and the U.S. Coast Guard.

Judicial decisions construing certain provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Those are very comprehensive studies that have been made by the subcommittee of which he is chairman. Remember, this Joint Committee has no legislative responsibility. Now why does he want to stray afield and have additional studies made with a duplication of funds and a waste of money because of duplication by some of the committee. I cannot see that. I have tried to argue with the gentleman but I apparently can give him explanations, but I cannot give him understanding. That is the way the situation lies unfortunately.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman. I would be very happy to yield although I am not a merchant and I do not come from Mount Kisco; I come from the State of New York and I do not represent the state of Brooklyn—there is no such State.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Is it not correct to say that those reports that you have enumerated were directed at policy questions. Not one of them was directed toward policy implications. They are only an accumulation of information regarding trends in population.

Mr. CELLER. Oh, I cannot agree with that. Of course, there is policy involved in all these studies, but if the gentleman feels it is necessary to make some investigations of policy, he has a perfect right as chairman of the subcommittee to set up inquiries. Nobody could object to his doing that. If the gentleman wants funds for that purpose, I would be glad to give him the funds. Never have you been denied any funds from me. If you want the funds, the funds are there and I will be glad to make them available to you.

So I would hope that I have answered the distinguished Member from Ohio and I hope that the conference report will be adopted.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 38: Page 21, line 15, strike out "\$604,600" and insert "\$728,000".

Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 38 and concur therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum stricken out and inserted by said amendment insert: "\$809,000".

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the votes by which action was taken on the conference report and the amendment was laid on the table.

(Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter and tabulations.)

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 8383) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of the programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H.R. 8283, with Mr. ROONEY of New York in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on yesterday the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] had 48 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] had 26 minutes remaining.

Before the Committee rose the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN] had the floor. The gentleman from Alabama has 4 minutes remaining, and is recognized at this time.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I do not speak for myself alone or even for the large number of my constituents for whom I am certain I speak, but for not less than millions of American citizens, in voicing my concern over one aspect of the present war on poverty, that aspect which constitutes only a small part of the present program but which involves the activity of churches and other religious organizations in the community action programs of the OEO.

May I say at the outset, I understand that in these cases a grant is not made directly to a church. Rather, the members of a church form a public corporation for the purpose, and said public corporation is controlled in many cases by said church, and this public corporation formed by and controlled by the church receives a grant and administers the program. To say that because of this arrangement there is no connection between church and state in this program is to say that the stockholders of a corporation derive no benefit from benefits accruing to that corporation or that the board of directors of General Motors has no connection with the corporation itself.

Mr. Chairman, there is a specific constitutional prohibition against our making any law to establish religion. I do not and cannot believe it was the intent of the Congress at the outset that this should be a part of the poverty program.

There are many voices from the past which would echo concern.

For example, John Adams, the second President, said:

I hope Congress will never meddle with religion further than to say their own prayers.

Thomas Jefferson said:

I consider the Government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, disciplines, or exercises. Certainly no power to prescribe any religious exercise or assume authority in religious discipline, has been delegated to the general government.

James Madison said:

There is not a shadow of right in the general government to intermeddle with re-

ligion. Its least interference with it would be a most flagrant usurpation.

Andrew Johnson said:

Here religion, released from political connection with the civil government, refuses to subserve the craft of statesmen, and becomes in its independence the spiritual life of the people.

I do not stand alone in my concern about the constitutionality of this question. Earlier this year a case reached the court in Kansas City, Mo. I have here an article from the Kansas City Times, which I will request permission to include at this point in the RECORD, telling of a case of some 18 citizens against church participation in the Head Start program there. It is being tested now and OEO attorneys are participating in that suit.

[From the Kansas City Times, June 17, 1965]

SUE ON CHURCH POVERTY ROLE: CONSTITUTIONALITY OF USING CATHOLIC BUILDING QUESTIONED—IN HEAD START PLAN—PLAINTIFFS ARE AREA MEN BACKED BY P.O.A.U. CHAPTER

A lawsuit challenging the participation of the Kansas City-St. Joseph Catholic diocese in Operation Head Start, a preschool program for poor children, was filed here yesterday.

The action will bring the first court test in the Nation on Head Start, and is believed to be the first court challenge of any aspect of the nationwide war on poverty, initiated by the Federal Government and administered locally.

A CONSTITUTIONAL POINT

The suit challenges the proposed use of three Catholic schools as sites for part of an 8-week summer program to prepare children of poor families to begin school. The suit alleges violation of the constitutional provision of separation of church and State.

Plaintiffs in the suit are 18 Kansas City area men and women backed strongly by Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, a national organization. Most of the plaintiffs are members of the Kansas City P.O.A.U. chapter.

The petition, filed in the Jackson County Circuit Court in Independence, alleges participation in the poverty project by the Catholic diocese violates article I of the Missouri constitution and the 1st and 14th amendments of the U.S. Constitution in these respects:

It aids religion because it causes a public welfare program to be conducted by and in religious institutions.

It places behind such participation the power, prestige, and financial support of governmental bodies.

It causes a fusion of governmental and religious functions.

It causes tax money to be used in support of a religious activity or institution.

It furnishes a preschool program with tax funds to parochial-school children which is otherwise not provided.

Named defendants are the Human Resources Corp., which administers the war on poverty in Kansas City and Jackson County, including the dispensing of Federal funds; Kansas City and Jackson County, which each contributed \$10,000 to the corporation as their share; and the city and county treasurers.

EVENING THE ODDS

The object of Operation Head Start is to give children in designated poverty areas as good a chance to succeed in school as children with a middle-class background. One basic function of the preschool courses will be to enlarge the vocabulary of the children.

The Human Resources Corp. developed a plan in which 345 children will be taught

in preschool courses this summer at 9 schools—6 public and 3 Catholic.

Enrollment is scheduled for today. Twenty-three teachers are undergoing special training this week at the University of Oklahoma. Classes will begin Monday.

The local plan, including Catholic diocesan participation, was approved May 17 by the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, which provided \$54,850 in Federal funds to finance the summer project. As contemplated, Operation Head Start will continue again in the fall, on a larger scale, with more Federal funds.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS NEAR

The six public schools are Attucks, Garfield, Switzer, Washington, Woodland, and Yates. The Catholic schools are Annunciation, Guadalupe, and St. Aloysius.

The lawsuit says that there are public school buildings in the vicinity of the three Catholic schools and suggested that the courses at Annunciation be moved to Holmes School, at Guadalupe to either Switzer or Douglas schools, and at St. Aloysius to Benneker School.

The suit asks for a declaratory judgment on four points:

That Catholic participation in the program is unconstitutional.

That the Human Resources Corp. cannot legally contract with a religious institution to conduct a program under Head Start.

That the payment, directly or indirectly, of any Federal, State, or local tax money to a religious institution for its participation in Head Start is constitutionally prohibited.

That the preschool programs now proposed for the three Catholic schools be transferred to the nearest public school.

The petition also asked that the defendants be enjoined from contracting with, transferring money to, or otherwise participating in Head Start while the program is being conducted in schools owned, controlled, or operated by any religious institution.

REASON FOR DECISION

It did not, however, ask for any immediate relief and no hearings were set. It was filed in the division of Judge Richard C. Jensen.

At a brief press conference held in his law offices, Walter A. Raymond, attorney for the plaintiffs, was asked why the suit was filed here, since similar Head Start programs involving the use of parochial schools are underway in many cities across the country.

"We focused it here," he said, "for three reasons. For one, the Missouri constitution has about the strongest statements about the separation of church and state of any State constitution.

"Secondly, the Missouri Supreme Court has handed down some of the strongest opinions enforcing this separation. And third, both the city and the county have made substantial contributions of the taxpayers' money to the program."

REASON IS GIVEN

"Our purpose in filing this suit," Raymond said, "is not to express opposition to this particular antipoverty program, but only to insure that it is administered solely by public agencies and not private, religious agencies."

Earlier than this, on May 24, 1965, the New York Times in an editorial expressed its concern, stating the view that Project Head Start programs are ignoring the constitutional principle of church-state separation and should be tested in the courts. The New York Times stated its opposition to this kind of participation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, perhaps the most basic freedom in our land is that provided our citizens in the first amendment. I know of no case personally in history where there has been preserved absolute religious liberty unless there was also absolute separation of church and state. I am concerned about this program from the point of view of the church. It seems to me for a church, at the worst, an unholy arrangement and, at the best, an unwise arrangement to be joined in a union and partnership with Government and the secular State.

I am concerned as a citizen about the Federal Government establishing religion in any place by pouring taxpayers' funds into a program conducted and carried on by a church. Although we may say that we are not helping to propagate a particular faith or to exalt a particular faith in a particular locality, that which enriches my right pocket also enriches my left pocket. That which puts me in the role of one conducting great charities in my community also exalts my reputation in other ways. I see no escape from the fact that this program does aid in the establishment of religion and fosters particular religious groups in particular communities.

Many religious faiths and indeed most of the people in my fellowship, about 10 million strong, could not approve as a matter of conscience and could not participate in such a program. We operate out of voluntary giving as Christian churches have throughout all the centuries. I believe it is still the right way for churches to conduct their works.

From a governmental point of view, it is not necessary for church groups to participate. Most of these programs are conducted by city or county boards of education or other groups public or private, and only a relative handful are conducted by churches or religious organizations. Eliminating these would not, therefore, limit or handicap the "war on poverty."

When I interrogated the Deputy Director, Mr. Conway, concerning the use of churches in the program, he replied that there was very strict supervision of those churches to make sure that the taxpayers' money was not used for religious purposes. However, I have in my hand a notarized statement from Constable Jack M. Bailey, whom I have known for years and whose character I can attest to as one of absolute integrity and reliability. I quote:

STATE OF ALABAMA,
County of Jefferson.

Before me, undersigned authority, in and for said State and county, personally appeared Mr. Jack M. Bailey, and being by me first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says:

"While carrying out my duties as constable of precinct 10 in Jefferson County, I encountered two young men going door to door. I had occasion to serve a civil process at one house at the same time that one of the boys was there.

"First he said that he was working with Operation Head Start. He then asked if anyone in the household was a member of a specific religion. He asked if any persons living there was interested in this particular religion and if they would accept some literature on the religion. He then asked for their names and addresses so that he might send additional literature. He then asked if

all adults in the family were registered voters because he said he was helping on the voter registration drive.

"I was working the same area and managed to approach another house just behind this person and heard the same story again. I then stopped him and talked with him. He said that his home was in Long Island, N.Y., and that he was in Birmingham for the summer. He said he worked on canvassing in the morning and at (a certain named church) on Operation Head Start in the afternoon.

"JACK M. BAILEY."

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 20th day of July 1965.

MARY F. CHILDERS,
Notary Public.

My commission expires July 26, 1968.

I have neither time nor resources to conduct a nationwide investigation, nor do I point an accusing finger at any particular church. I do not know how often this has happened. I do not know if this was one wrongheaded young man or one known example of a nationwide pattern of practice. All I know is that when there is an unholy union of a civil state and a church, this is the sort of result that is almost certain to follow. For the good of both church and state let us make their separation pure and complete. Toward this end, Mr. Chairman, I urge support of the amendment that I shall offer later to bar the Director from making further grants to or contracts with churches or other religious organizations.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN].

(Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, the vision of President Johnson in declaring an all-out war against poverty and its causes has won the excited admiration of the millions throughout our country.

Millions of the underprivileged are given hope where once they faced only despair.

Those of us who are members of the bar have been especially gratified that in the formulation of his proposal the President allowed for means to provide legal aid to the indigent on the broadest possible basis. In the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Congress wisely implemented that proposal.

The bar throughout the country has already signified its interest in and hearty support of this provision.

It has long troubled thoughtful members of the bar that while an indigent's constitutional right to counsel when he has been charged with crime is now fully recognized, there has not yet been a corresponding recognition that, if there is to be equal justice under law, an indigent is equally entitled to legal help in connection with all of the problems that confront him under the civil law.

Surely when a poor man and his family are exploited by an unconscionable and illegal installment purchase contract that is but the veil of fraud, he needs legal help just as much as when he is criminally charged. Indeed in such circumstances, as a practicable matter, his need for legal help may be much greater.

Yet the ability of the indigent to get such legal help in our country thus far

has been far from realized. Despite diligent effort on the part of legal aid societies, despite the utmost good will on the part of the organized bar, the resources of our Nation have never heretofore been mobilized to make it fully possible for the indigent to receive all of the legal help they need.

But under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 plans are being developed in many communities throughout the Nation to provide more adequate legal aid to the indigent for all their legal problems, civil as well as criminal.

It is notable that here in the Nation's Capital one of the first such plans has already been put into operation and is now rapidly demonstrating its value to the poor of our city. The so-called neighborhood legal services project began opening in early January of this year neighborhood legal offices in poverty-stricken areas. Six such offices are now in operation and more are planned. Functioning in close cooperation with the traditional Legal Aid Society of the District of Columbia, these neighborhood legal services project offices have demonstrated in most dramatic fashion the great benefits to be derived from making full-scale legal aid readily accessible to the poor in the neighborhoods where they live.

It is to be hoped that responsible leaders in other cities will quickly follow suit. I particularly hope that in my own home city of Cleveland a similar project may soon be underway. The Legal Aid Society of Cleveland and leaders of the bar and others in that community have actively begun laying plans.

Progress toward achieving the goals of a Great Society cannot and must not be delayed. On the contrary, it must be hastened. Our local communities must be galvanized into action and no principle is more precious than that the ideal of equal justice under law should at long last be translated into reality. Any delay in achieving that reality means that justice is denied to someone simply because he is poor.

We can take pride that in our Nation's Capital progress is now swift. We can hope that similar progress will be made swiftly in other cities. And I expect that in my home city, with its great tradition of civic pride and improvement, our people will move forward at a pace even faster than have those here in the Capital of our Nation.

The Congress can do no less than support and strengthen the mobilization of our resources in the war on poverty.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. SICKLES].

(Mr. SICKLES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, I noticed an article in the newspaper, just a few moments ago, that there was a baby born yesterday. While we were discussing the poverty bill and sometimes referring to its Director, Mr. Shriver, his wife was very busy up in Boston, Mass., delivering an 8-pound-2-ounce boy, their fifth child—apparently unnamed as yet.

So yesterday while we were so concerned about the number of employments of Mr. Shriver, he was acquiring another challenging responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, I take the time allotted to me to discuss that very issue, the issue of two jobs for Shriver. Yesterday I had the impression that perhaps we should call the issue "Two Letters to Shriver," or "The Case of the Missing Phone Directory." But, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania said yesterday, I did not come here to bury Shriver, nor did I come here to praise him, because I do not think his qualifications are really at issue.

You will recall that on June 2, in the other body, the issue was raised about the wisdom of Sargent Shriver's being both Director of the Peace Corps and Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The other body did go so far as to approve an amendment to the Peace Corps appropriations bill which would, if carried out, limit Mr. Shriver to just one job.

When that amendment was proposed, and as I recall when the issue was raised yesterday, no one questioned the educational background of Mr. Shriver. That is not surprising because he has a law degree and so many of us in the Congress have law degrees.

When that amendment was proposed, no one questioned the private industry experience of Mr. Shriver. He was a very successful manager of the Merchandise Mart in Chicago.

When the amendment was before the Senate no one questioned the previous Government experience that he had, including the fact that he was the key man in establishing the Office of the Peace Corps.

And, Mr. Chairman, when that amendment was proposed no one questioned the deep and abiding personal commitment that Mr. Shriver obviously has to the program he is charged with the responsibility to administer.

Also, when that amendment was proposed no one questioned the great energy and attention to duty that he has displayed in the public service.

Mr. Chairman, it does seem to me, however, that there are some very serious questions which are raised regarding the wisdom of the action which was taken by the other body and the wisdom of our taking such action, if it is proposed, when the issue is placed in proper perspective.

Mr. Chairman, let us consider for a minute the real issues which are raised by such ill-considered action.

A very serious question is raised regarding the proper limits of the President's prerogatives with respect to the appointment of key officials in his administration.

The President, under our Constitution, is our Chief Executive. While he can delegate authority to perform the tasks of Government, he still retains the ultimate responsibility. President Johnson is not unhappy with the job being performed by Mr. Shriver. Mr. Shriver is not unhappy with the two hats the President has asked him to wear. The Presi-

dent needs a wide variety of skilled individuals to help him meet his responsibility to the American people and we should question neither the authority nor the obvious ability of the President to choose leaders of his own administration. The Congress must allow him to fill the positions in his administration with men in whom he has full trust. It should not override the judgment of the President as to who is best suited to manage Federal programs.

Another question raised is whether or not the two jobs are too big for one man to handle.

This argument must sound like sheer nonsense to the President, who not only has two jobs but in reality at least 20 times two jobs. There are other men in Government, such as Secretary of Defense McNamara, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, who must have tremendously diverse jobs to perform. There are men in private industry, heading our large corporations, who have administrative responsibilities that far exceed those of Mr. Shriver. Even we here in Congress have in reality more than two jobs. Besides legislating, as we are doing today, we must provide service to our constituents on a wide variety of problems. And we must perform as political leaders in order to both maintain the strength of our respective political parties and remain in office.

Mr. Chairman, another question raised is regarding the precedent that will be set if Mr. Shriver is restricted to one job.

The essential question involved here is not whether a particular individual should be allowed to serve in two high-level jobs but, rather, should the Congress unduly restrict the President in his choice of men to run various agencies of the Federal Government. Mr. Chairman, the establishment of a precedent under which Congress could continually infringe upon the removal power of the President would be detrimental to the smooth functioning of Government; not just in this administration, but in subsequent administrations, whether it be Democratic or Republican.

Mr. Chairman, the question is raised regarding the inventiveness which may be curbed if Mr. Shriver is limited to two jobs.

There are many ways in which the executive branch may be organized to fulfill its responsibility. While there are certain legal limitations restricting the President's power to effect reorganization in the executive branch, it seems to me to be unwise to curb his power of innovation, especially when considering the establishment of new programs. We in Congress should encourage new approaches to the job the Government must perform, rather than stifle innovation by unduly restricting administrative flexibility.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SICKLES. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The gentleman from Maryland is touching upon a very interesting point and perhaps a

sensitive point. There are many of us who feel that it may have been a poor decision on the part of the President to choose one man for two totally different types of jobs.

The gentleman suggested that if we interfered with the President's prerogative—and I think we should hesitate to do that—we may in some way be doing something which will be detrimental to what he referred to as the smooth functioning of the Government.

Mr. Chairman, one of the problems we face as a practical matter is that one of the programs for which Mr. Shriver is at least theoretically responsible, is not functioning smoothly. This is true no matter how we gloss over the criticism of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. Chairman, I believe we can in fairness say that there has been increasing public criticism about certain aspects of that program.

If the man responsible for the job of running that office does his job as a part-time responsibility, we are increasing the chances that these criticisms will not be looked at and attended to. There is no relevance in saying that the President's job is a big one, that the Secretary of Defense has a big job. Of course, the Secretary of Defense has many responsibilities, as has the Secretary of State. However, the basic responsibility of both those individuals is at least in one place, whereas in this case there is no relevance between the OEO and the Peace Corps except perhaps that both jobs need a different kind of inspiration. Perhaps it is thought that Mr. Shriver can only provide that inspiration out of some 190 million Americans.

We are being a little casual with what seems to be an inadequate discharge of responsibility on the part of one man, because he has responsibility for these different kinds of jobs. If one man with the responsibility works only 3 days a week it is not enough. Mr. Shriver is willing, so far as the public knows, to continue these two jobs, but so far as the smooth functioning of Government is concerned, which the gentleman is talking about, we might get a better job done both in the Peace Corps and the anti-poverty program if we had two individuals in charge.

I say this in no disrespect to Mr. Shriver. He and I went to law school together. I recognize his ability, his experience, and his other qualities, but it does seem to me, because he is dividing his time between two different jobs, that the Government is suffering.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SICKLES. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I want to differ respectfully with my good friend from New Jersey. The gentleman now in the well of the House has made one of the most thoughtful and logical answers I ever heard on the floor of the House about an unjustified criticism of a public official. He has thoroughly documented the case that the President is acting wisely in appointing Mr. Shriver. Every one of us in our respective offices does the same thing.

It would seem to me that the presentation made by the gentleman from Maryland not only gives a proper and overdue tribute to a splendid public official, one of the most talented men we have in public life today, but also points out very clearly the Presidential prerogative that is involved. This is exercised daily in our own legislative field when we place additional burdens on the leadership in the Congress and upon men who already have important responsibilities. You can point to a number of joint committees working on some of the most important legislative problems facing the Congress that are headed by men who are also chairmen of committees operating in the House and in the Senate.

Mr. SICKLES. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. In further reply to the gentleman from New Jersey, the suggestion is made we should take these two jobs away from the present incumbent and give them to two separate individuals. Since this is a question of leadership, an untangible, if we follow this suggestion we may create a bad situation depending upon the qualities of the two individuals who may be selected. It seems to me that what we are concerned with is placing men in office based upon their capacities.

The Director does not become involved in crossing every "t" or dotting every "i". He sees to it that jobs get done. If you have a big job to do, give it to a busy man.

Let me next refer to a question that is raised regarding the economies involved. To make the record perfectly clear, Mr. Shriver is only receiving one salary and that is his salary as Director of the Peace Corps. He is not being paid two salaries. This may be something that future Presidents or the incumbent may consider with respect to other appointments.

A question has been raised regarding the essential differences between the two jobs now being held by Mr. Shriver.

In both the Peace Corps and the war on poverty volunteers play a very prominent role. The war on poverty has a direct counterpart to the overseas Peace Corps, VISTA, which is under the administrative direction of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In addition, the war on poverty, especially in its community action program, depends upon the involvement of large numbers of volunteers. In my State of Maryland alone, we have over 3,000 unpaid volunteers working this summer on youth programs funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Shriver has a demonstrated capacity to inspire others to volunteer their services.

A serious constitutional question has been raised as to the legality of the action taken by the Senate.

Under our Constitution the President has the power to appoint certain key officials of the executive branch subject to confirmation by the Senate. The courts have held that the President also has the unrestricted power of removal. The Congress cannot infringe upon this power unless wrongdoing is involved. The other body has exercised their constitutional authority by confirming Mr.

Shriver to both positions he now holds. It is incongruous to me that efforts should now be made to usurp the power of the President by attempting to require him to fill one of the jobs Mr. Shriver now holds with another individual.

There was a letter which was sent to the General Counsel of the Peace Corps, William H. Josephson, dated June 18, 1965.

The letter is as follows:

JUNE 23, 1965.

Mr. BOYD CRAWFORD,
Staff Administrator, Committee on Foreign
Affairs, House of Representatives, Wash-
ington, D.C.

DEAR BOYD: Last week, the staff of the Committee on Foreign Affairs asked me for my opinion with respect to the issue raised by the language appearing in lines 4 through 7 on page 2 of S. 2054 as that bill was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs on June 3, 1965.

Enclosed for such use as the committee deems appropriate is a copy of a letter to me dated June 18, 1965, from the Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, Department of Justice, Mr. Norbert A. Schlei.

You will note his opinion that the language in question "would constitute an unconstitutional attempt by Congress to remove from office an officer of the executive branch."

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM JOSEPHSON,
General Counsel.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, June 18, 1965.

Mr. WILLIAM H. JOSEPHSON,
General Counsel, Peace Corps,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. JOSEPHSON: This is in reply to your request for my views concerning the constitutionality of the Javits amendment to S. 2054, 89th Congress, 1st session, a bill to amend further the Peace Corps Act (75 Stat. 612), as amended, and for other purposes. That amendment, which has been adopted by the Senate, would add to section 4(a) of the Peace Corps Act the following sentence:

The Director [of the Peace Corps] shall hold no other Federal office of equivalent rank.

The purpose of the proposal, in the words of its sponsor, was "to provide that the Director of the Peace Corps, Sargent Shriver, shall not be, at one and the same time, Director of the Peace Corps and Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Administering the antipoverty program." 111 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (Daily Ed., June 2, 1965), 11846.

It is my conclusion that this amendment would constitute an unconstitutional attempt by Congress to remove from office an officer of the executive branch in a manner not authorized by the Constitution. Under the Constitution, the power to remove an officer of the executive branch is vested exclusively in the President. Congress can oust such an officer only by the process of impeachment or by abolishing the office. And while Congress can impose reasonable qualifications for civil offices, it may not impose such qualifications retroactively so that its action has the effect of removing the incumbent from office.

The Constitution provides that the President shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint the officers of the United States, except those inferior officers whose appointments the Congress may vest in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments. The Congress, during a famous debate of 1789, recognized that the power of removing the officers of the execu-

tive branch was vested in the President alone and that the Congress could not limit this power by providing that removal, like appointment, required senatorial advice and consent. The constitutional principle that the power of removal of executive officers is vested in the President alone was judicially recognized in *Myers v. United States*, 272 U.S. 52 (1926).¹ The only constitutional way in which Congress can bring about the removal of an executive officer, without abolishing his office, is by way of impeachment—a process which involves a trial by the Senate and conviction by two-thirds of the Senators present.

The Presidents have on several occasions successfully defended from congressional encroachment their exclusive power to remove executive officers. When, in 1924, in connection with the Teapot Dome scandal, the Senate passed a resolution calling for the removal of Secretary of the Navy Denby (65 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 2245), the President declined to comply with that request. He stated:

"The dismissal of an officer of the Government, such as is involved in this case, other than by impeachment, is exclusively an Executive function. I regard this as a vital principle of our Government" (65 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 2335).

In December 1930, the Senate confirmed the nomination of three members of the Federal Power Commission and ordered that the resolution of confirmation be forwarded to the President, who thereupon appointed those officers. After the Christmas recess, the Senate voted to reconsider the nomination and asked the President to return the resolution of confirmation. President Hoover refused to comply with that request. He said:

"I am advised that these appointments were constitutionally made, with the consent of the Senate formally communicated to me, and that the return of the documents by me and reconsideration by the Senate would be ineffective to disturb the appointees in their offices. I cannot admit the power in the Senate to encroach upon the Executive functions by removal of a duly appointed executive officer under the guise of reconsideration of his nomination." (74 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 1929-1930.)

The Supreme Court upheld the President's refusal to permit the removal by the Senate of validly appointed officers.²

Section 304 of the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act of 1943, 57 Stat. 431, 450, provided that no funds could be used to pay the salaries of three named Government officials. When President Roosevelt signed the bill, he stated:

"The Senate yielded, as I have been forced to yield, to avoid delaying our conduct of the war. But I cannot so yield without placing on record my view that this provision is not only unwise and discriminatory, but unconstitutional.

* * * * *

"This rider is an unwarranted encroachment upon the authority of both the executive and the judicial branches under our Constitution. It is not, in my judgment, binding upon them." (89 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 7521.)

¹ Congress can limit the President's power to remove quasi-legislative or quasi-judicial officers. *Wiener v. United States*, 357 U.S. 349; *Humphrey's Executor v. United States*, 295 U.S. 602. The Offices of the Director of the Peace Corps and of the Office of Economic Opportunity do not, however, fall into those categories.

² *United States v. Smith*, 286 U.S. 6; see also 36 Op. A.G. 382. The opinion of the Court deals primarily with interpretation of the Senate rules rather than with the question here involved.

In *United States v. Lovett*, 328 U.S. 303, the Supreme Court held that this attempt to remove the three officials by cutting off their salaries was unconstitutional. While the Court relied on the bill-of-attainder clause of the Constitution, which would probably not be applicable in the present case, its reasoning rested in part on the proposition that the legislative branch has available to it only one procedure, namely impeachment, for the removal of officers of the executive branch.

When the Economic Opportunity Act was before Congress last year it was generally known that Mr. Shriver would be appointed to administer that act; when Mr. Shriver was appointed Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity it was known to the Senate that he would hold the two offices. Had it wished to do so at that time, Congress could have provided in the legislation that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity could not be Director of the Peace Corps at the same time, or the Senate could have refused confirmation for that reason. For Congress may impose reasonable qualifications, applicable prospectively, upon those who would hold executive posts it has created. But if Congress could impose qualifications retroactively, thereby ousting the incumbent, it could remove any officer whose performance, however satisfactory to the President, was unsatisfactory to it. The Constitution is certainly not susceptible of any such interpretation.

In view of the fact that Mr. Shriver has been appointed, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to both of the offices which he now holds, the Congress may not constitutionally undo either appointment by legislation. So long as both posts continue to exist, Mr. Shriver can be removed only by Presidential action or by impeachment.

Sincerely,

NORBERT A. SCHLEI,
Assistant Attorney General, Office of
Legal Counsel

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SICKLES. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. WIDNALL. The gentleman referred to Mr. Shriver as holding two jobs, one with salary and one without salary. Is it not true that he has two unlimited expense accounts which are income tax free, one for war and one for peace?

Mr. SICKLES. I have not looked into that question, but I assume he is not drawing on both at the same time. I do not believe the gentleman means to suggest that there has been an unnecessary duplication in the use of these expense accounts.

Mr. WIDNALL. I am suggesting duplication.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL].

(Mr. CAHILL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, I supported the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964 because I believed in the objective and in the need. I must confess, however, that I have been greatly disturbed in the past year by the ineffective administration of this legislation. I have also been disturbed, as have many Members and countless citizens, by the apparent use of the program for political purposes. The record of this debate is

replete with illustrations of how politics has played its part in the so-called anti-poverty programs. Yesterday the names of countless consultants were inserted in the record illustrating just how the program has operated and how costly it has become.

The entire program was geared to eliminate poverty from America and there is not a man or woman in the House of Representatives who does not subscribe to that lofty aim. However, it is time, I believe, for the administration and certainly for Mr. Shriver and those associated with him in administering this program to recognize that politics has no part in the antipoverty program and that the waste in this program must be eliminated.

As an illustration of the inept administration of this program, I can cite one personal experience which is illustrative of many which have come to my attention. I had occasion back in 1964 to recommend a constituent who was eminently qualified for and was anxious to obtain employment with the poverty program. I communicated with a Mr. James Gillis as early as September 1964. I did not hear from him and I again wrote to him in January, February, and in March. On the 14th of April, 1965, I received a letter from Mr. Gillis W. Long, Assistant Director, who advised me:

Public response to our program has been so great that we have fallen behind in acknowledging many of our inquiries.

In the same letter, Mr. Long advised me that they had no record of the application to which I referred and which I had brought to his attention as early as September 1964, with follow-ups as above recited.

The interesting feature of this case, however, is the fact that my constituent did receive an application, did complete it, and was interviewed both at Temple University in Philadelphia on several occasions and personally in Washington by accredited representatives of the poverty program, including the same James Gillis with whom I had corresponded. As a matter of fact, this constituent received an acknowledgment from the program by way of a card indicating that his application was completed, that he was qualified, and that he would hear in the immediate future.

When last heard from my constituent, he advised me that while he was entirely solvent when he first applied for the job, he now found himself, after expending funds for travel between New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Washington, submitting to interviews, and so forth, poverty stricken himself. In other words, instead of administering the act, he was now in a position where he should be a recipient of the program.

While this may seem farfetched, the facts are accurate and can be completely attested by correspondence. The question, therefore, naturally arises as to how many other incidents similar to this have occurred, how much duplicity of effort, how much waste of time?

If I wished to be facetious in my presentation, I might even suggest an amendment to the adult basic education program under the Economic Op-

portunity Act so that the section could be expanded to incorporate a filing course for Federal personnel under the antipoverty program. The case at hand would certainly indicate gross neglect in the filing department.

But this is just one small example of thousands that have been reported by the press and by the Members occurring throughout our country. I regret that politics and inept administration have been permitted to dull, if not destroy, the lofty aims and objectives raised when this program was first initiated. I would hope that the President, who has evidenced a special interest in this program, would appoint a full-time Administrator, whether it be Sargent Shriver, a man of proven ability in many fields, or someone else. The job requires full time.

As general debate now ends, I shall look forward to the amendments that are going to be presented and I am hopeful that several of them will be adopted in order that the wastefulness and the political machinations of this program can be lessened, if not completely eliminated.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. COLLIER].

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I rise as a Member whose misgivings about the original Economic Opportunity Act were blandly dismissed by proponents of the bill, but have since unfortunately proven to be substantially correct.

Before continuing let me make it perfectly clear that I am as anxious to fight poverty in this Nation as any Member of this body, but I question, Mr. Chairman the means of combat now being employed. As I stated on August 7 in the debate on the original OEO bill:

This legislation overlaps many existing programs and conflicts with others. We have scores of federally financed programs.

I also expressed misgivings about "new problems of irresponsibility, buck-passing, and confusion which will hinder rather than help the war on poverty which has been going on in this country for many years."

In a similar vein in earlier debate on June 3, 1964, I expressed disapproval of the fact that as worded the Economic Opportunity Act provides that an existing local or township-established general assistance department may be bypassed. In fact the Administrator of the Federal OEO program is under no legal obligation to even communicate the nature of his activities to the existing welfare and local authorities. On June 3, 1964, I was assured by my distinguished colleague [Mr. PUCINSKI] that it is "incorrect to say a public agency might be bypassed," and in effect that my fears were unwarranted.

Well, gentlemen, I am afraid my misgivings were not unwarranted. For the Republican task force, in hearing testimony from Arthur Amolsch, of Ypsilanti, Mich., discovered the very same problem of lack of Federal-local communication which I was so concerned. Mr. Amolsch testified that the Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development—WRAND—set up as OEO project was not only sloppily conceived, but essen-

tially unnecessary. WRAND was set up with no attempt to contact town officials in Ypsilanti. This unfortunate lack of communication resulted in the compilation of a report which painted the picture of poverty in Ypsilanti much darker than it actually is. In fact the citizens of Ypsilanti neither need nor desire the projects being set in motion and have organized a group called REPLY—return every penny, leave Ypsilanti. Mr. Gordon Matteson, director of this REPLY organization suggested to our task force that "perhaps WRAND wants to function as a government by themselves."

As I stated during the testimony of Mr. Amolsch and Mr. Matteson, Ypsilanti is clearly a case of the Federal Government moving into an area without consulting the local people, who would have intimate knowledge of the problems of welfare at the local level. The Economic Opportunity Act may state in section 202(a) that a community action program means a program which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served by Ypsilanti is a prime example of glaring failure to even make an attempt at participation of existing local authorities and public aid agencies. I would certainly advocate the amendment to make such participation mandatory.

I should add, here, that this problem of lack of communication between Federal OEO officials and local officials was further emphasized in the testimony of Mayor Walsh of Syracuse before our task force on poverty. Mayor Walsh stated that an OEO grant to Syracuse University conflicted with an existing city program, the crusade for opportunity. The Honorable CATHERINE MAY testified in the same vein that in the small community of White Swan, Wash., a great deal of hostility has arisen among local citizens due to OEO failure to even communicate the nature and intent of their activities to the town. The result is hostility toward the newly established Job Corps Conservation Center.

Perhaps the most recent and most publicized debacle concerning problems of communication in the implementation of Job Corps Centers is the situation in St. Petersburg, Fla. Without going into great detail about the charges of extravagant expenses, country club living, excessive noise, discipline problems, and inadequate screening of candidates, I wish to dwell on one aspect of the problem which could have been avoided by better Federal-local communication.

This problem in my opinion is that of mislocation. The center is located in the Huntington Hotel, a former luxury resort hotel in an area where many retired people live. Seven nearby hotels report that they have lost full-time guests due to excessive noise. Sports activities have had to be moved to another building. Mr. Nins Bond who operates the Bond Hotel for elderly people across the street from the center convinced the city council to ask removal of the OEO project from the city as soon as possible. He pinpointed the problem as one of "mis-

location" of the center in a residential hotel area. As a result of mislocation and other problems the Pinellas County School Board which set up and operates the center for the Government voted to terminate its \$2.5 million 2-year contract sooner than its expiration date in July 1966, if possible.

Time does not permit a more complete discussion of these failures, nor have funds allowed our task force to make a more complete investigation, but it has become clear that before we blithely double the appropriation this year to the Office of Economic Opportunity, we have a solemn obligation and responsibility to be sure that we have adequately analyzed the program to date.

Mr. Chairman, in closing I wish to express my disapproval of section 8 of this amendment of the Economic Opportunity Act which seeks to destroy the right of Governors of the various States to call a halt to unsuccessful OEO programs in their States. As the act now stands, the Governors have 30 days to disapprove of OEO plans. Section 8 of the amendment being considered today seeks to make it possible for the OEO Director to continue his program over the Governor's veto if upon reconsideration, said Director finds the program consistent with the provisions of title I, part B, and title II of the Economic Opportunity Act. I only ask you to judge for yourself whether given the evidence of OEO action without consulting local officials in Ypsilanti, Syracuse, New York, and White Swan, it is wise to go still further and remove the Governor's veto. I, for one, cannot see that it is.

(Mr. COLLIER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CONABLE].

(Mr. CONABLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Chairman, in my analysis of this legislation, I would like to discuss two aspects of the poverty program: national and local.

Nationally, we must consider both concept and performance. From what I have been able to learn, we in Congress have little cause for pride on either score. Conceptually, the program is a hodgepodge of diverse activities, many of which would make more sense in the context of an established agency having overall purview of its functional field. Some of these activities have little to recommend them except their labels, which admittedly reflect the compassion and hope of those who consider poverty an unnecessary affliction. A few of these activities, like Operation Headstart, are new and good. Some of these activities, like the Job Corps, are old and of questionable value.

Without a doubt, the greatest conceptual weakness of the program is its unwillingness to tap the resources of local government except through the indirect device of the local advisory board. The Great Society may be the exclusive province of the Federal Government, but a

greater society would result from a system incorporating and stimulating local initiative, rather than bypassing it. Indeed, I question whether we can a vital democracy which is not firmly based on strong, elected local institutions. In short, conceptually, I feel that this program leaves much to be desired.

From the point of view of performance, the poverty program is at best suspect. A cloak of confusion and mystery surrounds its central administration. Even making allowance for the difficulties of getting a new bureaucracy to function in many unrelated areas at the same time, there seems to be what I hope is an unnecessary reluctance by the sponsors of this legislation to have the program reviewed in detail through comprehensive hearings designed to weed out the inevitable weaknesses discovered during the first 9 months of the program's operation. During this debate, the minority has recounted a series of incidents and episodes indicating that all is not well in the administration of the program. As an illustration, the city of Syracuse, N.Y., has two different local agencies conducting separate poverty programs and these programs are tending to reduce the effectiveness of one another because there was inadequate consideration of their overall goals and methods before approval by Washington.

These criticisms have not been answered, except by those who call them petty. We have a responsibility, in voting the not so petty amount of almost \$2 billion of the people's money, to see that it is not wasted in sloppy administration. Bad administration can become a matter of substance, as wasteful as bad legislating, and certainly we have little in the record to assure us that all is well in the administration of the poverty program.

But, Mr. Chairman, the national aspect of the poverty program is only part of the story, and, if this is in doubt, it is appropriate that I turn to the program in my own district to see how things are going. The city of Rochester, part of which I represent, had some unfortunate national publicity at just about the time the war on poverty was getting underway. The funds made available through this program have become a focal point for a great educational effort with a broad base of community support. Approval has been given to nine programs, including seven community action programs, which are designed to help a total of 70,000 persons through neighborhood service and information centers, educational centers, day care programs and the headstart program.

There is no community in New York State which has used its poverty funds so well. There are short-term problems, such as insufficient involvement of the poor in planning, but the long-term benefits to the community will far outweigh deficiencies which were mostly caused by the need for haste with some sort of constructive activity. If the poverty funds had not been available, some similar program would have been necessary. This past weekend I discussed the program with a number of community leaders whose judgment I respect, and they were unanimously of the opinion that

poverty funds in Rochester are serving a needed purpose.

Mr. Chairman, I am unwilling to overlook this strong and consistent opinion from my district, despite the misgivings I have about the design and the administration of the program nationally. Were more complete information available at this time, I might easily decide that my obligation as a member of the Federal Government required a different vote than that of a Representative of my district. In view of the importance of this program in my area and the constructive use which is being made of it, I am unwilling to see this program killed on the basis of the poor information which is available on the overall program. By my support at this time, however, I am not committing my vote for all time to come. We cannot continue indefinitely to extend this program on the basis of faith, hope, and political declarations. I trust Congress will insist on the closest scrutiny of the Office of Economic Opportunity from this time forward, so that in another year we can decide this issue on some other basis than party loyalty, newspaper revelations, or grassroots samplings.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER].

(Mr. GUBSER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, this is an age of great moral issues which, because they are moral, are presumed to be above the democratic process of debate and the human right to dissent and to question.

If one so much as raises an honest question on civil rights today he is branded as a bigot. If he defends administration policy in Vietnam, he is a warmonger. And if he questions the poverty program, he is considered heartless and insensitive to the feelings of the poor.

We who question this program have only been told of the great need to cure poverty—a need with which we agree—we have not been told of the validity of the plan to accomplish this purpose, nor have we been presented with the facts and a record of sound accomplishment. In fact, facts have been suppressed and denied us.

At the Women's Job Corps Center in St. Petersburg, Fla., a national press conference was scheduled on May 17. On Friday, May 14, Miss Norma Gordon, who was to handle the press conference, called an employee of the Women's Job Corps Center at St. Petersburg from Washington and ordered her to keep Mrs. Mary Packenham, a reporter for the Chicago Tribune, under surveillance during her entire stay in St. Petersburg. The explanation given was that Mrs. Packenham's paper, the Chicago Tribune, was known to be antiadministration and known to be unsympathetic to the Job Corps. Miss Gordon instructed this employee in St. Petersburg, Fla., to see to it that Mrs. Packenham did not obtain any unfavorable information that she could publish.

Mr. Chairman, this could happen with the NKVD in Russia, but it is hardly something that one expects in this country. Nor is it something which engenders the faith and the respect of those of us who belong to this great deliberative body and conscientiously assume our responsibilities within the democratic process to ask honest and sincere questions as to whether we are being given the truth and the full truth regarding the Job Corps.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may need to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBERSTEIN].

(Mr. FARBERSTEIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARBERSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I give my wholehearted support to the effort to make the war on poverty a success. I am encouraged by the imagination and vigor that has characterized the implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 thus far, but I recognize, as we all must, that it is incumbent upon us to reaffirm and rededicate ourselves to this great national commitment in order to assure its success.

Let me remind you that the basic goals on the war on poverty program were to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. In a word, it is our continuing aim to provide the wherewithal to our impoverished fellow Americans to enable them to lift themselves up by their own bootstraps so that the children of poverty do not become the fathers of poverty.

We have instituted this program so that the unemployed teenagers who are interested in "handouts, muggings, and switchblades" will be persuaded to believe in the Job Corps motto of "work, learn, earn"; so that the dropouts of today will be the occupationally trained and responsible citizens of tomorrow. The war is aimed not only at individuals, but at entire neighborhoods, communities, cities, and States. We cannot make these people work, but we can see to it that they are trained to work and inculcated with the desire to be self-supporting.

Under the antipoverty program, every major city has instituted poverty planning, and 500 community action programs will have been initiated this summer, twice the anticipated number. Some programs like the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Head Start have surpassed expectations. Over 200,000 young men and women have volunteered for the Job Corps. They arrive in hand-me-down clothes—undernourished, undereducated, and underskilled. Many have never been more than 25 or 30 miles from home before in their lives. The Job Corps offers them job training and work experience, catchup courses in basic academic subjects, nutrition, guidance, and counseling. It offers them a chance to be somebody, to do something, to leave the urban slum or rural hollow in which they now reside.

During the 8 brief months of the poverty program, over 15,000 VISTA volun-

teers have contributed their services to improving the conditions of the poor. They are at work on Indian reservations, in urban and rural community action programs, in slum areas, hospitals, schools, and in institutions for the mentally ill and retarded. They have seen how poverty blasts the lives of young and old in the underprivileged segment of our society; they have seen the wasted human resources that result from the lack of economic opportunity, and they have joined the Volunteers in Service to America to contribute their share to the war on poverty.

In my own State of New York, there has been great interest and enthusiasm in the poverty program. We not only believe in this war, but are waging it with our own resources well beyond the limits and levels of the Federal commitment. Under the Federal program, New York City has established Neighborhood Youth Corps programs covering 6,000 youths, most of whom are either dropouts or unemployable. This project provides full- or part-time work experience and training for these young men and women, placing them in newly created jobs in hospitals, settlement houses, schools, libraries, parks, and playgrounds. This has enabled the dropouts, youths who have had trouble with the law, and social rejects, to attain a new grasp on life through purposeful employment.

New York City has funded adult basic education centers designed to recruit and bring instruction to adults with educational deficiencies. In my district, leaders have provided educational programs in home economics, consumer education, civil service preparation, leadership training, typing, and clerical work. Participants have been helped to obtain and hold jobs and have thus been enabled to make a meaningful contribution to the society which once supported them.

Under the community action program, my district has initiated programs offering remedial reading and cultural enrichment to 500 second through sixth graders; 800 teenagers, young adults, and school-age children are engaged in supervised recreation and day-camp activities. We have set up 14 Head Start centers which will provide 8 weeks of preschool training this summer to 26,000 children of the poor. This program is designed to help children overcome the obvious deficiencies imposed on them by poverty and prepare them to face life and school with a better chance of success.

Mr. Chairman, these are only examples of identical work being done in all 50 States. Seldom before has a national program brought together so many agencies and so many people to work toward a common goal. We have now taken our first step; it is a step in the right direction, and having taken the first step, we must insure its success.

This massive assault on poverty in our Nation is a new idea. Every new idea in its infancy must periodically be critically reevaluated, but failure to achieve instant perfection is no grounds for a rash prejudgment of its efficacy. If the Office

of Economic Opportunity had waited until perfection could be guaranteed or until criticism could be avoided, the poverty programs would still be in review committees or on the drafting boards. What has happened in this short year hasn't all been successful, nor has it all been failure. The poverty program is still in its experimental stage and it is expected that some miscalculations will become evident. While many strides have been made to alleviate the problem of poverty and undeveloped human resources, there is much that remains to be done and we must get about the business of doing it.

It is my strong conviction that H.R. 8283 will help resolve many of the stumbling blocks that have developed during the first year of the poverty program. Clearly, it is not the panacea of the problems of impoverished Americans, but it is a significant step in expanding the war on poverty and I feel it will greatly augment the effectiveness of programs under the Anti-Poverty Act.

Let us consider together exactly what this admirable bill will do for the Nation.

Under the new Economic Opportunity Act of 1965, authority for 90 percent financing will be extended through fiscal year 1967. This extension of time will assure local public and volunteer organizations that the Federal program will continue long enough to make the investment of time and energy a worthwhile effort. It will provide localities with necessary time to evaluate and build support of local programs which otherwise might be severely crippled before they get underway. In addition, the 1965 amendments provide additional funds which will insure the success of the many faceted program. The increase in funds will permit the local agencies to improve their facilities and to go into the program with greater depth of personnel.

The bill revises section 311 of the 1964 act so as to delete the provision allowing for control of funds by political subdivision and individuals. This will tend to insure that the funds will not be used for personal advancement but solely for the purposes of eradicating poverty. Under the amendment, the types of assistance that may be extended are specified. It provides for loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private non-profit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs to meet the needs of migrant workers and seasonal farm laborers.

The bill—section 13a—enhances the effectiveness of the VISTA volunteers by making them available for assistance in communities with any kind of local program which is receiving or could receive assistance under the act, and further provides for volunteer assistance on an assignment basis in localities which have the greatest need.

Finally, I feel that another significant change appears in section 15. This section provides for an additional six new members to be appointed to the National Advisory Council established under section 605 of the antipoverty bill. This is

designed to provide the Council with a somewhat broader base; it will make the Council more representative and aware of the needs of different interest groups and areas. A big problem facing the administration is insufficient information for economic analysis, insufficient data on geographic regions, States, and counties, and insufficient data on the needs and programs required in certain areas. With the extension of the National Advisory Council, the Office of Economic Opportunity will be better able to assess and implement its program.

Mr. Chairman, I am proud of the American people in their national commitment toward the economic redemption of the poor. I am proud of the Economic Opportunity Act and what it represents; and I feel that the provisions of H.R. 8283 will do much to improve its effectiveness. As a result, the future operation of this tremendous undertaking in human welfare will be enhanced and improved.

Mr. Chairman, condition of poverty, misery, and degradation have been with mankind for thousands of years. We cannot eradicate it today, or this year, or even next year. But if it is to be eradicated at some future time, there must be a beginning. This Congress has just begun to fight the war on poverty with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Already this war on poverty has produced hope in the hearts of many. We cannot now pause in our efforts if we are to fulfill the mandate of the American people. And thus, I urge the speedy passage of H.R. 8283, the new Economic Opportunity Act of 1965.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may need to the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS].

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, I merely use this time to answer a statement that was made several times yesterday by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN]. In supporting his contention that this program should be turned over to the cities, he used the case of the city of Los Angeles. I suspect, living 3,000 miles away, he does not know what is happening in Los Angeles.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me, since he mentioned my name?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes. I will be glad to.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The gentleman apparently neglected to listen to what I said yesterday. I never suggested turning over the antipoverty programs to the cities of this country though, of course, they have a role to play. If he will read the Record of yesterday, he will find that I did not say any such thing. I said that there was a difference of opinion between the mayor of Los Angeles and those running the programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. How the gentleman could have read such a conclusion into what I said I cannot conceive. I do not think there is any argument that Mayor Yorty has been in disagreement, as has Mayor Christopher, of San

Francisco. In fact, they are taking their disagreements as high as Vice President HUMPHREY. You cannot go much higher than that in expressing objections about the way that these Federal programs are run. I am not suggesting that the answer lies simply in turning the programs over to the local governments. I do not know how you can arrive at such a misconception.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you know how the program is being operated in Los Angeles?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I am hoping to hear from the gentleman right now. I am listening intently.

Mr. HAWKINS. If you will listen to me, I will tell you how it is being operated.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The gentleman from New Jersey is a little out of date. The mayor of San Francisco's name happens to be Mr. Shelley and not Mr. Christopher.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I might say it was a slip of the tongue, a Freudian slip, perhaps. I was thinking of the time when we used to have a Republican mayor of San Francisco, as I look forward to the time when we will again. I thank the gentleman from California for correcting me.

Mr. HAWKINS. May I state again for the sake of the gentleman from New Jersey as well as others who might have heard his statement yesterday that the program in Los Angeles has been operated for 6 months by five public agencies including the city of Los Angeles and the county of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles School Board, which is a unified school district, the Los Angeles County School Board, and the State of California. If you get any agency that is operated more by public agencies, then I do not know what it is. This is not a good example, certainly, to use an agency that is being objected to by those advocating the use of public agencies. I think this is only an indication. There are some—not all but at least some—Republicans who in one breath are saying that there must be more participation from the public in the poverty areas and others on the other side who are saying that the public agencies should dominate this program. As much as I listened to the Republicans yesterday, I think that they miss the whole objective of this program and the involvement of the people of the poverty areas.

I wish to pay a compliment to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] because I think above all he came nearest to putting his finger on the problem when on page 16884 of the Record he said in answer to a question from Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD as to what had changed his position:

I am not changing my position. I am merely saying the people from the governing body ought to have a voice and I still believe

the poor people ought to have a dominant voice.

Remember he said they should have a dominant voice.

The poor people ought to be able to select their own representatives and I still feel this strongly, the only way the program is going to work is that the poor people are involved.

I want to commend the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] for that statement and certainly hope in the consideration of this matter the Republicans will bring in an amendment not only to strengthen the role of public agencies, which all of us insist should be done, but also to strengthen the role of private agencies and, above all, to give some role to the people who are closest to the problem, that is, the poor people.

It seems to me, if they do not do this, in order to accomplish their objective as expressed in the fine words of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], then they have done only half a job and failed to fulfill their obligation of making the Republican Party into something which presents a new face to the American people.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAWKINS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota; I mentioned his name.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for the comments that he has made. I have an amendment which I shall offer—in fact, it will be the first one that I shall offer—in which I make provision for the Community Action Board to be represented at least one-third from the poor, selected by the poor themselves; and the other two-thirds by the elected officials or representatives appointed by them, the representatives of the agencies that work with the poor. I thank the gentleman for agreeing with it, and I shall send him a copy of my amendment.

Mr. HAWKINS. I thank the gentleman. I have had a little trouble getting copies of the other amendments. I should like to ask the gentleman this question. In the event his amendment fails, is it his intention not to support the so-called Bell amendment that would provide for the strengthening of the public agencies? In other words, failing in the attempt to get the poor involved in the program, will the gentleman then turn around and strengthen the role of the public agencies?

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, as I understand the amendment of the gentleman from California, [Mr. BELL], it would merely prohibit the local officials from being circumvented entirely. I might point out that I have a letter from some county commissioners wherein they were told by the Office of Economic Opportunity that if they did not set up their agency organization that there would be established citizens committees and they would act through such a group. I think it is unwise for them to be able to circumvent entirely the local governmental body, because they are the only ones responsible.

Mr. HAWKINS. Yes. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California, [Mr. BELL].

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I want to point out that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] is exactly right when he says that this is the purpose of my amendment. It is to prevent the circumventing of the local government. I want to point out further that a great majority of our programs today where there is Federal aid are routed through local governmental programs. Would the gentleman, for example, disagree with the elementary and secondary educational programs where you are dealing with a local government?

Mr. HAWKINS. The gentleman's amendment goes far beyond that. Not only will his amendment give complete control to local cities and governmental bodies; it will completely destroy the program, because under the amendment, the way you administer that amendment, it would be possible for a city to have control over a State program because the State program, operating within a city, would then have to get the approval of each and every city.

In Los Angeles County alone that would mean the approval of some 76 cities. You recognize that the city of Los Angeles, along with the other agencies I have enumerated, have been 6 months squabbling over a program. If 1 city takes 6 months to approve a program it certainly would take 6 years, possibly for 76 cities to approve 1. That is exactly what the gentleman's amendment would do.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL].

(Mr. WIDNALL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Chairman, my comments today are not directed toward opposing the war on poverty but toward recommending a more constructive means of implementing the programs than the proposed legislation. The poverty projects which have been initiated thus far have encountered serious problems in areas such as overlapping jurisdiction, administration, and local-Federal cooperation. In too many cases, the local groups and organizations sponsoring various projects have had their hands tied by administrators at higher levels. In addition, local experts are often ignored when the final project prospecti are compiled. I must point out that this legislation as it is now proposed has an excellent possibility of multiplying the numerous problems which these new programs have faced unless at the same time, Congress insures that the appropriate steps are being taken to remedy areas already found to be deficient. The various poverty projects suffer from the usual pains of any newly conceived programs, but it is only through continual improvement by revision and modification that we can truly construct a successful war on poverty.

Earlier this year I pointed out the problems being created by the somewhat unusual salary scales being used for bureaucrats in the war on poverty. Although I have been reassured by the Director of the Office of Economic Op-

portunity, Mr. Shriver, that these salaries are not at all out of keeping with the job designations, there still appears to be overadministration at the highest levels of the war on poverty. In my own State of New Jersey, the State-level OEO director receives \$25,000 a year and supervises a staff several of whom draw proportionately substantial salaries. The administration's recently proposed National Teachers Corps, according to newspaper reports, would require that salary scales be set with respect to the prevailing pay rates of the individual community. It seems to me that the same situation should exist in the other poverty programs as well. The poverty salaries which have been termed unrealistic in many cases have resulted in a depletion of the ranks in parallel local agencies. Not only are these salaries unrealistic but they are also inconsistent, particularly at the local level, further tying the hands of the local projects and services. In fact, the Employment Services offices, which have been asked to handle the poverty program recommendations on the local level, suffer from underadministration and a lack of qualified personnel. I have recently been contacted concerning a young man from my district who has experienced the difficulties from such underadministration. It is quite possible that this young man received inadequate counseling on his Job Corps application due to the inability of the local office to maintain qualified personnel in this capacity.

As a member of the minority task force on economic opportunity, I had an opportunity to view firsthand data on several of the poverty programs. There is no real need to reiterate those items which have appeared in the newspapers of late but they reflected the problems uncovered by the task force. My own district has not been immune to these difficulties. The community action program prospectus of Bergen County emerged from the Washington poverty headquarters in a form which would have been illegal had it been acted on by the county according to the county attorney. Although I have arranged talks to resolve the difficulty, the problem has not as yet been successfully resolved. In fact, the most recent check with the poverty office indicates that no action has been taken by Federal officials at all.

Unfortunately, the poverty management has been particularly inept when dealing with our Nation's deprived youth. This naturally causes me a good deal of concern. For example, it would seem that great care might be necessary in operating a project on the scale of the Labor Department's Neighborhood Youth Corps project which is organized to increase the employability of youths or aid them in continuing or resuming their education. In New Jersey alone, NYC projects have been approved for 24 communities involving a total of 5,032 young people. These projects are being operated at a total cost of over \$3.5 million and the jobs provided run the gamut from custodial work in public facilities to snake handling in a city museum. And

yet all these young people have been placed or will be placed without the benefit of a significant study to determine whether these jobs will actually increase their employability or as to the long-term requirements of the labor market.

The effectiveness of the newest OEO project, Operation Head Start, is already being questioned by professional educators. The use of private welfare, public welfare, school boards, and a variety of sponsors makes this program highly experimental and there is no assurance that the children will experience any real benefit when they enter school for the first time in the fall. In my own district, the lack of sufficient consultation with the professional educators in the community was apparent when the Head Start projects in Hunterdon County of my district were being established. These factors and the very skimpiness of the preliminary preparation for the Head Start program are the cause for some concern. The headlong rush to establish something concrete and justify the expense to a public that, according to the polls, is rather apathetic toward this "war," has characterized the administration efforts from the start. This same approach is also beginning to take its toll in other programs affecting the Nation's youth such as the President's Summer Jobs for Youth Campaign.

Now is the time to stabilize these poverty programs as well as increase their scope. When the Equal Opportunity Act of 1964 was in committee last year, I suggested a continuing committee review of the war on poverty. In the light of recent developments, I feel that such a requirement is even more imperative. There is at present, no serious evaluation being conducted on these programs nor is there any apparent effort at improvement. I strongly recommend that Congress take steps to insure the effective development of the war on poverty as it considers increasing the poverty budget. If we are to keep faith with the Nation's underprivileged citizens, we can do no less.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HATHAWAY].

(Mr. HATHAWAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee, last year the 88th Congress passed one of the boldest pieces of legislation in our history. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is an idealistic yet practical attempt to bridge the gap between the haves and the have nots. It is not a welfare program, but rather it is an attempt to help others help themselves. When the bill was passed last year it was acknowledged that adjustments would have to be made as time passed, that some programs would not work as well as others at first. The poverty bill of 1965 is designed to implement the 1964 bill and to further strengthen the excellent programs set in motion last year.

Maine people have traditionally been skeptical of Federal programs. Yet it is extremely important to note that Maine citizens have responded most favorably and enthusiastically to the war on poverty programs. Maine citizens are presently participating in every poverty program except the VISTA volunteers.

There have been 25 Head Start programs organized geared to accommodate 1,281 preschool children. These projects have received \$146,286. One hundred full-time teachers along with 35 neighborhood volunteers as teachers' aids and 54 additional volunteers are participating.

Probably one of Maine's more noteworthy programs is the demonstration project of Camp Mainstay at Camp Modin in Canaan. This program is receiving \$158,508 in Federal funds. It is a project which enables ADC mothers and their children, as well as elder citizens, emotionally disturbed youngsters and school dropouts, to benefit from a wholesome family environment away from home. Those participating come from fatherless homes. This ambitious project promises to be highly successful.

Maine has endorsed community action with great enthusiasm. Plans have been submitted by 11 of Maine's 16 counties and the cities of Portland and Bangor under the community action program.

Work experience programs have been organized by the health and welfare department and by Washington and Knox Counties. It is expected that the projects in Knox and Washington Counties will affect some 1,100 persons including about 220 who will actually receive job training and education. These programs will prepare unskilled unemployed persons to fill job opportunities which are available or which can be developed in the areas affected.

A \$438,000 Job Corps project is in operation in Acadia National Park.

Eight of Maine's nine colleges are participating in the work study program. This program is providing employment to college students who come from low-income families in order that they may attend summer classes.

Maine has neighborhood youth corps projects either pending or approved in 15 different communities, 8 school administrative districts, and a State neighborhood youth corps which is pending and, upon approval, will be a \$113,400 project for 201 students. Just this past Monday, four new projects were approved for Maine involving a total of \$111,379. The largest of these programs is in Lewiston where \$45,120 is earmarked to train 84 young men and 41 young women just out of high school.

This response on the part of Maine citizens is indicative not only of their acceptance of the Economic Opportunity Act, but also of their reliance upon it to solve some of the serious problems which plague those enmeshed in the web of poverty.

Programs under this act have been in operation for a very short time. They deal with complex social problems which the best efforts of educators, social work-

ers, and others have failed to solve after years of effort.

It would be foolhardy, even cruel, to terminate or curb these vital programs for social betterment after only some 6 months of trial.

I support the extension of the time limit of this beneficial law through passage of the bill which we are considering here today—without amendment.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 8 minutes to the very distinguished gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK].

(Mrs. MINK asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be able to speak on behalf of H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. I have been privileged to serve on the special ad hoc subcommittee on the poverty war program, and have had an opportunity to examine its progress and implementation. I am extremely enthusiastic about this program, because it is founded on the basic notion that through education and training every individual can ultimately realize his own capacity and potential for growth.

The President of the United States must be commended for the great initiative that he has fostered in communities all across this country to meet the problems of poverty through broad, imaginative programs which seek to get to the heart of the problems of the poor.

JOB CORPS

Two specific areas of this act are of particular interest to me, because they are directed to helping our young people. The Job Corps, both the rural conservation centers, as well as the urban centers has offered to 10,241 young men and women an opportunity to live in a new environment, to learn new things, and to begin to build for a new life of dignity, with improved prospects for employment. The Job Corps is generating a new feeling of hope in these young people and instilling in them the confidence that the people of this country do really care about their lives. This program is helping to motivate them toward a course of self-improvement, by pointing them in the direction of greater opportunities.

There are many people in this country who are simply not sympathetic to the problems of others, and who care little for programs which are designed to give the unfortunate a helping hand. We must not allow these people to stifle this program by constant criticism about difficulties which are part of the program itself. That they are poor is the very basis of their inclusion in this effort; that they are educationally and culturally deprived is part of the social problem that this program is designed to meet. What we are saying is that given the fact that these are conditions in which we find the vast majority of the young people who come to us for help, we firmly believe that they can be helped to seek a better life and become responsible, productive citizens in our country.

The value of this effort cannot be

measured in the dollar cost. The establishment of residential centers is always high, and it is grossly unfair to compare them with the cost of nonresidential vocational, technical institutions. We are not merely seeking to train and educate them with skills which this country can use in business and industry, but we are trying to overcome the years of deprivation which have stifled these young people's capacity to seek a life of opportunity.

The most important facet of this program is the recognition it gives to the youngster's home environment and the part that it has played in his development; it takes cognizance of the concept that a new wholesome "home" situation must be offered these young people in addition to all the tools of learning. This is the strength of the program, and why I believe that permanent, far-reaching changes will be effected in the general outlook and desire of these young people to better themselves constantly, even after they have left the Job Corps centers and returned to their respective communities.

The Job Corps has faced formidable problems in getting started. We must not judge its worth or value by news stories which highlight only these problems and not the successes that they have enjoyed. Our task is rather to give these projects our encouragement and to help them organize facilities which will be effective in offering the kind of well-planned, well-rounded help that these deprived youths require if they are to be salvaged into resourceful, imaginative, and productive citizens. We must assure these centers adequate well-trained staffs to handle the myriad of problems that residential educational centers must face on a day-to-day, 24-hour basis. We must appreciate their responsibilities in handling these youngsters as individuals, by offering them the guidance and attention of which they have been deprived and the lack of which has been the greatest single factor in their being enrollees in the first place. They must be screened and tested to see what abilities and talents they possess, and then they must be carefully guided into the courses of instruction which would be of greatest interest and use to them. This means that a center must have a wide range of offerings, of guidance and counseling, and of skilled instructional as well as academic training. In connection with learning a trade, many have to study mathematics and many have to improve their reading and language skills. In 2 short years, this program must succeed in helping to reconstruct these young people and to help place them upon the road of opportunity.

It is hoped that through the additional funds provided by this bill, that there will be 80,000 enrollees in the Jobs Corps by this time next year. As of June of this year, the Job Corps had received a total of 297,359 applications, of which 228,609 were considered acceptable. Of these applications 53,256 were from women.

The following is the breakdown of the Job Corps centers as of today, July 14:

CONSERVATION CENTERS

State	County	Center name	Enrollees
Arizona	Navajo	Winslow ¹	142
Arkansas	Franklin	Cass ¹	90
	Garland	Ouahita ¹	106
California	Eldorado	Sly Park ¹	67
	Glenn	Alder Springs ¹	140
	Los Angeles	Fenner Canyon ¹	83
	Riverside	Oak Glen ^{1 2}	82
	Shasta	Toyon ¹	96
	Trinity	Lewiston ¹	106
Colorado	Mesa	Collbran ¹	83
Idaho	Idaho	Cottonwood ¹	69
Illinois	Pope	Goleonda ¹	135
	Williamson	Crab Orchard ¹	85
Indiana	Perry	Branchville ¹	87
Kentucky	Bell	Cumberland Gap ¹	53
	Edmonson	Great Onyx ¹	123
Maryland	Frederick	Catoctin ¹	90
Massachusetts	Barnstable	Wellfleet ¹	95
Missouri	Butler	Poplar Bluff ¹	64
New Mexico	Torrance	Mountainair ¹	103
	Valencia	Grants ¹	188
North Carolina	Macon	Arrowood ¹	87
	Transylvania	Sehenek ¹	175
North Dakota	Stark	Dickinson ¹	70
Ohio	Lawrence	Vesuvius ¹	80
Oklahoma	Le Flore	Hodgens ¹	100
Oregon	Douglas	Wolf Creek ¹	181
	Harney	Malheur ¹	112
	Lincoln	Angell ¹	119
	Tillamook	Tillamook ¹	156
Pennsylvania	Forest	Blue Jay ¹	79
Tennessee	Sullivan	Jacobs Creek ¹	76
Washington	Clallam	Neah Bay ¹	91
	Ferry	Curlew ¹	161
	Lewis	Cispus ¹	157
Wyoming	Natrona	Casper ¹	82

URBAN CENTERS FOR MEN

California	Pleasanton	Camp Parks ¹	1087
Indiana	Edinburg	Camp Atterbury ¹	543
Kentucky	Morganfield	Camp Breekinridge ¹	414
Michigan	Fort Custer	Fort Custer ¹	97
New Jersey	Edison	Camp Kilmer ¹	1,072
Oregon	Astoria	Tongue Point Naval Station ¹	540
Texas	San Marcos	Camp Gary ¹	1,291

WOMEN'S CENTERS

California	Los Angeles ¹		202
Florida	St. Petersburg ¹		222
Nebraska	Omaha ¹		70
Ohio	Cleveland ¹		243
West Virginia	Charleston ¹		112

¹ In operation on June 30, 1965.² State related center.

We know, Mr. Chairman, that most of these young people come from poor families. They have backgrounds of privation and hopelessness. They have been cheated of the incentives to learn, of the self-confidence to try for a meaningful place in modern society; and so they take the path of least resistance—despair.

Now, by creating Job Corps, the Economic Opportunity Act offered such youngsters an alternative course—self-realization. Job Corps is designed to reach young people who come from such crippling environments that they must get away from home to get ahead. And so, the wisdom on our investment—and our willingness to invest still more—largely depends on whether or not Job Corps is in fact reaching those for whom it was created.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has been able to survey these Job Corpsmen, to see just who they are, as a composite, and what their backgrounds are.

I think the findings will be interesting to every Member.

The average enrollee is a little over 17. In school, he got as far as the ninth grade, and then dropped out. He may have reached the ninth grade, but his

skills in the three R's are at roughly the sixth-grade level. Three out of four enrollees had been out of school for more than 6 months at the time they entered the Job Corps.

Seventy percent of these young people come from families living in substandard and overcrowded housing; their families had an average of six people living in the home.

The parents of more than a third of the enrollees have a serious physical and mental condition; and the parents of nearly two out of five have had less than an eighth-grade education, or do not speak English.

Nine out of ten enrollees were unemployed but looking for work at the time they entered the Job Corps. Of the 1 out of 20 employed at that time, only half had held their positions for more than 4 months. They had worked for an average of 85 cents an hour, but even at that rate they could find only about 28 hours of work a week. The average earnings of those employed was just \$22.40 a week.

The overwhelming majority of Job Corpsmen come from families where the primary wage earner was unskilled and held only menial jobs. In two out of three of their families the primary wage

earner was unemployed or severely underemployed, and the families of one-third of the corpsmen were on welfare.

Statistics alone, Mr. Chairman, cannot adequately describe the bleak lives these young people had led before joining the Job Corps. But I believe they do indicate that those who have been allowed to come into the Corps are those who need it most.

The results, in terms of acquiring good jobs after Job Corps training, are of course yet to be seen. But we can be sure of this: hope is being offered to thousands of youths whose conditions would otherwise be quite hopeless. A gate has opened on the poverty of their lives. And it is heartening to know that this important part of the war on poverty is not avoiding the toughest battles.

It has earned our continued support and I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

The Neighborhood Youth Corps portion of the Economic Opportunity Act has had considerable response and success. As of June 30, 1965, there were 640 programs established in the United States. A total of 261,686 young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21 years have participated or are now participating in it: 178,082 of these young people were part of the program while still attending school, and 83,606 were out of school.

Secretary Wirtz has said:

The primary goal of the Neighborhood Youth Corps is to provide the necessary income to our young people so that they can remain in or return to school.

However, for those who do not return to school, they are given worthwhile work experience so as to improve their employability in the future. For those who remain in school, this program provides them with a small amount of money to help pay for the expenses needed to stay in school without having to depend upon their poor parents for their full support.

The U.S. Department of Labor is charged with the responsibility of administering this phase of the act. The Federal Government pays 90 percent of the cost of this program, with the local sponsoring organization providing the remainder of the funds, in cash or kind.

For most of the young people helped by this program, this is their first job, their first income, and their first meaningful step in the development of the kind of attitudes they will need to become contributing members of our society. We know that over a million youngsters drop out of school each year. This program will help to keep these students in school, by offering not only work experience but also the chance to earn money to help meet the demands made by their families that they should leave school to earn a living.

The success of this program means hope to thousands of our children who have been sapped of hope and the kind of personal motivation needed to keep them working to improve themselves. With the help provided by this program they are encouraged to stay in school; with the training they receive they are better able to compete for a decent job. With-

out this help they will surely be locked within the cycle of poverty which robs this country of this great wealth of untapped human resource.

Mr. Chairman, the Economic Opportunity Act has given our youth a second chance to be somebody. I am proud of the initiative they have shown. I am eager to keep this program moving forward, and therefore urge all my colleagues of this House to support this bill, and thereby keep faith with these young people who have responded so enthusiastically and who are seeking our help and our confidence.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Florida if he is going to yield some time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. HORTON] and if he could do it now.

Mr. GIBBONS. I cannot at this time. I prefer not to yield at this time since I have so many requests. I will try to work him in. I am sorry you cannot yield to him on your own time.

Mr. QUIE. We have the ranking member of the committee—and I would like to yield to him now—the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] 5 minutes.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, late yesterday afternoon the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] was able to receive a list of the consultants of the anti-poverty program. He had been trying for several weeks to get this list but to no avail.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. AYRES. I will yield to you on your time only. Will you give me 2 additional minutes?

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] called me. I reviewed that list and I saw many familiar names, including some of our top Washington lobbyists and some of our top newspaper people in the United States. Then I looked at the amount of money they were drawing. Some of them are getting as high as \$90 a day plus expenses.

There is one name, Mr. Rauh, Michael B.—the son of the same Mr. Rauh who is the great Democratic leader in the District of Columbia, the head of the ADA. His son is not poor. In fact, after he was a consultant he became a full-time employee and they neglected to take him off as consultant for several weeks.

Then I scanned the list a little further and I saw a gentleman by the name of Haddad.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Is the gentleman referring to William F. Haddad?

Mr. AYRES. William F. Haddad, of New York.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. This is the man who is supposed to be Inspector General of the poverty program.

Mr. AYRES. He is listed as consultant. He has hired 33 people who are directly under his jurisdiction.

Mr. QUIE. He is also listed as Inspector General.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. You know he has campaigned against me.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I will yield to you on your time only.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. He is the gentleman who ran against me last year and has stated publicly that he is going to run again. Now it is my opinion that he is subverting parts of this program for his own personal political gain. I think he is attempting to build a personal political organization out of poverty funds. From the record that I have seen, six consultants have been appointed by Mr. Haddad, who lives in the 19th Congressional District, which is my district; six other consultants who live in my district have been appointed by others. Of course, whether there is any liaison on that I do not know but I suspect there is.

There are seven other consultants who live right along side of my district, three of which were appointed by Mr. Haddad. Now this seems to me to be a situation where an individual thinks he is going to outsmart the world. But time and events usually catch up with those fellows and they wind up outsmarting themselves.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. No, not on my time. If the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] wants to give me 5 more minutes, I will be glad to yield.

Mr. SCHEUER. I thank the gentleman.

I do not hold any brief for those who permitted this. If there are none who knew this was going on, something is wrong somewhere.

This seems to be wholly unfair and something which should not have been permitted. I simply cannot understand it. I should like for the gentleman to explain it, if the gentleman in the well can explain it.

Mr. AYRES. I would not accuse Mr. Haddad of using these funds for political purposes. Of course he is not. We all know that.

But I was criticized for having alerted the House to this serious situation, because out of my own funds I spent \$411 to alert Members that they might have a primary opponent.

Does the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN] know that by actual count 12 Members have given me \$10, because 12 Members found opponents on that list?

Mr. FARBSTEIN. All I can say is, it is very interesting, especially because it involves the individual who is the Inspector General. He is supposed to be the one to oversee the program, to make certain that there is no skulduggery and there are no peccadillos involved in this program. He appoints the consultants. As I say, he appointed 33 consultants and undoubtedly was responsible, as I said earlier, for having some liaison with the appointment of perhaps 13 other consultants.

Mr. AYRES. I thank the gentleman for calling that to the attention of the committee. I should like to refer Members who have not seen the telegram to pages 16879 through 16883, where 450 names are listed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Ohio 3 additional minutes.

Mr. AYRES. There you may find your next opponent.

It is pretty easy, when one has the taxpayers' money flowing into a district, with handpicked lieutenants who know nothing about poverty.

Members should take a look at the newspaper people involved. We even find Mrs. Riddik, the poor little girl. Everybody thought she was a volunteer until this list came out. She is getting only \$60 a day. I do not think she is building any machine.

What this Sargent Shriver has been able to do in the way of propaganda has been unbelievable.

I commend myself for having spent \$411. I will be reimbursed by many Members and many people who realize I am in poverty. When one can invest \$411 with the possibility of saving the taxpayers a billion dollars, that is a very good investment.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Aside from this situation, I am sure the gentleman feels an incident of this nature should not be permitted to interfere with an overall wonderful program, one which is absolutely necessary for the people of this Nation.

At least, that is the way I feel about it, aside from this particular individual, who is somewhat of a barnacle—that at times attaches to new programs or agencies for personal political gain. I believe this is a program we must have in this country for the good it does.

Mr. AYRES. I could not agree with the gentleman more.

The gentleman will have an opportunity to vote for amendments that will make it possible to get rid of 411 Haddads who are not named "Haddad" but are of the same stripe, when we come to the amendments we will offer.

We Republicans want to help, but we want to do it in the right way. We are not in favor of building political machines to defeat incumbents in this Congress, Democrat or Republican.

My wire went to both Democrats and Republicans. Take a good look at the list in the RECORD. As I say, you might find some very, very dear friends who will meet you in the election in 1966.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I wonder if the gentleman recalls that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] mentioned that the State director of the antipoverty program in New Jersey receives a salary of \$25,000. I wonder if the gentleman from Ohio would draw any conclusion from the fact that the State director of the program is a constituent of mine? Should I start to worry about a possible opponent next year because of this fact?

Mr. AYRES. I believe that as long as they have a billion dollars to play politics with, we all had better worry. One

never knows when one of these "Haddads" is going to stick his head up.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. AYRES. Yes. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. Another interesting note in looking over the names is the fact that in these full-time expert consultant lists working on the so-called war on poverty we see that there are two Redskin players, Halfback Ozzie Clay and Lonnie Sanders, listed as full-time expert consultants. The list says they are paid \$40 a day. Why are these two professional football players being hired as full-time consultants by the Office of Economic Opportunity? If it is to use their names for publicity purposes, this is certainly not a full-time occupation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 30 additional seconds.

If the gentleman will yield further, in fact I checked on it and I learned that they are both in training right now at the Redskin training camp at Carlisle, Pa. This activity can be expected to take up their time for the start of the season, and I imagine they will be fighting poverty on the gridiron toward the first of next year. I wonder what Sargent Shriver calls full-time employment in the Office of Economic Opportunity and what these people are really doing. Before we go any further we ought to stop and analyze the entire employment list of OEO. Who are these people? Where are they? What are they doing to aid poverty stricken? I would like answers to these questions. The American people also would like to know, I am sure.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman another 30 seconds.

Mr. AYRES. These people are fine athletes—not particularly expert, but they are listed as dropouts, I will say to the gentleman from Minnesota. They could not get into the Job Corps because they had to stay here to practice football, but they could put them on as consultants and sort of ease them out. I understand those people on this list, in view of the fact that these gentlemen are getting \$40 a day, are all going to get season passes to see the Redskin games.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry I could not get the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] to yield to me, because I wanted to compliment him on the great rate that he apparently got from Western Union. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES] earlier computed the cost to have been around \$4,500.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. Not on my time.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 1 minute.

Mr. GIBBONS. I want to laugh at the crocodile tears shed over there about these consultants. This is really some-

thing. Mr. QUIE stood in the well of the House yesterday and said he could not get any information. Then I gave him the telephone book that he said he needed. Then he said he could not get any information and then he puts in all of this list of consultants. Today he tries to make it look like it is a great piece of espionage work that he has done. Really, anybody who knows what is going on in Congress knows already that another committee of the Congress inquired into this situation. The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service held hearings on it, and the information came from there. The only thing about it is when they inserted it in the RECORD he conveniently cut out some of the little choice bits in here about how much the consultants were getting on the jobs they quit or gave up so that any reasonable persons could contrast the pay. They fail to mention it is a standard Government practice in any agency being set up or being tooled up. Listen to this little choice tidbit that they have cut out and which we should cut the House in on, because they left it out. They did not explain who was not getting paid at all. Whom do we have on that list? It is good, and you will really enjoy it. We will probably all like to get some of these consultants ourselves. These are unpaid consultants that I am talking about now. First of all, we have such people as the head of IBM working unpaid. We have another man who gave up a \$50,000 a year job to come here to work for a lot less than that. We have Gino Lollobrigida working for nothing as a consultant. I am sure that the gentleman from Ohio would not object to that. We have Donna Reed, and she is working for nothing, too. And Jackie Gleason and Dick Van Dyke and Andy Williams.

No. They make great political hay at the taxpayers' expense by sending around this \$4,500 wire, and they try to convince everybody that they have found something that is a big scandal when it is in the records of the committees of this Congress and then they try to come here to convince you at the last minute about this. Who is crying crocodile tears around here? These are the same faint-hearted voices of doom and despair? We hear them all the time.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GURNEY].

(Mr. GURNEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a clarification?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. AYRES. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES] is my close personal friend. He has stated to me that he apologizes for having misread a cipher. The amount was \$411.52.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, here we are at the end of the debate on the war against poverty. I must say that I originally had about 15 minutes, but it has now dwindled down to about 4, so I am going to try to summarize a little bit what I think our position is on this bill.

Let me say at the outset that it was not a long time ago, just in the last Congress, in fact, that this House of Representatives had the good commonsense to call a halt to a program, or at least to trim it down a little, when we recognized that we did have a poor program and it was not working well. I am calling attention to the Area Redevelopment Administration—ARA—which was the very first program initiated by the Kennedy-Johnson administration. It got into serious trouble, and the hearings so proved. So in 1963 this Congress had the good sense not to continue and double the authorization for that program.

It seems to me that this is where we are in this particular bill. No one in this House is against a program that is against poverty. There is not anybody on our side of the aisle that is against youth programs like the Women's Job Corps that has gotten off to such a bad start in St. Petersburg. I do not want to talk about the drunkenness down there; I do not think that is the main thing. I do not think that the point in St. Petersburg is the kind of underprivileged young women they are trying to retrain, but the point is that it was so poorly started. For example, it was put in a section of the city where it never should have been and that they leased the hotel at a dollar figure which exceeded, for 18 months, the appraised value of the hotel.

I wish I had the time to go into the St. Petersburg story. I will simply summarize it by saying this to you, that the merchants association and the city council voted to move it. The school board voted to abandon the contract as soon as they could. It just has not worked well at all, not because the idea was not a good one, but because it started so hastily that it just was not done well. Even the administrator in charge of the job has resigned because of tension headaches. That is how bad a start the Women's Job Corps has gotten off to in St. Petersburg.

I wish I had time to comment on the dual role of Sargent Shriver. Everybody admits that he is an excellent Administrator. But do you think a board of directors of General Motors Corp. and Chrysler would employ the same man to run the two corporations?

If you want to read a magnificent book read MacArthur's "Reminiscences," just off the press. It is a good story about World War II. And one of the points this brilliant soldier makes is that the Philippines campaign nearly fell flat on its face and we nearly had one of the greatest military disasters in World War II; why? Because we had a divided command. Half of the naval forces were under Nimitz's command in Hawaii and half were under MacArthur's command in the Philippine Islands.

And, that is exactly the trouble with this poverty program. It does not have any head that knows where it is going and knows what it wants to do, or has the time and the administrative ability to get it there, because the head is dividing his talents between two enormous undertakings. Consequently the poverty war is suffering.

Mr. Chairman, this very Women's Job Corps about which I have talked to the Members and which has not done too well in St. Petersburg, Fla., I believe represents a very interesting illustration of people running a program who are not qualified to do the job.

Mr. Chairman, open up your hearings to page 193. The Director of the Job Corps is a Dr. Otis A. Singletary. He is one of our outstanding educators and I am sure a splendid man. He is a former chancellor of the University of North Carolina. He is a leading educator and author and has contributed to all sorts of intellectual magazines. However, insofar as I know he has never had a thing to do with welfare and running a Job Corps.

And, Mr. Chairman, if you will look down the page you will note the staff members that are listed there and will find that same situation again and again, of unqualified heads of programs—I suppose they will probably learn in a year or two and this is the point that we Republicans are trying to make—why do we have to teach them, the people that are running the program, on a kind of an on-the-job training basis?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Florida has expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Florida the 1 additional minute remaining on this side.

Mr. GURNEY. Well, Mr. Chairman, I probably should have stopped when I thought I was ahead, if that was the case.

But at any rate let me sum up by simply saying this and let me make this point: It occurs to me that we are trying to fight a war here with green troops. Certainly an elemental basic principle of warfare is that you cannot win a war with green troops when you are up against a hard-core enemy—and certainly as far as poverty is concerned that is precisely what we are up against in this poverty war—and you have to have the best kind of troops to do the job.

Mr. Chairman, we on the Republican side suggested last year that we should put the program under the present welfare programs which we have going on and in operation in the Federal Government today, 42 such programs that expend \$32 billion a year in the Federal Government and \$50 billion a year nationwide at all levels of government.

Mr. Chairman, the point we would like to make is that if we really want to do a good job, why kill this program with kindness?

Mr. Chairman, we have a man already in the hospital from overeating but here we are intending to try to give him more food and try to kill him, more food in the form of more dollars, a doubling of the authorization for this program, when it is not working even half well under its present authorization.

Last year, the Great Society with great fanfare and a loud beating of drums declared war on poverty. The bugler's notes were rich and ringing—they rang with a refrain, "Never would so much be done for so many"—in this business of fighting poverty.

One year later the tune has changed from brave ringing notes to a flat bleat—

"Never has so little been done with so much—money, that is."

If ever a mammoth gave birth to a mouse—and a spavined one at that—this is the classic case.

What is wrong here anyway? Is it that there is no job to be done? No need to be fulfilled? No indeed, there is plenty of poverty even in this Nation of the greatest plenty the world has ever seen.

The problem with this poverty war is that it was conceived in politics as an election year gimmick to capture votes, and it has been up to its ears in politics ever since.

The chairman of the committee bringing this bill to this House opened hearings this year by describing the program as giant fiestas of political patronage.

Complaints and criticism have poured in from all over the Nation. The criticism has not been partisan, either. Much of the criticism has come from leading members of the administration's political party, such prominent officeholders as the Democrat mayors of two of our greatest cities—New York and Chicago.

The facts, such as they are, scantily available because of the deliberately foreshortened hearings, have been documented here by previous speakers. I will not replot this already turned ground.

It seems obvious and clear to the most casual observer what the problem is. The poverty war is being fought by green troops, rank amateurs, soldiers drafted fresh out of civilian ranks, who have had a poverty rifle thrust into their hands and told to go up to the front lines.

These green troops have been given a mission to face up to and lick, the toughest foe of all—poverty—which has been with this Nation, all nations, in every period of history.

Now a basic tenet of warfare is that you cannot lick a veteran foe with green troops. This poverty war was doomed to defeat before the bill was ever passed in this House last year.

"I told you so" is not the most popular thing to say. Yet the opponents of this bill were pointing out last year and saying, "If we are going to fight a poverty war, let us give the assignment to experienced people. Let us assign these programs to the agencies already fighting poverty."

There were 42 then existing Federal programs already at the front fighting the poverty war with \$32 billion annually. In fact, the Nation was then and is now spending in welfare-type programs in all governments—Federal, State, and local—close to \$50 billion annually.

With all the wealth of talent hard at work in such a vast war, it seemed last year the height of folly to run in a bunch of untrained, untried troops.

The first mistake was in the appointment of the general to command this war, Mr. Shriver. Now, this is no reflection on Mr. Shriver's leadership ability, which is outstanding, but whoever heard of a general in command of two armies at the same time—the Peace Corps and the poverty troops. That would be comparable to placing Eisenhower in command of both the ETO and the South

Pacific, or MacArthur in command of the South Pacific and the ETO. It will not work. What large corporation head runs two great businesses? What board of directors would name the same man president of General Motors and General Electric?

Speaking of war and divided commands, I commend you to read Douglas MacArthur's "Reminiscences." MacArthur retells how the U.S. forces nearly met great disaster in the invasion of the Philippines because of divided naval command—one-half the forces under MacArthur and one-half under Nimitz at Pearl Harbor.

So here in this poverty war, the first thing we must do is put a man as the general in charge, who is not burdened with other great responsibilities.

What we ought to do next, is put the various programs under presently, well-tried and working welfare and poverty programs. However, I know that will not be done, because the war has been declared and the commander will not back off now.

The next best thing is to stop killing the war with kindness—in this case with too many dollars.

The hearings clearly show that the poverty war has not been able to digest what we have already given it. In fact, it has not been even able to eat what we have given it, much less digest it.

What is proposed here is to double the rations of a man already in the hospital from overeating.

And lest you think I have been exaggerating here, let me tell you the Florida story.

The Job Corps is one of the key programs of the poverty war. The very first unit to be started nationwide in the women's division was at St. Petersburg, Fla. If this particular venture is a typical example of the Women's Job Corps, heaven help the program. It would be better to terminate it forthwith, before it gets further out of hand.

The St. Pete project was begun in March of this year.

This Women's Job Corps center is operated by the Pinellas County School Board under a contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Now one would have thought that the OEO would have been pretty careful in its first pilot project, to make certain that this one at least, got started in good shape. But instead, this project was hardly off the ground before it went into a tailspin.

Here are some of the facts.

First, a hotel was leased to provide the project with a headquarters and living quarters for the corps girls. The lease figure was \$225,000 for 18 months which was \$20,000 more than the value of the hotel as determined by a competent real estate appraisal some 3 years prior to that.

Incidentally, the St. Petersburg Times reported in an article on June 22 about this Job Corps project, that a real estate man made a \$4,000 commission as a finders fee out of this deal by putting the school officials in touch with the hotel owner.

Another interesting item was electrical work let by the Job Corps people for

\$19,495 on a cost-plus-10-percent basis. About \$40,000 was spent in total in remodeling.

Figures about the staff are fascinating too. There are 122 staff members supporting a student complement of 237, drawing a monthly payroll of \$55,424—yearly about \$700,000. The ratio of faculty to student is better than 1 for every 2. The ratio, at Harvard College, our Nation's oldest and wealthiest university, is 1 for every 6. The Women's Job Corps at St. Pete is really riding in style.

The cost per student will run between \$6,000 and \$7,000 per year.

Incidentally, one of the staff members is a swimming instructor hired at a salary of \$8,160. Another a life guard who is called a "water safety coordinator"—pretty fancy. I wish I had a title like that when I was working in summer camps back in college days. But the bell-ringer here is that there is no swimming pool.

If the poverty people had made a study of finding a worse location, it would have been difficult to have come up with a better, worse location. For the leased hotel is in an area of the city, occupied by hotels and rooming houses for elderly people. The trainees are age 16 to 21. Nor are they hardly groomed to fit into an elderly St. Pete atmosphere. School dropouts that they are, coming from poverty homes, off the streets in some cases, an average reading comprehension of ninth grade, it is no wonder that a general complaint, for example, is that the girls undress in front of open windows and shock the neighbors.

Quite apart from whether the project is working well or not, the site location was an exercise of appalling bad judgment. The general conduct of the girls has left much to be desired. First, one of the girls arrived at the center 5 months pregnant, although the Director has stated that none have become pregnant since arrival at the center. Now that is reassuring, but it would be more so, if proper screening were done in the first instance.

One girl was married with two children and turned out to be an alcoholic.

Eight girls have been expelled for drinking.

These have been instances of actual drunkenness on the part of the girls.

There have been continuous complaints from others who live in the neighborhood, of the noise and rowdiness of the girls.

In connection with this an OEO spokesman issued a classic statement. He said:

One of the problems peculiar to the St. Petersburg section is that there are many retired people there who sometimes frown on the animal spirits of the young.

I would hope he really does not classify these underprivileged young women as animals.

To make a long story short and to perhaps give a good idea of the tremendous success with which this first, model, pilot project of the Women's Job Corps got launched, here are some of the facts.

First. The director of the center has resigned amid complaints of tension,

headaches. Three other officials also submitted their resignations.

Second. The city council and the merchants association have requested that the Job Corps move to another location because it was giving the area a bad name and driving business away.

Third. The school board voted to divorce itself from the Job Corps as soon as its contract expires and sooner if possible.

As the St. Petersburg Times said in an editorial:

The shortcomings of the center as administered to date are serious.

This editorial comment incidentally was by a newspaper which has been and still is sympathetic to and in support of the women's Job Corps Center.

What should Congress do to help clean up this mess at St. Petersburg and prevent further fiascos?

The wise thing to do would be to transfer these poverty war programs to the proper agencies which are presently handling similar problems such as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

For example, instead of launching a brand new women's Job Corps, would not it have been far more sensible to have expanded the manpower training and development program or the vocational rehabilitation program to include the aims of the Job Corps?

However, now that the poverty war people have the bit in their teeth and galloping full tilt down the road, I am well aware that the facts of life are that we are not going to change the format—at least in this Congress.

There is one thing we can do, if we still are in full possession of sound and reasoning faculties. Let us continue this program at its present level of spending. Let us not increase by twice as much.

Let us require the Office of Economic Opportunity to really prove they can do a job before we increase the program.

Let us not reward incompetence and failure.

Let us not kill the poverty war with kindness. Kindness of too much money.

The kindest and most sensible thing we can do here is to hold the program to its present level of spending.

I sincerely hope this is the decision the House will make on this bill.

(Mr. MATHIAS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Chairman, in discussing the Economic Opportunity Act when it was before the House last August, I declared that people, not politics, should be our prime consideration. We should judge this and all legislation, I said then, not in terms of slogans or partisan claims and counterclaims, but in terms of its real impact upon the people whom it is designed to help. We should ask whether this is the best way to do the job—in this case, the best way to mobilize our human and financial resources to bring economic opportunity within the reach of those many Americans who lack it now. This same approach, placing people above politics, should be applied

today as we debate the extension of the war on poverty.

One year is hardly long enough in which to learn whether this program works or does not work. But a year is long enough in which to see some progress and some problems. Now is not too soon to indicate where Congress feels that changes should be made, so that this program will not become bogged down, abused, or diverted from its original purposes.

Of course some problems can be anticipated for any new program, especially one which tries to reach and involve Americans who may never before have met a sympathetic public official. Such problems have arisen, for example, in some of the Job Corps centers. I have heard reports that up to half of the original Job Corps enrollees in the first Job Corps center, Camp Catoctin in Thurmont, Md., in my district, have now become Job Corps dropouts. Some left Camp Catoctin because of homesickness and unwillingness to adjust. These problems can be expected, and cannot be totally eliminated. But other youths have left because, during the late winter and early spring, their rooms were cold and camp facilities were incomplete—and some left because they were unable to form any rapport with a staff which had been hastily hired and inadequately trained.

Mr. Chairman, when underprivileged teenagers, apparently lost in the slums or in rural poverty-stricken areas, are rescued by the Job Corps, we all benefit. But when these teenagers are lost again, and lost forever, we all lose. When they are turned away through no fault of their own, but through administrative failures, the administration of this program must be reformed. There has been too much emphasis on fast action, so camps have been opened before the facilities or the staff was ready. There has been too much emphasis on promotion, and too little attention paid to processing of applicants—so New York City youths, having become interested enough to apply, have to wait months for any word, and so the OEO is now recruiting volunteers to help answer, probably with form letters, the thousands of letters generated by the recent network TV promotion of the Job Corps.

When teenagers ask for help, they should not be answered with form letters and long delays, or their first contact with a program designed to help them can be perhaps tragically disappointing.

The same overemphasis on quick action has already endangered parts of Operation Head Start, the summer program for underprivileged preschool children, which, properly administered, could be one of the most effective instruments against crippling undereducation. But Operation Head Start and its companion program for grade school children, Operation Catch Up, require skilled, sensitive planning in order to provide the enrichment and remedial training which disadvantaged children need. Unfortunately, Operation Head Start was started too fast. Although some applicants had obviously no experience with such programs for young

children, and although some applications were very hastily drafted, OEO approved virtually every application which came in on time. In some cases, announcement of the grant was made only a few weeks before the opening of the summer session, allowing no time for adequate, careful preparation and training of staff.

Summer programs for grade school children are now underway, for example, in every county in my congressional district. These programs are supposed to aid almost 3,000 children at a cost of \$360,457. Yet, four of these five grants were announced only on July 1—barely 2 weeks before the programs began. Regardless of the competence of the supervisors, it is impossible to organize an effective specialized program in 2 weeks.

Further, there is a puzzling lack of uniformity among these programs. In some areas, parents have told me that their children have been denied admission because their family income was slightly above the poverty level of \$3,000. In other areas, every child who wishes to attend has been admitted, regardless of his family's income level. I see no need for these discrepancies. I hope the OEO will publish clear and uniform guidelines for eligibility, so that the program will not become, in some areas, simply a general summer school.

The lack of firm OEO standards has had most crippling consequences in the community action programs. I need not recount in detail the difficulties which have arisen in city after city across the country, as the war on poverty has been hampered by infighting among its generals—local politicians, private agencies, and public welfare establishments. Too much money is going to uphold cumbersome administrative pyramids, and too much time is being spent in forming huge committees which include representatives of the poor, while actual decisions are made elsewhere. OEO's willingness to experiment has led to costly abuse, while many programs seem to be guided less by principle than by political expediency.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that one of the most effective weapons against poverty has been the relatively modest, quiet, earnest VISTA program. Without benefit of titles, committees or publicity, dedicated men and women of all ages and backgrounds are entering communities, living there, establishing friendships, and helping people to help themselves in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect. I hope this program won't become tangled in politics, for it seems that the VISTA volunteers, working at the grassroots and concrete bases of poverty, may well score successes more lasting than those of more ambitious and spectacular efforts.

The success of the VISTA program underlines the truth that no amount of money can solve the problem of poverty in America unless a great investment of human talent and energy is also made. Poverty is more than a financial status—it is a poorness of education, a thinness of opportunity, a lack of hope. Thus, the poor must be reached; they should be helped; above all, they should be heartened and encouraged. I have sug-

gested some of the reforms which should be made, so that the OEO will better reach and help and encourage the people for whom it was established.

I am hopeful that these changes will be made. If they are not, future large authorizations for this program may not be easily justified.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER].

(Mr. SCHEUER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, the arguments we have just heard from our Republican colleagues inspire me to poetry.

"The time has come," the walrus said,
"Of talk of many things,
Of Haddads, Redskins, telephone books,
And cabbages and kings."

Mr. Chairman, now that we have finished with the smoke screen and all of the argumentum ad hominem, the personal attacks, the grave discussions of seven or eight girls who bent their elbows a little too much—

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHEUER. I am sorry but I cannot yield to the gentleman at this point.

Mr. GURNEY. The gentleman just mentioned the previous speaker in the well.

Mr. SCHEUER. I yield very briefly, 30 seconds.

Mr. GURNEY. The gentleman's remarks remind me of an old professor of mine back in college days who was a professor of public speaking. He had one very effective thing he used to perform when someone was trying to draw a red herring across the path in debate. He would say this: "The gentleman sounds like an empty barrel, peculiarly his own sound."

Mr. SCHEUER. I thank my colleague for his courteous and courtly remark. What better proof that we have been treated to a diversionary circuit exhibition involving a great deal of sound and fury, signifying nothing. The drolleries and hit-and-miss diversions are entertaining. But time is running out and we must now get down to the business of legislating. We should no longer be debating whether we need a massive Federal program attacking the root causes of poverty. Congress faced up to this moral imperative last year.

Rather, we should be discussing whether the shameful condition and urgent needs of this population subgroup in our society warrant the proposed expenditure in fiscal 1966 of \$1.895 billion.

Just as the Constitution demands that the Federal Government be color blind, it also requires that we be religiously blind. As long as the program is nonreligious it does not matter what is the religion or lack of religion of its sponsor. This is irrelevant as a matter of sound public policy. It is irrelevant by requirement of the first amendment. I therefore urge the House to move on from this extraneous question and deal with the real and serious issues before it.

Mr. Chairman, I oppose the amendment.

In making our decision whether to commit ourselves and our resources fully to fund to this program, we now have only three basic questions to resolve: first, is there a demonstrable need for a program of the scope and scale proposed; second, is a commitment of less than \$2 billion consistent with, or alien to, our history and traditions; third, can we afford the proposed program, can we undertake it without crippling and enervating our economy, without impeding the forward thrust and surge of our dynamic and expanding economy.

As of June 30, 1965, 1.1 million poor Americans had directly participated in the war against poverty. Since July 1 of this year, the Project Head Start program has already directly benefited another 550,000 children. An additional 1 million poor people have been assisted indirectly through the aid extended to them by members of their families who are immediately involved, in just 8 months.

Yet a full 450,000, or 45 percent, of the 1 million young children who urgently require Project Head Start preparation now before they enter the schoolhouse doors in September are not receiving this desperately needed help; only 360,000, or 15 percent, of the teenagers who are eligible for the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, or work-study programs are presently enrolled, leaving almost 2 million others without this vital training; and only 35,000, or a mere one-third of 1 percent, of the 12 million Americans who need adult basic education assistance in order to liberate themselves from the crippling shackles of functional illiteracy are presently benefiting from this remedial education.

Although the war against poverty is making bold progress, it is clear that with less than 10 percent of our impoverished population engaged directly and indirectly in our poverty program, and with 32 million impoverished Americans still to be helped, the effort undertaken so far is just a minimum beginning. Surely, this is a modest proposal.

If the Members of this distinguished House were to visit just one of the programs which we are presently considering and see firsthand how poverty has afflicted the poor, they would not doubt that this minimum scale of operations is necessary and appropriate to fit the needs.

In a Job Corps camp, for example, they would learn that the Job Corps man is not a well groomed, carefully scrubbed middle-class youngster with a happy past and a bright future. He is typically, a tough, scrawny, sullen kid whose economic and cultural deprivation has stamped upon him a haunting and frustrating sense of failure. He comes from a family averaging six persons who live in crowded, substandard housing.

Typically, he is an unemployed high school dropout who has been rejected by the Armed Forces as physically or mentally unfit for duty. He arrives with such a strange combination of fear, surliness, hope, suspicion—and, above all, habitual improverishment—that if at

first he is uneasy at dinner, it is often because the table he sits at is the first one he has ever used, as are the dishes and the sanitary facilities. If he stares at some of the food served him, it is because the slab of roast beef is the first piece of meat he has ever seen—other than pork hocks and fat back in the family stew—that is large enough to require cutting with a knife.

His diet was so substandard that on the average \$300 will have to be spent on him for dental care alone. He is so lacking in nourishment that for the first month the Job Corps cannot even provide him with a full set of clothes, because he will gain an average of 22 pounds as a result of eating three well-balanced meals a day for the first time, and thus will burst out of any outfit he may have received upon arrival.

And there are more like him at "home." His preschool brothers and sisters, as the Project Head Start is now discovering, lack of the most basic knowledge and awareness of themselves and of their environment. They do not know the names of everyday items such as pencils and paper, crayons or a children's book. No one has taught them the difference between silk and wool, to tell time, or the days of the week.

These children are so helplessly behind the first day they enter the schoolhouse door that—at age 3, 4, and 5—they are already predestined by their isolation and cultural impoverishment to be high-school dropouts a decade later.

Yet the dropout rate for these deprived kids in the Job Corps camps, with their radically different surroundings and resultant emotional strain, is only 3.2 percent after the first 30 days—and this for a group of young men and women of whom 94 percent were high school dropouts. In comparison, of the class of 1969 which enters our Nation's colleges this September, 50 percent will drop out of their school within the first 2 years; 40 percent of high school freshmen will never receive their diplomas.

Mr. Chairman, surely this program reflects our deep religious and political convictions identifying our Nation with the well-being of mankind everywhere. For the United States has a long and proud tradition of spending large sums to help peoples around the world develop and enhance their human resources.

In 1908, a few years after the Boxer Rebellion, America granted \$10 million to China to send students to the United States for education and training that enabled them to return home and aid the impoverished in their own country.

After World War I, the U.S. aid to Europe under the U.S. Food Administration amounted to over \$3 billion, or four-tenths of 1 percent of the gross national product.

From 1945 to the present time, we gave a total of \$100 billion in Marshall plan and foreign aid grants to impoverished peoples abroad, which represents 1.25 percent of the cumulative gross national product during this period of two decades.

At this point in our history, we have finally decided to look inwardly—to

scrutinize our own problem of impoverishment, our own problem of undeveloped human resources. Can we believe that the pending authorization of \$1.895 billion—or one-third of 1 percent of our gross national product—represents an inappropriate share of the Federal budget devoted to this high purpose, that it jeopardizes our Nation's fiscal solvency?

Our economy has never been healthier. President Johnson observes in his report on the budget for 1966 that the ratio of Federal spending, which is now about \$100 billion, to the gross national product of \$660 billion will drop to under 15 percent in 1966, the lowest ratio in 15 years. Furthermore, the President notes that the public debt of \$323.5 billion as a percentage of the gross national product has declined sharply since 1947, from 116 percent then to less than 50 percent now.

There is no doubt that America today is capable of bridging the huge gap between our unparalleled affluence and our grinding poverty. The proposed bill would authorize \$1.895 billion for fighting poverty. This amounts to one-third of 1 percent of the estimated \$660 billion gross national product for 1965. It provides for our domestic war against poverty less than 4 percent of this year's defense budget of \$53 billion, less than 5 percent of the \$40 billion increase in the gross national product for this year alone, less than 6 percent of the \$36.5 billion annual rate of corporate profits after taxes, and less than 7 percent of last year's \$29 billion increase in disposable personal income.

This sum of \$1.895 billion for the poor of our Nation is only one-third of the annual \$6 billion increase in Federal tax revenues, one-third of last year's \$6 billion increase in corporate profits, one-third of last year's increase of \$6 billion in gross private savings, one-third of the 1965 Federal revenues of \$6 billion from liquor and tobacco taxes alone; it is only one-half of last year's increase of \$4 billion on the automobile expenditures, \$600 million less than the \$2.5 billion in surprise savings on this year's defense budget, and over \$1 billion less than the 1965 budget of \$3 billion for Project Apollo.

Mr. Chairman, if we can achieve a national consensus to spend \$3 billion to propel three Americans off the earth and onto the moon, can we not spend less than \$2 billion to propel 35 million Americans off their knees and onto their feet?

We have an economic capability—a capacity to produce goods and services—of such prodigious vitality as to dwarf our expectations of even a decade ago. Never in history has a society known such extraordinary vitality and productivity. Indeed, never until now has a society been able realistically to contemplate the elimination of poverty in its midst.

Mr. Chairman, we are all genuinely concerned about fiscal prudence. Is it fiscally prudent for private and city, State and Federal agencies to spend a combined estimated total of \$100 billion a year on welfare programs—frequently using the demonstrably inadequate approaches of the past—when the current

second and third generation of relief recipients is producing still another, and larger, generation of culturally impoverished and prospectively unemployable children—children who will surely spend their entire lives on welfare, at a cost of over \$100,000 for each family, unless we intervene dramatically.

Is it fiscally prudent to continue to spend \$1,800 a year to keep a delinquent in a detention home, \$2,500 a year to keep a family on relief, an average of \$4,100 a year for an inmate in a State prison, and over \$4,900 a year for a youth at the National Training School for Boys, without at least attempting to discover why these mounting expenditures have not in the past overcome the cruel legacy that the poor leave to the poor: underemployment, unemployment, and saddest of all, unemployability?

Is it fiscally prudent not to spend \$4,700 to give a young man training in the Job Corps, when, if he were earning only \$4,000 a year with three dependents, his Federal income taxes alone over his lifetime would far exceed the cost of his training?

We could actually save over \$120,000 on this one young man alone by avoiding the welfare, criminal, and other costs otherwise likely if he remained hopeless and jobless, and by collecting the income tax and social security payments, he would make throughout his working career. But we must spend the modest sum of \$4,700 to train him now.

Either we spend that \$4,700 now, or we will spend \$2,500 year in and year out over the generations just to keep that man's family at subsistence level.

Either we spend that \$4,700 now, or we might have to spend annually over \$4,100 for his lifetime to keep him in prison.

The fortunate minority who receive a college education can expect average lifetime earnings of \$453,000, almost twice the \$273,000 high school graduates make, and exactly three times the \$151,000 earned by those who do not finish high school. So too, do the unfortunate 35 million of our Nation's poor increase their own chance for economic success through the training and education which they receive from the war against poverty.

And what is the alternative to a genuine campaign against poverty now? If we postpone this necessary action now, later on our children will surely be forced to pay the price of our neglect anyway. For the war against poverty is preventive medicine. Every dollar that we invest now will pay future dividends in a stable, productive society for our children.

Instead of a society where every young child will grow up with a real chance for future economic success, in the next generation more than the present 15 million impoverished children under age 18 will grow up in real poverty. As teenagers, 2 million of them will be out of school, unemployed, and unemployable.

Instead of a society where education creates necessary skills, inadequate education and no education at all will create illiteracy and joblessness, which in

turn produce despair, desperation, and delinquency.

Instead of a society where all of our citizens can enjoy unparalleled prosperity in productive security, chronic crime, and widespread fear will threaten the very stability of our Nation.

Of what avail will be success in our efforts to build beautiful cities, restore clean air and water, and preserve our natural heritage if our citizens are afraid to walk the streets and use the parks and playgrounds—in the day as well as at night?

Mr. Chairman, we really have no choice. Either we meaningfully attack the problems of poverty now, or in a decade or two we will be forced to confront a situation more inequitable, more dangerous, and more costly.

If we do not now authorize the full expenditures necessary to eliminate poverty and deprivation in our midst, then our children may chastise us as George Bernard Shaw once did:

We tolerate poverty as if it were either a wholesome tonic for lazy people, or else a virtue to be embraced as St. Francis embraced it. If a man is indolent, let him be poor. Now what does this "Let him be poor" mean? It means let him be weak. Let him be ignorant. Let him become a nucleus of disease. Let him be a standing exhibition and example of ugliness and dirt. Let him have rickety children. Let his habitations turn our cities into poisonous congeries of slums. Let the undeserving become still less deserving.

Eleven days ago, in Geneva, a great American, in one of his last acts of noble service, said:

We travel together, passengers on a little spaceship, dependent on its vulnerable reserves of air and soil; all committed for our safety to its security and peace. We cannot maintain it half fortunate, half miserable, half confident, half despairing, half slave—to the ancient enemies of man—half free in a liberation of resources undreamed of until this day. No craft, no crew can travel safely with such vast contradictions. On their resolution depend the survival of us all.

One hundred years before Ambassador Stevenson's eloquent observation, another great American, and a former member of this great body, declared that this Nation could not endure half slave and half free.

If Abraham Lincoln were present with us today, he would proclaim in the well of this House that America cannot exist four-fifths educated, employed, self-sufficient, and affluent, and one-fifth unschooled, jobless, dependent, and impoverished.

So long as the great potential of this rich country is wasted, then the Nation as a whole is impoverished by that very gap between our potential and our performance. So long as there is the "other America" of the desperate poor, we are, all of us, poorer because of it.

The great Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., once said:

I think that, as life is action and passion it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived.

Mr. Chairman, the President and Congress demonstrated last year that we do, indeed, have a compassionate concern for

the underprivileged of this Nation. It is now up to us to match this deep concern with effective meaningful support. One last thought, Mr. Chairman, the job training and retraining programs we have initiated will give our unemployed the skills to become contributing members of society. But unless other measures in the war against poverty are enlarged in scope and increased in effectiveness, the high expectations we have generated in these people will lead to bitterness, disappointment, and disillusionment. For we will be motivating, educating, and equipping with employment skills many hundreds of thousands of men and women who will then face an economy which offers them no hope of employment.

We must begin now to create job opportunities by expanding those areas of output where our Nation's unmet needs are greatest. We can create a truly Great Society by enlarging our programs in such deficient areas as the rehousing of slum dwellers, the development of a comprehensive urban renewal program, and the construction of a national urban mass transit system, schools, hospitals, libraries, museums, and cultural centers.

To enjoy fully this Great Society we are building, however, we must keep our schools, parks, playgrounds, libraries, and art galleries open and staffed with skilled cultural and recreational aids. Instead of standing empty and unused much of the time, these facilities should be thrown open for the pleasure and enlightenment of our citizens in the evenings, on weekends, and during the summer.

This would require the employment of thousands to provide the maintenance and custodial care to keep these buildings and areas open; and it would insure to our citizens the facilities to make their increased leisure hours meaningful and enjoyable. At the same time, by utilizing the labor potential among the poor that is presently untapped, this kind of program would assure greater success in our war against poverty.

Mr. Chairman, the passage by the House last week of a Voting Rights Act decades overdue well-merited praise as "historic," as did the medicare, education, and housing bills. Indeed, we have known many proud moments in this session of Congress.

But I predict that if we underwrite fully the commitment we made last year to meet the proven needs and the moral challenge we face in one out of every five Americans, my colleagues one day will look back upon passage of this bill as one of the nobler acts of an already historic 89th Congress.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Chairman, you are not going to make the job of holding onto a hot potato any easier by increasing the size of the potato. However, this seems to be the type of reasoning employed by those who favor expansion of the war on poverty by approval of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.

Without taking a long, searching look at the results of the past year under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, there

are those who are ready to greatly increase the funds available to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Having had a year to spend \$785 million, the proposed amendments call for increased expenditures in the neighborhood of \$1.9 billion. This sounds like a pretty expensive way to leap before you look.

It is apparent that the bureaucratic entanglements of the complex EOA programs have produced a confusing, unclear mass of "approximate" and "expected to be's." We have not been given the facts; we do not know all the truths.

I read in a Look magazine article that a virtue and safeguard of the Economic Opportunity Act is the fact that "the Governor of a State has the power to veto nearly every program he does not like." Sargent Shriver, EOA Director and author of the article, lauded the Governors of the States for their cooperation in approving his programs over the past year. According to Shriver, the fears concerning southern Governors' using the veto in retaliation against civil rights legislation were unfounded. If this is the case, why is there a provision in the proposed Economic Opportunity amendments giving the Director of the war on poverty the power to override the veto of the States' chief executives.

This program is turning into another example of Federal encroachment on the rights of the individual citizen and his local government. It would seem that the agency best suited to fight poverty would be the one closest to the source of the ailment. Why not direct some of these funds into local coffers with no strings attached, allowing the State and local governments to wage their war on poverty without unnecessary, boondoggling Federal Government intervention.

On paper, the war on poverty looked like the answer to the prayers of millions of needy citizens. In reality, it appears to have become the tool of greedy politicians looking for votes. New York City is a good example of this political maze. Harlem Democratic Congressman POWELL has been charging "political patronage" in the administration of the city's \$9 million stipend for poverty. Mayor Wagner, in control of the funds, had to frantically search for a means whereby he could get Governor Rockefeller to approve the project and still hang onto his control of the Federal money. The dispute goes back and forth and very little of concrete value is being accomplished.

Conflicting reports of the success of preliminary programs has more than one citizen wondering just what is really going on. Shriver lists 265,000 enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, yet only 1 month ago, he was publicizing the induction of the 100,000th enrollee in a ceremony at the White House. Work experience programs have, according to Shriver, drawn 88,000; yet HEW officials, the agency supposedly in charge of the program, list only 15,240. Originally scheduled to enroll 5,000 by now, the VISTA program has only a little over a thousand in the field and in training. The list goes on and the confusion increases. How are the American people

and, more important, the Congress of the United States supposed to get a clear picture of what has been accomplished when the facts are hidden by conflicting figures, vague but pompous advertising campaigns, and a host of other misleading tactics.

If we're going to make a fair decision regarding extension of the war on poverty, we should have the facts and we should have them now before we rush ahead and finance an expensive program that, at best, looks suspicious.

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to H.R. 8283.

The administration's war on poverty has turned out to be such an obvious fiasco it is surprisingly that they are not a little embarrassed to come before us requesting \$2 billion more.

There is hardly an aspect of the program that has not become mired in waste and utter confusion.

First of all, before any observable steps had been taken to assist the poor, it appears that those who were going to fight this war took some decisive steps to assist themselves. They established a bureaucratic network with a lavish pay scale, which for some programs left very little money to help the poor. Furthermore, the political wrangle over the control of these programs has impeded progress. This new program is in danger of being paralyzed by its own massive bureaucracy and internal squabbling.

Not much of substance has been accomplished for the poor, and public confidence in the program is rapidly waning as more and more news reports appear, detailing the problems besetting this effort all over the country. Particularly, there is growing disenchantment among the poor, who have been repeatedly promised help but do not seem to be getting it.

It is understandable that a new program—particularly one of these dimensions—would have some difficulty getting off the ground. However, after many months of operation we still find bad communications, poor administration, job patronage and fat salaries.

In our own city of Cincinnati, Juvenile Court Judge Benjamin Schwartz, one of the founding members of the Community Action Commission which directs the antipoverty program there, recently stated publicly that the war on poverty in Cincinnati is not attacking the basic problem of the poor—hunger—but instead is creating a huge bureaucracy that duplicates existing services. Judge Schwartz, whose long experience on the bench of the juvenile court has given him a firsthand look at some of the problems of the poor, believes too much money is being spent to finance study after study instead of being given to existing agencies already doing a competent job of aiding the poor.

In view of the large number of complaints that have been registered concerning the administration of the antipoverty effort, it is certainly unfortunate that over the protests of the minority members of the committee, hearings on this bill were concluded so quickly. Many who wished to testify

were not given the opportunity to do so, and no real effort is evident in this legislation to correct the many glaring defects in the administration of the program.

I am also disappointed to see that the only basic change made by the committee in the Economic Opportunity Act was to virtually remove the veto powers of the Governors with respect to community action programs. Instead, an effort should have been made to provide for positive participation in these programs by the appropriate agencies of the State so that the States would be permitted an active role in program development.

Certainly those of us who will vote against this bill desire for all Americans full employment, better living conditions and, hopefully, the eventual elimination of poverty. Our concern for the aged and infirmed, the school dropout, and other of our citizens in need of assistance is every bit as great as that of our colleagues who intend to support H.R. 8283. Our differences lie not in the ends desired, but instead in the means best suited for achieving these ends.

In my judgment, we should concentrate our efforts on making more effective the numerous existing Federal programs which seek to help the poor, rather than spending vast sums on overlapping and duplicating programs. In addition, I feel we should work for the adoption of Government policies and attitudes that will permit our free enterprise system to operate at peak efficiency and in this way produce more and better jobs.

I believe one worthwhile approach would be to offer employers an income-tax credit toward the expense of programs designed to train prospective employees for jobs with the company or to retrain current employees for more demanding jobs with the company. Such a credit should serve to encourage American business to provide new jobs and upgrade the job skills of the labor force.

For the general reasons outlined, I strongly urge the defeat of H.R. 8283. The infinitely complex causes of poverty in America will not be cured by huge indiscriminate expenditures of the public's money.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Chairman, much criticism has been leveled at some of the training programs conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity. In an effort to describe to the House a successful, well thought out, and well operated plan, I would like to describe the BEST training program for the underprivileged people in my city.

Actually the name of the program is BEST which stands for basic essential skills training program. This program was derived through the cooperation of the New York City Trucking Authority of which Hugh Sheridan has been chairman for over two decades; with the Empire State Highway Transportation Association, whose managing director is Joseph Adelizzi; by the Teamster Unions involved, John O'Rourke being the district 16 international vice president; and by the many private operators who have realized from experience that there is virtually no labor pool of skilled small, medium, or heavy truck drivers, or truck

maintenance men in the New York area. Private operators have found that in order to qualify a man as a truckdriver they actually have to put him in their own kindergarten, and let him work his way up in an area where there is no apprenticeship program and consequently at great expense to the employer.

A brief description of the BEST program and its present operations is as follows:

Mayor Robert F. Wagner and Paul R. Screvane, president of the council and chairman of the antipoverty operations board, have arranged with the Port of New York Authority's executive director, Austin J. Tobin, for the largest basic trades training program in the country as part of the city's campaign against poverty. The program will train 6,000 individuals in 1 year, with preference given to the unemployed and those receiving public assistance, and will utilize existing port authority training facilities.

The entire project will cost \$2,240,289 and is financed by funds allocated by the city.

Mayor Wagner, Mr. Screvane, and James J. McFadden, acting commissioner of the New York City Department of Labor, and New York City trucking authority for driver training initiated the joint program with the antipoverty operations board, the port authority, and Commissioner Dumpson of the city's welfare department.

Thomas J. Riley, supervisor of maintenance skills training for the port authority, will serve as executive director of the BEST program (basic essential skills training) at no cost to the city.

Six free courses will be given in occupations wherein research indicated jobs are presently unfilled in the city due to lack of skills and increased job complexity. The areas covered by the BEST program include heavy vehicle driver training; general maintenance; oil burner repair and installation; building and grounds sanitation; window and package air conditioning repair and installation; and gardening.

Registration and classes will be conducted at BEST offices, Port Authority Building, 30 Church Street, New York, telephone: 233-1800.

Classes begin on Monday, June 7, 1965, Monday through Friday, 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Through sound trade skills, the indigent and deprived of the city may achieve a brighter financial future and become economically contributing citizens, as one segment of the city's all-out attack on poverty.

The curriculum for the various courses is as follows: Heavy vehicle driver training (320 attendance hours):

This program is designed to prepare trainees for positions in the transportation field and to pass the New York State Motor Vehicle Bureau's tests for chauffeur in the following categories: Tractor trailer, bus operation, heavy vehicle (over 18,000 pounds). Diesel tractor trailer.

Requirements: Grammar school or equivalent, operator's license, physically fit and 18 years of age.

General maintenance (480 attendance hours): A training program designed to assist trainees in preparing for jobs in general maintenance fields. It is a practical course covering 21 basic skills including painting, carpentry, electricity, plumbing and sheet metal.

Requirements: Physically fit and 17 years of age.

Building and grounds sanitation (320 attendance hours): Instruction covers all aspects of the duties of an operator in a building and grounds sanitation program including buffing, stripping and refinishing of floors; carpet cleaning; metal maintenance; policing of areas and relamping light fixtures.

Requirements: Physically fit and 17 years of age.

Oil burner repair and installation (320 attendance hours): Trainees receive instruction in the basic knowledge and skills required for the installation, maintenance, and repair of oil burner units. Stress is given to aspects such as blueprint reading; installation procedures and codes; installation of conversion burner and motor transformer principles.

Requirements: High school or equivalent, 18 years of age, physically fit.

Window and package air-conditioning repair and installation (320 attendance hours): This practical course provides knowledge of the operation, maintenance, repair, and installation of air-conditioning units. Curriculum covers 14 study units, including fundamentals of refrigeration; installation and servicing of window and floor units; blueprint reading, and duct installations.

Requirements: High school or equivalent, 18 years of age, physically fit.

Gardener's helper (320 attendance hours): Curriculum covers various skills required to assist the gardener in his duties. Program comprises 13 study units including repair; operation and maintenance of gardening equipment; policing of grounds; preparation and use of spray solutions and emulsions.

Requirements: Physically fit, 17 years of age.

(NOTE.—Every course, listed above, also includes 160 hours of remedial instruction in trade English and mathematics.)

Mr. Chairman, this is an example of solid accomplishment in training and teaching impoverished youths in vitally needed skills. It bridges the gap from common labor to the Government's apprenticeship training program which is geared more to the highly skilled groups. It is a continuation of a program conceived more than 4 years ago at the local level by industry and labor working jointly to solve its own problems in job placement.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Chairman, in my entire seven terms in this House, I have never heard any program criticized as has been this so-called antipoverty economic opportunity bill. That I opposed this program last year, and prophesied some of the poor administration that has come about has nothing to do with my feelings this year. I am only sorry that I was right last year. I am only sorry that hearings and the debate this year proved what has been said; namely, that this is the worst-administered program in history.

No one seriously denies this charge; yet, those who support this bill here today say that the way to improve the program is to double its cost. To me, that means double the waste and confusion.

Mr. Chairman, I have never quarreled with the objectives of this legislation. I did, however, and still do say that the various programs included under this act should have been carried out by existing agencies, rather than by setting up a new agency. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Shriver was doing a good job with the Peace Corps. It is a shame that he was given this dual responsibility and that his fine record has been spoiled. To think that he would head an agency where letters from Members of Congress are not answered for months. To think that he would head an agency which

cannot even give Members of Congress a list of projects in their States. To think that he would head an agency that is so loaded with politics.

Certainly the testimony indicates that in many areas this program is little more than a political boondoggle. In many areas, too, the poor and needy, under this program, are mere pawns, while the politicians get the plums. In short, Mr. Chairman, I cannot in good conscience support this bill.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to speak in favor of H.R. 8283 and to lend my support to an extension and an expansion of the national war on poverty.

I am particularly pleased to support the provisions in the bill that strengthen and expand the VISTA volunteer program. In the early days of the 88th Congress, I was a sponsor of legislation to establish a national program of domestic volunteer service, and last year, I was a supporter of the proposal to create the VISTA program under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

VISTA volunteers play a vital role in expanding the economic opportunities of many of our citizens. Volunteers can supply the human element to support other antipoverty programs and to supplement the part-time voluntary efforts of millions of Americans.

Living with those hindered by a background of poverty and sharing their living conditions, VISTA volunteers can serve to interpret existing programs to those needing assistance, to help them identify and express their needs, and to provide necessary skills. They can stimulate hope and personal development by introducing citizens to opportunities available in the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps or other youth and adult programs in education and training. Too often those blighted by poverty lack the information, the confidence, and the hope of real progress which provide in large measure the motivation for self-improvement. To these citizens the VISTA volunteer, his skills and dedication, can offer guidance and assistance through the curtain of despair and futility so often created by poverty. In this task they serve in community action programs which are financially supported under other provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act. Perhaps most significantly volunteers can help identify and develop community resources that can contribute to meeting local and individual needs.

The VISTA program was launched at the beginning of this year. The first volunteers entered training in January and completed their training in late February. As of July 2, there were more than 220 volunteers on assignment and over 800 in training. Those on assignment are serving on American Indian reservations, with migrant workers, in rural Appalachia, in large urban community development projects, and in mental health and mental retardation programs. Volunteers are now serving in 25 States involving 53 individual projects. In every project the volunteers serve under the direction and guidance of a local supervisor.

VISTA volunteers reflect a remarkable diversity of skills and talents. There are teachers, lawyers, and carpenters. There are students, recent college graduates, and senior citizens. The youngest volunteer is 18 and the oldest 83. Volunteers bring with them skills learned in college classrooms, in years of business experience, in teaching, and in working with people. Over 20,000 citizens have submitted preliminary applications and almost 7,000 have filed final applications.

The volunteer spends the first 6 weeks of VISTA service in a practical training program learning to apply the skills developed in private life to the environment of poverty. Those familiar with the culture of the affluent America must learn to work in the culture of the other America in which citizens suffer from malnutrition of the body, the intellect, and the spirit.

A school teacher serving with VISTA can have outstanding success with high-school dropouts or illiterate adults. A retired businessman can assist in the development of community organization and structure. A young college graduate can use his skills in developing a local preschool program in counseling, or in providing services for the mentally ill and retarded. When volunteers are assigned to duty—at the request of a local antipoverty group—each volunteer has a specific job to do, and the background to do it.

VISTA is truly a creative program for it nourishes within those blighted by poverty the growth of self-reliance, initiative, confidence, and skills which will enable each individual to fight, and to win, his war against poverty. I believe that our country is being well served by the dedicated Americans who have chosen to become VISTA volunteers. I wholeheartedly support H.R. 8283, and I endorse the provisions which will strengthen the VISTA volunteer program.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Chairman, I am proud to endorse this legislation and to pledge my support to continue our war on America's most insidious and demoralizing enemy—poverty. I have watched this program develop with great interest and I have seen in my own district its tangible and considerable results. I have watched communities mobilize in an effort to develop programs to uproot the causes of poverty. I have seen youth wrested from stagnating unemployment and disadvantaged children given an opportunity to learn to be as productive in school as their more fortunate neighbors.

Well over \$500,000 has been granted to eight communities in my district under the Neighborhood Youth Corps. We have received \$200,000 for projects in Woonsocket, Central Falls, Pawtucket, East Providence, Portsmouth, Jamestown, and Newport. Providence has received another \$350,000. Almost 3,000 youths are enrolled and employed, acquiring valuable work experience and supporting their own educations at the same time. This is employment they would not otherwise find and yet it is more than simply a job. It is a chance

to learn; a chance to progress in education and in society.

One hundred and fifty thousand dollars was funded to Newport, East Providence and Providence under Project Head Start this summer whereby hundreds of preschool children from poor neighborhoods are being given an opportunity to catch up to their contemporaries. Medical and dental care and guidance under the dedicated supervision of concerned teachers and aids have given these children a chance to profit from school in the fall; a chance to develop along with other children their own age.

East Providence was among the first wave of cities to receive program development grants this year under title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Since that time, it has been funded over \$110,000 for a community action programs for food distribution and nutrition. Newport, too, has a program development grant of \$20,000. And, I am happy to see other communities joining in the effort to analyze and plan the ways to subdue and exterminate poverty. Pawtucket's proposal is under review now; Cumberland and Lincoln will have a program shortly.

Programs such as these must be allowed to have their full effect. Neither the awesomeness of the task which lies before us nor the difficulty of our first few steps should cause us to waiver in our resolve to go on. We must not falter for too many lives and futures are at stake. Rather, in the words of our President, "Let us continue."

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in opposition to the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. This legislation if approved would continue in operation the so-called war on poverty program which in my estimation, represents the greatest display of political hokum in this century.

The administrative officials in this "war" have certainly demonstrated, if we are to judge from the operation of the program thus far, that the real purpose of the 1964 act was not to help the poor. In some cases, as much as 85 percent of the poverty money appropriated has been spent on extravagant bureaucratic salaries. Furthermore, most of these people were not by any means, poor.

During the initial hearings on these proposed amendments this year numerous examples of mismanagement and inefficiency were pointed out. The hearings were suddenly brought to a halt, the chairman contending that time was of the essence.

One example of the extravagance of the war on poverty was brought to light. Even the program officials admitted that costs were out of line. I am speaking of an Operation Head Start project where nursery school teachers will be paid at rates ranging from \$8 an hour to over \$9 an hour this summer. These teachers will receive \$200 a week for work in day care centers. The national average of pay for the same work throughout the country is only about \$125 per week. Although Operation Head Start is not being considered in the proposed amendments, I feel that this ex-

ample points out the enormous waste of tax money brought about by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

About 3 weeks ago another example of the gross inefficiency and wastefulness of the war on poverty was brought to my attention.

In the June 26 issue of the Meridian Star, Meridian, Miss., the following associated press article appeared:

SCHOOL BOARD CANCELS ANTIPOVERTY PACT

CLEARWATER, FLA.—The Pinellas County School Board has voted unanimously to cancel a \$2.4 million contract connected with the first Women's Job Corps Training Center established under President Johnson's anti-poverty program.

School Superintendent Floyd T. Christian said the program "has not been a success, has been mislocated and has not improved the board's image in any way."

Christian recommended cancellation of the contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The center, housed in St. Petersburg's Huntington Hotel, enrolls high school drop-outs and trains them with skills to find jobs.

The board said neighboring residents, mostly retired elderly persons, have complained about excessive noise. The board also complained that a staff of 130 for an anticipated 280 to 300 girls amounted to nearly 1 instructor for every 2 girls.

In a series of articles, the St. Petersburg Times said costs amounted to between \$6,000 to \$7,000 to train one girl a year.

One point brought up was the annual salary of \$8,160 for a swimming instructor.

The Times said the monthly pay for the staff was about the same as county teachers. Many of the county's top teachers were leaving their posts to take jobs with the center, the paper said.

The rent paid for the center at the downtown hotel for 18 months was reported by the Times as \$250,000 close to the valuation of the building for tax purposes.

The Times quoted Milton Fogelman, chief contracting officer for the OEO in Washington, as saying that the \$2.4 million contract runs through July 31, 1968 "and one does not lightly walk away from a public contract."

Christian wants the board to end the contract within 18 months "or sooner if possible."

One other point that disturbs me about this measure is the fact that this bill places within the authority of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity the power to override the State Governors. Claim that it is a compromise, the way I see it, this section merely allows the State Governors authority to agree with the Director—if he, the Governor, agrees that certain of the war on poverty programs are acceptable by his State, then his authority prevails, but as soon as he disagrees with poverty officials on a particular phase of the program for his State, then he must bow to the wishes of the Director. I submit that the provision written into the bill giving the State Governor discretionary authority to accept or reject, carry no weight whatsoever as long as the Director has the power to overrule him.

Mr. Chairman, after careful study of the present administration of the war on poverty program, and because of a firm belief in the philosophies of States rights, I must therefore oppose this legislation, and respectfully urge my colleagues to do likewise.

And finally, last week we received reports where 8 out of 25 men enrolled in a Job Corps training program were arrested on charges ranging from possession of narcotics to possession of pornographic material. These men were supposedly training to be hospital chefs in a school at the Hudson River State Hospital in New York. The point I wish to make with these three of many many examples of immorality, ineffectiveness, and mismanaged which if offered a year of trial, these programs have proved so costly and ineffective, we should scuttle the entire program.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Chairman, the anti-poverty program is 1 year old, and the achievements thus far have been most encouraging. Already it is proving a harbinger of hope for the Nation's poor, directly or indirectly. There has been criticism of the program; some disagreements and dissensions are to be expected in launching a program of such magnitude. But we must remember that breaking the cycle of poverty for several million families is a tremendous task and one that cannot possibly be accomplished in a year or a few years; it must be long range and may well take a generation.

Our major assault on poverty is being undertaken through the youth programs and the community action programs. State, local, and private nonprofit organizations are utilizing local resources in planning and carrying out programs which assist low-income families with job training and counseling, special education, and housing and health problems.

In my congressional district in the Bronx, which unfortunately is a depressed, low-income area, the underprivileged, young and old, are benefiting from the various community action programs—the work training, the Job Corps, Head Start, and adult basic education programs. These important and urgently needed programs are opening job and school opportunities to youth in my area whose future otherwise would be filled with frustration, hopelessness, and poverty. For the first time, many boys and girls in my congressional district are being given the opportunity to compete with youths of higher economic levels in other areas. We are utilizing brainpower and skill which otherwise would be wasted. An example of this is the recent selection of 60 youths from poverty-stricken homes in the Bronx to begin a 5-year college program leading to teaching careers. These boys—unable to compete for college scholarships with students from families and neighborhoods offering more advantages—are being given the opportunity to overcome the severe handicaps of their poverty-stricken backgrounds. The investments we are making like this, not only in my district, but throughout the country, will be repaid many times over.

In New York the Head Start project is the largest in the country, and is assisting over 25,500 underprivileged children. Nationwide, this program embraces more than 500,000 children and is helping them escape from the clutches of poverty by striking at the root cause: lack of

early education. In addition, many of these children have defects in eyesight, in their teeth, and hearing, and have other health problems which are receiving attention for the first time. Headstart is helping these youngsters face life with hope; and is putting them on an equal with more fortunate children.

One of several community progress centers being established in New York will be located in the south Bronx. These centers provide neighborhood mobilization, a variety of social services, and are coordinating many projects that are, and will be, operating within the neighborhood.

Within the next year, New York should have a fully coordinated and boardly representative program. We are utilizing all available resources and organizations, both professional and neighborhood based, with selection of personnel from residents of the neighborhood. Our program encompasses a number of neighborhood associations and we are extending such programs as the "hot summer program" to alleviate tensions and provide for youth to expend energies. The youth employment program, the ASPIRA-Puerto Rican forum is conducting a bilingual nursery school project with three preschool multipurpose centers, and they will direct 2,500 Puerto Rican adolescents from slums toward college. The United Neighborhood Houses will have three integrated pre-

school and parent opportunity centers. These will employ neighborhood aids and will serve 425 mothers and children. Neighborhood training, placement, and sheltered work facilities in the Bronx will assist 250 disabled persons over 50 years of age.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is providing jobs and training for thousands of high school age youths, who were out of work and out of school, or were about to become school dropouts. These boys and girls are now learning self-respect and for the first time in their lives they are grasping the meaning of education and having a goal in life. The Neighborhood Youth Corps in New York, as of now, has 5,500 youths at work under this program. In addition, a summer project was approved for 8,500 enrollees.

Under the college work-study program, poor and underprivileged college students are working and studying during the summer months. The work-experience program is providing thousands of adults with dependents with job skills that will enable them to free themselves from the shackles of poverty and despair. The VISTA program has 5,000 volunteers in 200 communities. The adult basic education programs in all 50 States are benefiting 70,000 adults.

In addition to the important activities I have mentioned, the Economic Opportunity Act also provides aid to migrant workers, loans to needy rural families, and assistance to small businesses.

And so, Mr. Chairman, the war on poverty is off to a good start, but it is only a start; much remains to be done. Never has such a large program, involving so many elements—public and private—been undertaken in this country. Poverty is everyone's problem, for poverty in a community affects every resident of that community. It involves a network of social ills—unemployment, poor health, slum housing, and illiteracy. Our out-of-school and out-of-work youths contribute to juvenile delinquency. Inadequate housing, overcrowding in slum areas, breed discontent and crime. The lack of education and job skills swell the unemployment rolls.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 8283, to extend and expand the Economic Opportunity Act. This program has wide support and has had a successful and encouraging beginning; we must enlarge and increase its scope and effectiveness. I call upon my colleagues in the House to lend their support to this legislation. Let us complete the task we have begun: To eliminate want, deprivation, and need in our country, the richest Nation in the world.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, during the debate on this bill, I mentioned some people who are working for OEO without compensation. I include at this point in the RECORD the complete list for the information of the membership of the House.

MEMBERS OF THE BUSINESS LEADERSHIP ADVISORY COUNCIL

[WOC=without compensation]

Name	Salary	Selecting official	Duty station	Present employment
Besse, Ralph M.	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., president.
Brown, George R.	WOC	do	do	Brown & Root, Inc., president.
Burke, John	WOC	do	do	Business Council, executive secretary.
Carter, Richard H.	WOC	do	do	Fostoria Corp., president.
Cisler, Walker L.	WOC	do	do	Detroit Edison Co., chairman.
Cutler, Lloyd N., Esq.	WOC	do	do	Wilmer, Cutler, & Pickering.
Dadian, Arthur H., Esq.	WOC	do	do	Attorney at law.
Donahue, Alphonsus J.	WOC	do	do	Donahue Sales Corp., president.
Douglas, Donald, Jr.	WOC	do	do	Douglas Aircraft Co., president.
Eisenhower, Dr. Milton	WOC	do	do	Johns Hopkins University, president.
Ely, John M.	WOC	do	do	Prexy's, Inc., president.
Gerstacker, Carl A.	WOC	do	do	Dow Chemical Co., chairman of the board.
Goldston, Eli	WOC	do	do	Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, president.
Houvouras, Andrew J., Jr.	WOC	do	do	Huntington Plating, Inc., president.
Kaiser, Edgar F.	WOC	do	do	Kaiser Industries Corp., chairman.
Klutznick, Philip	WOC	do	do	Klutznick Enterprises.
Linowitz, Sol M.	WOC	do	do	Xerox Corp., chairman of the board.
Martin, Virgil C.	WOC	do	do	Carson Pirie Scott & Co., president.
Menke, W. Kenneth	WOC	do	do	Pittsburgh Chemical Co., president.
McCormack, James	WOC	do	do	Massachusetts Institute of Technology, vice president.
Nahas, R. T.	WOC	do	do	R. T. Nahas Co., president.
Nichols, Thomas S.	WOC	do	do	Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., chairman.
Peterkin, Daniel, Jr.	WOC	do	do	Morton Salt Co., president.
Phillippe, G. L.	WOC	do	do	General Electric Co., chairman of the board.
Ross, Joseph	WOC	do	do	Davidson Bros., president.
Saunders, Stuart T.	WOC	do	do	Pennsylvania Railroad Co., chairman of the board.
Sonnabend, Roger P.	WOC	do	do	Hotel Corp. of America, president.
Spencer, Lyle	WOC	do	do	Science Research Associates, Inc., president.
Watson, Thomas J., Jr.	WOC	do	do	IBM, chairman of the board.
Wheeler, John	WOC	do	do	Mechanics & Farmers Bank, president.
Reppler, Theodore S.	WOC	do	do	Advertising Council, president.
Alden, Vernon	WOC	do	do	Ohio University, president.
Carmichael, Donald S., Esq.	WOC	do	do	Counselor at law.
Rubel, John H.	WOC	do	do	Litton Industries, vice president.
Bullock, Hugh	WOC	do	do	Calvin Bullock, Ltd., president.
Fowler, Henry H.	WOC	do	do	Business Leadership Council, resigned.

LABOR ADVISORY COUNCIL

[WOC=without compensation]

Name	Salary	Selecting official	Duty station	Present employment
Allen, Finlay C.	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America, AFL-CIO, vice president.
Fried, Milton	WOC	do	do	Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO director of research.
Goldfinger, Nat	WOC	do	do	AFL-CIO, director of research.
Greenberg, Max	WOC	do	do	Wholesale & Department Store Union, AFL-CIO, president.
Haggerty, C. J.	WOC	do	do	Building & Construction Trades, AFL-CIO, president.
Lesser, Leonard	WOC	do	do	Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, assistant to president.
Perlis, Leo	WOC	do	do	Community Services Department, AFL-CIO, director.
Reed, W. Vernie	WOC	do	do	AFL-CIO, vice president.
Rogin, Larry	WOC	do	do	Department of Education, AFL-CIO, director.
Sullivan, David	WOC	do	do	Building Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO.
Weeks, Barney	WOC	do	do	Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, president.
Brown, Pete	WOC	do	do	American Federation of State, City & Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, special international representative.

INTERIM INTER-FAITH PLANNING COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

Comfort, Rev. Richard	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	National Council of Churches.
Greene, Rev. Sbirley E.	WOC	do	do	National Council of the Churches of Christ.
Rahn, Rev. Seldon	WOC	do	do	National Council of Churches.
Hinton, Thomas D.	WOC	do	do	National Catholic Community Service.
Gallagher, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Raymond	WOC	do	do	National Conference of Catholic Charities.
Bernstein, Philip	WOC	do	do	Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.
Hirsch, Rabbi Richard G.	WOC	do	do	Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
Solender, Sanford	WOC	do	do	National Jewish Welfare Board.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS—SUBCOMMITTEE ON POVERTY

Danstedt, Rudolpb T.	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	National Association of Social Workers, ACSW, director.
Lourie, Norman V.	WOC	do	do	Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare.
McNeil, C. F.	WOC	do	do	NASW Commission on Community Organization-Health and Welfare Council.
Sbiffman, Bernard M.	WOC	do	do	Director of program for development and training.
Tavani, Cleonice	WOC	do	do	National Association of Social Workers.
Vasey, Wayne	WOC	do	do	Dean, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, George Washington University.

TASK FORCE ON PROGRAMS FOR OLDER POOR

Aller, Dr. Curtis	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	San Francisco State College.
Baxt, Roland	WOC	do	do	Executive director, Federation Employment & Guidance Service of New York.
Fitch, William C.	WOC	do	do	Executive director, American Association of Retired Personnel.
Kreps, Dr. Juanita	WOC	do	do	Professor of economics, Duke University.
Odell, Charles E.	WOC	do	do	Older and Retired Workers Department, United Auto Workers.
Patton, James	WOC	do	do	National Farmers Union.
Aramony, William	WOC	do	do	United Funds of Dade County.
Edelman, John	WOC	do	do	National Council of Senior Citizens.
Houstoun, Lawrence O., Jr.	WOC	do	do	New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity.
Mathiasen, Mrs. Geneva	WOC	do	do	National Council on Aging.
Maurer, Robert S.	WOC	do	do	1120 Connecticut Ave. NW.
Kiley, Ed.	WOC	do	do	National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.
Shelley, Edwin	WOC	do	do	Engineering management, care of New York Institute of Technology.
Sheppard, Dr. Harold L.	WOC	do	do	W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.
Calloway, Dr. Nathaniel O.	WOC	do	do	Veterans' Administration hospital.
Ravin, Louis	WOC	do	do	Executive Secretary, Task Force on Programs for the Older Poor, Office of Economic Opportunity.
Wiesen, Aaron M.	WOC	do	do	Chairman, Council of Aging, Health and Welfare Council of the Cincinnati Community Chest.
Jackson, Hobart	WOC	do	do	Stephen Smith Home for the Aged.
Russell, Mrs. A. M. G.	WOC	do	do	Chairman, California State Committee on Aging.

WICS (WOMEN IN COMMUNITY SERVICE)

Cooper, Mrs. William	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	National Council of Jewish Women; WICS president.
Fischer, Mrs. Albert	WOC	do	do	United Church Women; WICS vice president.
Mealey, Margaret	WOC	do	do	National Council of Catholic Women; WICS treasurer.
Williams, Ethel	WOC	do	do	National Council of Negro Women; WICS secretary.

POVERTY LIAISON OFFICERS

Bakken, Elmaar H.	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	Director, Boy Scouts of America.
Bird, Clarence W.	WOC	do	do	National Economic Commission-American Legion.
Cortner, Mrs. C. E.	WOC	do	do	Girl Scouts of the United States of America.
Dudley, Tilford E.	WOC	do	do	AFL-CIO.
Fields, Mrs. Howard	WOC	do	do	Woman's Auxiliary to the American Optometric Association.
Goldberg, Ned	WOC	do	do	National Federation of Settlements & Neighborhood Centers.
Gunther, Mrs. Violet	WOC	do	do	Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.
Johnson, Mrs. Cernoria D.	WOC	do	do	National Urban League, Inc.
Kimbrel, M. Monroe	WOC	do	do	Chairman of the board, First National Bank.
Mahlman, Tony	WOC	do	do	Chairman, American Bankers Association Liaison Committee to OEO.
Rollins, Robert P.	WOC	do	do	American Optometric Association.
Stanley, Miles	WOC	do	do	American National Red Cross.
				AFL-CIO.

PROFESSIONAL INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS

[WOC=without compensation]

Name	Salary	Selecting official	Duty station	Present employment
Andy Williams	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	Singer.
Dick Van Dyke	WOC	do	do	TV personality.
Richard Crenna	WOC	do	do	Do.
Jackie Gleason	WOC	do	do	Do.
Danny Kaye	WOC	do	do	Do.
Andy Griffith	WOC	do	do	Do.
Johnny Mathis	WOC	do	do	Singer.
Lloyd Thaxton	WOC	do	do	Do.
Dinah Shore	WOC	do	do	Do.
Harry Belafonte	WOC	do	do	Do.
Gina Lollobrigida	WOC	do	do	Movie actress.
Donna Reed	WOC	do	do	TV and movie actress.
Betty Furness	WOC	do	do	TV public relations specialist.
Gregory Peck	WOC	do	do	Movie actor.
Al Capp	WOC	do	do	Nationally syndicated cartoonist.
Walt Disney	WOC	do	do	TV and movie producer.
Earl Newsum	WOC	do	do	Public relations specialist.
J. Walter Thompson	WOC	do	do	Do.
Young and Rubican	WOC	do	do	Do.
Papert, Koenig, and Lois	WOC	do	do	Do.
Osgood Nicbols	WOC	do	do	Do.

MEMBERS OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

Blake, Rev. Eugene Carson	WOC	Sargent Shriver	Washington, D.C.	World Council of Churches.
Conant, Dr. James B.	WOC	do	do	Writer; former president of Harvard.
Galbraith, Dr. J. Kenneth	WOC	do	do	Harvard economist; former Ambassador to India.
Johnson, John H.	WOC	do	do	Editor-publisher.
Keefer, W. W.	WOC	do	do	Phillips Petroleum Co., vice president.
Lucey, Most Rev. Robert E.	WOC	do	do	Head, Archdiocese of San Antonio.
McNamara, Mrs. Robert S.	WOC	do	do	Activities concerned with youth welfare, counseling, and juvenile courts.
Marland, Dr. Sidney P.	WOC	do	do	Superintendent of schools, Pittsburgh.
Olivarez, Mrs. Grace	WOC	do	do	Executive secretary, National Conference on Poverty.
Randolph, A. Philip	WOC	do	do	Vice president, AFL-CIO.
Russell, Mrs. A. M. G.	WOC	do	do	Member, California State Committee on Aging.
Spock, Dr. Benjamin M.	WOC	do	do	Doctor-writer.
Stanley, Miles C.	WOC	do	do	West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, president.
Young, Whitney M.	WOC	do	do	Executive secretary, National Urban League.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, this is an occasion for commendation—not condemnation—of the efforts and work being carried out under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This week I received a letter from a lady in my district. She complained rather bitterly about deficiencies in and abuses of our welfare programs around the Nation. She enclosed an article from a publication with nationwide circulation pointing out some of these problems and asked what the Congress is doing about the situation. Her letter was particularly appropriate and her question particularly pertinent at this time.

My reply was that as far as the Congress is concerned, and as far as administration policy is concerned, our answer to welfare abuse is the elimination of the need for welfare through the war on poverty.

There is no one who will deny that our efforts toward this end have suffered some setbacks. We have had some defeats in this war on poverty. But many wars have been won convincingly despite innumerable battles lost.

We are all too well aware of the St. Petersburgs, of the Job Corps youths who have gotten into trouble, of the failure here and the lack of progress there. But as we consider this bill, let us be mindful that the success of a program such as this, a war on poverty, should not be measured by the loss of a few battles.

When we measure the results of this war on poverty, we must take into paramount consideration the people at whom the programs are directed and what type of people we are trying to assist.

We are attempting to reach the people who, for one reason or another, have

been denied the opportunity for economic advancement that the vast majority of the citizens of this Nation enjoy. These are the people who have failed or will fail because of lack of training. These are the families on relief who contribute very little materially to our society. And these are the children of these families who will be faced with an even darker economic future than their parents, who will be bypassed by the future growth and greatness of this Nation, who will be left in the backwash of progress, unless we aid them now.

We must remember also that the war on poverty is unlike programs such as college aid and student loans where the success rate is expected to be high. This is a program in which the rate of failure and expectation of failure is very high. Therefore, if this program is successful in assisting 6, 4, or even 2 of every 10 persons living in poverty today to escape the cycle of poverty, if it enables the children of these people who may not yet be fully caught up in this cycle to break loose, then this program is and will continue to be a tremendous success.

Less than a year ago, there was no Economic Opportunity Act. Less than a year ago, there was no Office of Economic Opportunity. Yet in less than a year, under passage of that act, the Office of Economic Opportunity has grown from a small overworked and understaffed cadre of dedicated public servants until today it is, in consideration of the Herculean task it has undertaken, one of the most efficient and least bureaucratically hampered offices in our Federal Government.

Just what has been accomplished in these past 11 months in face of the difficulties of establishing office staff, procedures, screening of thousands of applications, and the many, many other

problems which arise in the establishment of a new office and program of this magnitude?

The major goal of the war on poverty is, of course, to reach the poor and help them help themselves. As of June 30 of this year, the war on poverty had directly served 1,167,000 poor Americans. This is a truly commendable achievement for a program of this nature which has yet to observe its first anniversary. This total does not include the 530,000 preschool children in the 12,500 community centers, who this summer, are being aided through Project Head Start.

In addition, at the completion of the proposed 1965 program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the war on poverty will have directly served 3,009,000 poor Americans.

I have a breakdown on these figures by program and year for which I have requested unanimous consent to include in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

War, as this Nation well knows, is a horrible thing. Yet from war, this country emerged, was tested, and became the greatest and most powerful Nation on earth.

A War of Independence made a nation of this colonial region.

A Civil War tested the strength of our great Union and proved it could endure.

Two World Wars proved that no challenge was too great for a nation dedicated to democracy and freedom.

Korea and Vietnam have proved that no challenge was too great for a nation dedicated to democracy and freedom.

Korea and Vietnam have proved that no challenge, though by comparison small, is too small to undertake in the defense of freedom though the price be high.

In the course of all these wars, scores of battles were lost. But the ultimate prize has been ours.

So it is with the war on poverty.

Our greatest asset for a continued democracy is an abundant life for each of our citizens. A life in which they have an opportunity to assume personal re-

sponsibility for their own well-being and a desire to contribute to the well-being of the future citizens of their nation. The continuation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 will be a progressive move toward this accomplishment.

The table referred to follows:

Office of Economic Opportunity—Fiscal year 1965 program

	Poor served by June 30			Total poor to be served with 1965 program		
	Direct	Indirect ¹	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total
Community action program:						
Action grants.....	600,000	330,000	930,000	1,800,000	1,000,000	2,800,000
Head Start children.....				560,000		560,000
Head Start workers.....				60,000	180,000	240,000
Migratory agricultural workers.....	73,000	425,000	498,000	73,000	425,000	498,000
Job Corps.....	10,000	30,000	40,000	32,000	100,000	132,000
Neighborhood Youth Corps.....	265,000	850,000	1,115,000	265,000	85,000	1,115,000
Work experience program.....	83,000	264,000	352,000	88,000	264,000	352,000
Work study program.....	85,000		85,000	85,000		85,000
Rural loan program.....	11,000	44,000	55,000	11,000	44,000	55,000
Adult basic education.....	35,000		35,000	35,000		35,000
Total served.....	1,167,000	1,943,000	3,110,000	3,009,000	2,863,000	5,872,000

¹ Indirect includes other family members and such things as temporary use of rest-stop facilities in the care of migratory workers.

² Not adjusted for poor people served by more than 1 program.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, we may well look at the economic opportunity amendments by looking back over the hopes that Congress had for the original act last year. These were shared by the impoverished whom this act should have helped. What were these hopes?

We were promised by the administration a strong, vigorous, imaginative program designed and equipped to combat poverty. We expected that it would be coordinated with the other attempts being made by the Federal, State, and local agencies and private organizations who spend about \$100 billion a year already.

We wanted to give the impoverished the hope that there was a way out of the crowded tenements and dirty, narrow streets, a hope that their children would not spend their whole lives struggling in the environment they were born into. We wanted them to know that somebody cared.

We planned that the money was to go to qualified groups who were sincerely interested in helping the poor, often to the existing groups, and that programs would be established in those areas where the need was the greatest.

We hoped that the existing leaders of the poor would be included in the planning and that people who have had direct contact with the poor through settlement houses and other welfare agencies would be employed. We were led to believe that the poor would be organized to help themselves when this was feasible and that their present groups and the leaders they trust would be utilized. Not only would this increase the effectiveness of the program, but it would maintain the self-respect of the people we are helping.

We foresaw that qualified and trained professional personnel would be hired to work at the roots of the problem, people who were familiar with the work of welfare agencies. We hoped that the program would be effective, not merely look busy and spend its allotted funds.

But what, Mr. Chairman, have we had in answer to our hopes? What have the poor seen of this program? We have in answer to our hopes for sound program planning, a huge, bungling and confused administration, concerned more with salaries, titles, and offices than with the poor. In the words of the gentleman from New York, committee Chairman POWELL, as he opened the hearings of the ad hoc subcommittee:

There has been an overemphasis on planning and a dismal deemphasis on action.

Of the 218 grants made by the community action program, only 34 have been for action. He continued to describe salaries which he characterized as "excessively high and in some instances unreasonable and wildly unrealistic."

By March 31 of 1965, 85 percent of the funds allocated for administration had been used. By that time the OEO had 346 special consultants, plus 574 regular employees in the Washington office and 74 in the field. The personnel roster was a topheavy list of highly paid chiefs directing a very few Indians. Mail piled up, due to the lack of organization, for several months until consultants costing the taxpayer \$50 a day were put to work answering routine correspondence.

To quote again from the gentleman from New York, Chairman POWELL:

In far too many communities, giant fiestas of political patronage have been encouraged.

And he continued to describe how "politicians have used the reservoir of poverty funds to feed their political hacks at the trough of mediocrity." Strong words, but from the chairman whose mail every week had been full of letters from all over the country describing the situation.

In the course of the hearings Chicago's shocking record was slowly unfolded by witnesses, a record of using poverty jobs as political tools.

A letter from a ward captain or an alderman was the key for a job. Far more highly qualified people were interviewed,

without this calling card, and turned away with only brief formalities of consideration. The record shows the same lack of interest in qualification or experience across the Nation as highly paid amateurs are set to work in solving problems they have no familiarity with, while qualified groups are ignored to operate as best they can.

In its haste to spend money, the Office of Economic Opportunity seems to have lost sight of the purpose of the spending. They have hired untrained boys to do a tough man's job.

If ever there was a job that needed trained, competent, capable people, familiar with their profession, this is it. But the people chosen have been rank amateurs—from the ranks of the party faithful.

We had hoped and were assured that when such existed, neighborhood organizations and groups would be included.

There had been an obvious failure—

Says the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL]—

to carry out a most important objective: that of involving the poor in the war on poverty.

He continued to state that in many cases the people who had been responsible for keeping the poor impoverished were now responsible for running the war on poverty.

The program we have established here in the Congress has not moved an inch in the direction of helping and encouraging the poor to initiate programs to help themselves. They have been excluded from the planning even in those areas where they have already made advances in solving their own problems to the limits of their resources. Evidence that the poor are capable and willing to improve their own conditions has been discredited.

There is substantial evidence in the letters which were inserted in the proceedings of the hearings, that often a wealthy or at least not impoverished Negro, or a better off person living in or near a slum neighborhood is placed on the councils and pointed to as the representative of the poor or the minorities. The people for whom the program is designed do not recognize these people as their leaders, often do not know them and have no trust in them.

There is a similar disregard of the independent private and religious groups which are already at work tackling the problems of the poor. The act of 1964 specifically stated that "public or private nonprofit agencies" should be included, yet in many communities a new organization is set up which ignores existing groups whose skills and experience could be invaluable to them and who are willing to combine efforts.

In Chicago, of the 24 members of the council, none represents a private social welfare agency, none a neighborhood or community organization. They have shown rude disinterest to the offers of slum clearance leaders and have refused to sit down and discuss the program with church leaders who come, not asking but offering.

There has been little attempt to cooperate with the State and local poverty programs, and jurisdictional disputes have taken up time that could have been spent in helping the poor. Little attempt has been made to tailor the programs to the needs in some States, and it has been necessary for State Governors to veto the programs which should have been designed to be of help. Little attempt has even been made to coordinate efforts with the 42 existing Federal programs designed to combat poverty.

Funds have been given out without investigation to sham groups, in areas where poverty is almost unknown. The Republican task force on economic opportunity heard responsible testimony on a case in Ypsilanti, Mich., costing the taxpayers nearly \$200,000. An association, consisting, as far as anyone has been able to establish, of six men, from the community, led by six others from Ann Arbor and calling itself the Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development, sent a report to the OEO claiming that Willow Village was a depressed area and a pocket of poverty. According to the testimony:

The report blandly states that there is no recreation or cultural or even entertainment facility, but the township and school district operate recreational facilities including public use of the high school swimming pool; the two universities in the area of course operate full-time cultural activities and there is, among other things, a major chain motion picture theater approximately 2 miles away.

The report alleges that there are no stores in the area, yet there is a modern shopping center right in the middle of the village. As a matter of fact, a neighborhood grocer closed his store recently because of a lack of business—suggesting that retailing facilities are at least adequate.

The WRAND report claims that urban renewal demolished the community center [which is now located in a former school building], the schools [there are several], the gas station [there are three], the grocery [there is still a small grocery right across the street from the shopping center], the medical and dental clinics [both of which are less than 5 minutes away by car].

There were obvious contradictions in the report, which should have been spotted by one of the highly paid staff people here in Washington. But the most shocking part of the whole thing is that the community is one in which over 90 percent of the population own their own houses, nearly everyone owns at least one car and a TV set, and the average family income is just dollars short of \$8,000.

A questionnaire was distributed by local citizens and out of 55-percent response—despite the fact that WRAND people followed the questionnaire distributors and told people not to fill them out—only 11 people felt themselves impoverished. Only 12 people thought that the area ought to keep the grant. The rest thought that it should be returned to the Federal Government.

There was apparently no attempt made to verify the report or the credentials of the front organization with local authorities, and the money was sent out.

Mr. Chairman, this is the exact kind of activity we are encouraging if we pass this bill without imposing any safeguards

or making further investigation into the past operation.

What attempts have been made by the OEO to remedy these situations? They have made heroic attempts to cover up the deficiencies, look busy, and assure the Congress that they have a capable, efficient, and effective program whose initial flaws are being ironed out smoothly.

What should we here be doing about this situation? We should be holding hearings to investigate and find out what makes the program tick. As the gentleman from New York, Chairman POWELL, pointed out in the opening of the hearings:

Every new idea, in its infancy, must periodically stand adult evaluation. No idea can fulfill its intended mission without exposure to searching and honest criticism.

All those who wish and need to be heard should be listened to.

After we have seen the problems, we should implement the legislation with sound safeguards to see that the programs will accomplish what they were set up to do, and to see that our money is being used wisely, and purposefully.

We should see that unqualified recipients are cut out and that the staff and administrative personnel are of the highest caliber and trained for the work they are to do. We should see that the poor are brought in, for unless they are made conscious of their condition and encouraged to improve it, we cannot accomplish our goals. The poor must be more than represented, they must take part and their ideas must be heard.

The program must be brought into close cooperation with Federal, State, and private welfare programs, so that the energies of the programs may be best utilized to help the poor, not to argue over who is in command of what.

We should continue the experimental programs at their present level until the results can be determined. We should continue the whole program at its present level of funds until it is shown that the operations are set up properly and able to work efficiently and do the job they should already be doing.

That, Mr. Chairman, is what we should have done. But what have we done?

The hearings have been cut short before there could be any more publicity to point up the dismal failure of a program whose administrators describe it as a success. It became necessary for the Republican task force to hold their own hearings outside the legislative process in order to hear the truth which was only partly disclosed in the subcommittee's proceedings.

What improvements have been written into the bill to assure that there will be no more of the kind of monkeyshines that have characterized the program in the past? Nothing. Only a letter from the part-time Director promising that all those in this charge will be good boys in the future.

That, Mr. Chairman, is not enough for most of us. The committee struck out the veto power of the Governor, over the strong, sound and well-reasoned protests of the Governors who see the need to tailor each plan to the particular State

and to be able to correlate it with its agencies. It doubles the money for expensive and untested programs before we have had a chance to see if they really work. We have thereby encouraged further bungling and further undesirable practices. And in the process of trying to stem this highhanded irresponsible action, the minority has been frowned upon, and accused of being the enemy of the poor.

Mr. Chairman, it is because we are not the enemy of the poor that we want to see them helped. It is because we support in good faith the purported purpose of this whole plan, that we must oppose the action before us today. The evidence has shown clearly that the best interests of the poor are not being served, nor are the Nation's. Because we are genuinely concerned with the problems and conditions of poverty, we must oppose this bill. Saying that the bill helps the poor and calling it a war on poverty is not enough. The bill must actually do these things. The poor are not being fooled by promises anymore than we in Congress are.

We sincerely want to answer the cries of social workers, religious leaders and workers and the poor themselves when they ask, "When will the poor be helped?" We want to answer now. And the answer is not in this bill we have before us.

It is not in giving more money to be wasted, more jobs for political hacks, more power to the already powerful, more confusion to the already confused.

The answer is in sound administration, genuine concern, qualified leadership, interested cooperation, real involvement of the people concerned, and action.

Only then will the poor be helped and the war on poverty be won. It is for the sake of the poverty stricken that we oppose the poverty program today.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT].

(Mr. ROOSEVELT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, until this decade Americans appeared to accept the proposition that some poverty was inevitable—that the poor would always be with us.

But last year our President, with the strong backing of our Congress, proclaimed war against poverty—and that ancient view that it must inevitably plague us.

In the mere 11 months that have passed since the enactment of Public Law 88-452, poverty has not been eliminated from our land. Indeed, no one could possibly have anticipated that this age-old scourge could be eliminated in so short a time. It will take many times 11 months; many, many years before poverty is no longer a problem. It is this very fact that commands us to not just maintain our war against poverty, but to redouble our commitment to that war.

Familiar as they are, the bare facts of poverty in the United States, the world's most favored Nation, bear recounting.

In this period of unprecedented prosperity and productivity: One in five Americans live in poverty. This includes more than 5 million adults and 3 million children receiving public assistance or relief. This 20 percent of the population at the lowest income level receives only 5 percent of the national income, a proportion that has not changed since 1946.

Thus, the benefits of our affluent society are not being equally enjoyed.

Today, poverty is still a chronic condition for millions of our citizens. Large numbers are isolated from the rewards and opportunities of our country because of economic and social obstacles. These include millions of Negroes, Indians, and Spanish Americans, dwellers in isolated and rural areas, migrant laborers, children in large and fatherless families, the old, those whose education is inadequate for today's needs, the unemployed, the underemployed, and indeed, some who are fully employed. Poverty may be either the cause or an effect of these problems.

Today, for too many people, deprivation is not a passing phenomenon. It is a continuing condition of day-by-day life. Still, today, many have been alienated from the larger society of the Nation, the State, the community, or even the neighborhood in which they live.

But, today we are doing something about these appalling facts—this horrendous condition. Yes, we have had many laws, many programs directed toward various aspects of poverty. It is absurd to think that prior administrations and Congresses have been blind to the poverty in this country. But the remarkable, exciting, and challenging aspect of this war against poverty is that today we are attempting to cut at the very heart of poverty—at the causes of poverty. Never before has a great democratic nation taken such a thorough, honest, and bold course against poverty.

By enacting title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act, Congress clearly expressed a basic understanding of the nature of poverty and established the guidelines for attacking it. These guidelines call for a mobilization of resources, for programs of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward the elimination of poverty, for participation of the poor in the resolution of their own problems, and for local administration.

Mobilization of resources calls for the linking of efforts of agencies which traditionally have gone their separate ways. It calls for the development of a local organization with the commitment, power, and prestige to link these efforts together. Consequently the Office of Economic Opportunity has given preference to broadly based agencies seeking to carry out coordinated antipoverty programs. This policy is based on the belief that such agencies, and such programs, are most likely to achieve successful mobilization of all community resources in an attack on poverty.

Because separate and independent agencies often have separate and independent rules for determining whom they will assist, large numbers of the poor never receive the full range of help needed to move out of poverty. The com-

munity action agency is responsible for seeing that poor persons do not fall between agencies, their needs going unnoticed and unheeded. Its basic responsibility is not to the agencies but to the poor people. With this mandate, and its responsibility for coordination, it can be held responsible for developing programs which are truly responsive to all the needs of the poor, without any prior commitment to providing particular kinds of services.

In addition, the act stipulates that local antipoverty programs should be of "sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward the elimination of poverty or a cause or causes of poverty." This commitment to large-scale efforts to help many poor people necessitates the development of machinery to launch and coordinate a multipronged attack. A large, single-purpose program might be administered by a single, independent agency. However, the act calls for activities of sufficient scope as well as size. Reflected in this wording is a basic understanding of the complexity of dealing with the causes of poverty. Scope means the development of a variety of programs meeting the numerous needs of poor people.

Recognizing the ultimate desirability of a broad-based and multifaceted approach to poverty in any given community, I must nonetheless note that last year when we first considered this aspect of the legislation, I warned that there would be communities which could not mount such a broad-based program. There are numerous reasons, some of them political, some of them economic, some of them social. But the fact is that the Office of Economic Opportunities has had some of its greatest problems in this area. My own city of Los Angeles does not yet have a qualified community action agency. The OEO has set out clearly that in such cases grants to single-purpose agencies shall be made so that antipoverty programs can get under way. The policy in this matter is entirely in accord with the intention of Congress, and has been restated on May 12, 1965, as follows:

Having said that we encourage the establishment of such broad-based agencies, it should also be said that the existence of such an agency is not a prerequisite to the granting of Federal assistance. Grants to independent single-purpose agencies are made when formation of a community action agency appears to be impractical. Such grants have been made when there was substantial promise that the single-purpose program would provide the genesis for true community action. The reluctance of public agencies to participate in a broadly-based program or their withdrawal from participation in an ongoing program will not make it impossible for private agencies and groups to be funded.

We want also to make it clear that we have not permitted nor will we permit community action agencies to develop into bureaucratic monopolies.

We have a number of ways to prevent development of monopolies.

First, successful and truly representative community agencies reduce the likelihood of monopolistic abuses.

First, successful and truly representative community agencies reduce the likelihood of monopolistic abuses.

Second, we can condition the funding of a particular application or of future programs upon the more effective utilization of resources, upon the inclusion of programs not applied for, or upon the use of agencies whose proffers of service have not been accepted.

Finally, OEO has informed a number of community action agencies of its intention to permit single-purpose agencies to appeal to Washington directly to circumvent the community action agency in any case where it can be shown that such a single-purpose agency has been arbitrarily, unfairly, or improperly discriminated against.

Although efforts should be made to interrelate all resources in the community directed toward the eradication of poverty, single-purpose independent groups having no relationship to a communitywide structure are eligible for funding under section 205 of the act. That these single-purpose agencies have no chance of developing into a communitywide structure is not a condition for receiving such grants. The Congress has contemplated the existence of independent single-purpose agencies in the same community that a communitywide structure has been created. Such competitiveness and experimentation is appropriate in an area in which conclusive remedies have not been established.

Perhaps the single most significant requirement for community action agencies is that they have substantial and effective representation of residents of the area and members of the groups served on their governing boards.

But since this great antipoverty effort demands effective participation by the poor themselves, we should examine the role being played by a large and special segment of the population—its minority group members.

Let us not fail to accomplish the ultimate good which can come from the program envisioned by the Economic Opportunity Act and, above all, let us not fail to profit from past experience which gives us a new insight and a new approach to the age-old problem of poverty. I refer to section 202(a)(3) of the act which requires that "a community action program be developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the area and of the groups that it will serve." These few words distinguish the community action program from virtually all prior programs designed to combat poverty. It requires that ways be provided for the poor to play a significant role in the design and operation of programs instituted to break the cycle of poverty. This philosophy, I realize, is somewhat of a departure from the theory that "I am my brother's keeper."

Our present relief programs have been undertaken in a paternalistic manner which tends to rob the recipient of his dignity and feeling of worth. This paternal system of giving also creates feelings of helplessness. The system has made little claim to treatment or resolution of the social problems involved. This past experience tends to prove that we need to involve each human being in the planning of his own destiny if we are to help him achieve self-dependence and, if he is not to be continually relegated to the position of being an object

of charity; and, if we are to accomplish his involvement in the mainstream of society.

Our posture of bountiful benefactors has created attitudes in the public ranging from overindulgence to unjust criticism and scornful rejection of the objects of our bounty. Conversely, it has aroused hostility in the recipient who, because of his position of complete and total dependence on the donor, could not express his feelings for fear that any overt acts on his part would lead to termination of welfare. We have, in effect, forced submissiveness to a paternalistic pattern of welfare and in return have attempted to protect them from want. This has caused many to retreat from any and all forms of responsibility. Think of the conflict of the situation: the need for expression, yet the necessity for submission.

Furthermore, the person who is constantly deprived of any participation in maintaining his existence and of meaningful relationships to other members in the community tends to develop a concept of himself as an inadequate person unable to fulfill his potential. He is robbed of any and all guiding principles for meeting life's problems. The individual can preserve the integrity of himself only if he can satisfy some of his personal and social needs. This preservation is not brought about through a passive molding of the person; it involves the active reaching out by the individual. It can be said that man has three basic needs:

First. A need for social recognition. Each individual needs a feeling of belonging, a sense of approval and acceptance and, to some degree, a feeling of prestige;

Second. A need for self-realization. Each individual must have some opportunity to fulfill his potential for achievement and independence; and

Third. A need for security. There must be fostered in each individual the feeling that he will be able to maintain some kind of stable and satisfying relationship with people who are important in his life. It has been said the male figure, particularly in the minority groups, has been virtually emasculated because he is unable to perform his most basic function—that of supporting his family—and he has been forced to abdicate his role as head of the household, in many instances. There are many ramifications to the family unit, as well as to society as a result. The Economic Opportunity Act conceives of a program which would not only give depressed areas of the Nation the means to improve their economies, but a program cognizant of the adjustment process necessary for those who have been materially deprived by the circumstance of poverty. The act seeks to deal with poverty by making the people self-sustaining through education, training, and self-help programs. In addition, it seeks to encourage local leadership and action at the neighborhood level by involving the poor in the solution of their own problems at every stage by permitting them to help make decisions and by participation in the actual overall planning to

the greatest extent feasible. The present act is a profound effort to get at the causes of poverty and not merely treat the symptoms. This theory is not based on a sentimental view of the poor nor on an abstract theory of social action.

The President summed up the situation when he stated, in his message of March 25, 1965:

The conditions of our distressed areas today are among our most important economic problems. They hold back the progress of our Nation, and breed a despair and poverty which are inexcusable in the richest Nation on earth. We will not permit any part of this country to be a prison where hopes are crushed, human being chained to misery, and the promise of America denied.

There is no single formula for participation of the poor. The effort is now being made in many different ways, and it is becoming increasingly apparent that maximum participation can be effected not by one specific and rigid formula but must be achieved through a variety of devices appropriate to the individual community.

Achievement of meaningful participation must be a continuing objective of every community action program since it is only through the effective participation of residents of the area and the groups to be served that we can hope to achieve the objective of a permanent increase in their capacity to deal with their own problems without further assistance.

We know that the disease of poverty is far from indiscriminate. It breeds on oppression. It is a byproduct of discrimination. It flourishes best among the outcasts of our society—the strangers, the unacceptable, the social basement dwellers—among those whose skins or accents distinguish them from our affluent majority.

In short, poverty hits hardest our minority groups. We know this, unfortunately, without statistical proof. But one simple comparison shows just how severe this condition is: while 1 in 5 of all Americans live in poverty, one-half of all Negro families dwell there. The same sad imbalance generally holds true for other minorities, such as Mexican Americans in the West and Southwest, the Puerto Rican immigrants in the East.

And so, the hand we extend to the poor is very much directed at members of minorities.

Now, nowhere in the Economic Opportunity Act are minority groups specified. The Congress, in its wisdom, directed the act toward the great minority in need—the poor—and by so doing insured equal opportunity for all the needy. But there are two guidelines that have brought minorities into the forefront of this humane war on poverty:

First, the Office of Economic Opportunity has been encouraging the formation of broad-based, widely representative community action agencies—organizations that encompass all segments of the community with a vital interest in the programs.

Second, the letter and spirit of the law demand that groups and neighborhoods to be served the programs be given equitable representation on antipoverty councils.

The result of these guidelines can be found on community action boards wherever this war is being waged. Of a rough total of 4,500 people sitting on these boards, over 1,500 are poor. And of these representatives of the poor, some 1,000 are from minority groups.

If the number of minority group representatives seems out of proportion, it is not only because poverty is cruelly disproportionate among these groups. It is because the character of American cities—the large cities which have the most dynamic programs—is such that racial and ethnic groups tend to live in distinct ghettos. Ironically, the evil of confinement in these unwallled prisons has a positive effect: it makes for large communities of poverty that can be easily recognized and appropriately represented.

Negroes have had still another vehicle for involvement—and that is through their own organizations. Over the past few years these groups have been loud and effective voices of the Negro community; expressing its grievances, articulating its demands, demonstrating its needs. And Negroes have mobilized to secure better jobs, better education, improved housing—all of the objectives of the antipoverty program.

And so, when the Economic Opportunity Act began to open gates on poverty, Negro groups were ready to lead the way through.

Now I would like to turn to a particularly important concept of the Community Action Agency. That is the requirement of local administration. From the unhappy experience of Los Angeles, I have come to the conclusion that the OEO needs to develop guidelines which take into account the great variety of local governmental organizations. It is not enough to require programs of sufficient size and scope. The OEO must consider that there is an optimum size, in terms of geographic area covered and number of persons affected, beyond which the community action agency concept breaks down and becomes the agent of confusion rather than coordination. It may well be that the criteria for establishing community action agencies should include greater attention to such factors. In Los Angeles, for instance, there are 75 cities, aside from the city of Los Angeles, within the county of Los Angeles.

A community action agency for the county may be too large to adequately deal with the vast numbers of poor persons in the county, not to mention the administrative problems associated with the existence of a multitude of governmental entities, private organizations, and public agencies. In other major metropolitan areas, such as San Francisco, or New York, the city's geographic area and population is identical with the county. Not so in Los Angeles. It is clear that the OEO, through its rules and regulations, must provide sufficient flexibility for adjoining cities, or counties, or parts of cities or counties, to organize community action agencies which pay primary attention to the persons to be served, and their needs, and can disregard to the extent necessary for a vital

and meaningful program, the existence of political subdivisions. Further, it must reflect recognition of the fact that areas like Los Angeles may need several community action agencies to adequately serve the needs of the poor in major metropolitan areas. This is an area where the OEO needs to develop guides which will end the confusion so apparent in the Los Angeles controversy, for one.

Mr. Chairman, there are criticisms which the OEO has earned—there is much that it still must do. But we have embarked on a program which is new in many aspects of its approach to a vast national problem.

If some mistakes are made, this is to be expected. But we cannot stumble now—we cannot lose sight of that magnificent vision outlined for us by our President. This can—and will—be a land where every person shares in our great prosperity.

Let us not shrink from this great task—let us not grow weary after but 11 months. We have embodied in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 a monumental national purpose. Let us be on with it.

Mr. Chairman and my colleagues, let me briefly in summation say I think on the whole this debate has been salutary and while at times it has been amusing, it has also had its valuable serious points.

Certainly, no one would say that a 9-month program, for this program has only been in effect for 9 months, would be so perfect that it was not possible to find places in which it had erred or to find places in which it had made mistakes or where there had been confusion. There has indeed.

I would like to say, all of us I think at times find there are places of confusion even in our private lives. I walk around the corridors and have people come up and congratulate me for having been elected mayor of Miami Beach. I look at them, and I do not say they are completely out of their mind, but I just want to say if you look at the total record and that is what I want to put in the RECORD now—the total record—you will see that the record which has been accomplished in 9 months is an amazing record and one which therefore deserves the additional funds that are now being asked.

Let me give this national summary as of June 30 of this year:

The community action programs—824 grants have been made totaling \$152,114,309.

The Head Start programs—2,381 grants establishing 13,345 centers and have enabled over 556,857 children to enter preschool programs.

All of this, mind you, is inside of a 9-month period.

The VISTA programs—202 volunteers in service in 59 projects in 27 States; 851 volunteers in training and 20,201 preliminary applications have been received. 19 training programs have been completed or are in operation as of June 30.

With reference to the Neighborhood Youth Corps—certainly that is one of the most important things in this whole

project—639 projects signed with 276,875 participants. \$127,076,318—already on the books in two programs. Nearing approval 43,137 participants with an additional \$26,675,732.

In the college work study, in the spring semester, 34,000 students were assisted in 648 institutions at a total cost of \$4,715,000. In the summer session, 40,500 students were assisted in 755 institutions.

In the adult basic education, 40 State plans have been approved, including the District of Columbia, and 5 additional State plans have been formally received.

In rural loans, 10,640 loans have been approved totaling \$17,940,730.

In small business loans, 135 individual loans have been approved totaling almost \$1.5 million.

In work experience, 164 projects in 46 jurisdictions, including the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, are underway, with 87,500 participants and an estimated 271,000 dependents at a total cost of \$111,493,000.

My friends, all of this has been a 9-month period, already going and on the books.

My friend from Florida, on the other side of the aisle, said that this had been done with “green troops.” Yes, they were green troops, for never has the Government before in its history tried to mount a program to attack poverty on the scale on which we have now embarked.

But my friends of the other side of the aisle would abolish all that training and throw it all to the four winds.

Instead, we propose that these green troops, who are now seasoned, be allowed to continue and to do the job in our good democratic tradition of not turning back just because we are not perfect. The war on poverty must go forward. We shall learn by and correct our few mistakes but we will not remove the gleam of hope from the eyes of millions of Americans. With their help we shall win the war on poverty.

(Mr. MEEDS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point.)

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, when the Congress first inaugurated economic opportunity legislation, we recognized that the war on poverty would demand a protracted engagement. We cannot in one instant wave a wand over this country and expect light to fall into every dark corner. But, in implementing the act of 1964, Federal and local officials agree that their success, coupled with the enthusiasm of participating individuals far exceeds the difficulties encountered. We are now requesting expansion of the act to conquer obstacles and to channel this warm response.

I believe the heart of the Economic Opportunity Act to lie in the community action programs. Here we are approaching the impoverished by honoring their dignity, for community action programs furnish the poor with creative opportunities and equal advantages so that they may rally their abilities. Rather than encouraging hostility or idleness, community action programs are building resolution and purpose.

An increase in the moneys allotted to the community action programs of \$403 million has been recommended by the Committee on Education and Labor. How can we effectively take the field against privation if we deaden the zeal of local groups? Inspiring community action programs assures future Congresses that innovation will not be cynically condemned.

In the Second Congressional District of Washington, enthusiasm for locally developed, locally administered projects was wanting only for financial assistance. On January 23, 1964, months before approval of the Economic Opportunity Act, responsible citizens organized the Social Planning Council of Snohomish County. As President Johnson was urging passage of the act, this council was exploring projects in youth services, recreational development, family counseling, and dental care for needy children.

Having a model, nonpartisan agency tailored to assume responsibility, mayors, county commissioners, and civil service personnel quite naturally selected the social planning council to become the focus of community action in Snohomish County.

Membership in the council attracted prominent residents concerned for social justice. Merchants, attorneys, newspapermen, doctors, Indians, school personnel, unions, social workers—all command spokesmen on the social planning council.

Until May, when Certified Public Accountant Leroy Stave assumed the presidency of the social planning council of Snohomish County, the council was chaired by Ivan Merrick, rector of the Trinity Episcopal Church in Everett. Now, if you regard a clergyman as a political hack, then you have far more to worry about than the future of these programs.

The community action programs throughout my district are administered by competent, nonpartisan individuals. No Federal money lubricates a political machine. Warren Beecroft, chairman of Skagit County Head Start, possesses 17 years administrative insight as well as a masters degree in education. Bruce Wilkie and Quentin Markishtum are extremely capable officers of the Makah Indian Tribe in Clallam County. By intensifying productivity in salmon fishing and logging, they are according their tribe dignity and dollars.

The Whatcom County Opportunity Council, directed by school principal Bob Weihe, has likewise encouraged wide group access to policy formation. This summer they are probing the education and care of retarded children.

As you can see, the various activities cited above are as diverse as is necessary to meet the needs of communities with differing problems and resources. Incorporating heterogeneous groups as well as the poor into one flexible agency provides a central democratic body well constituted to take action within each community. What could be a better umbrella than one public agency under which such diverse perspectives are integrated into efficient procedures? Unless we have multiagency participation

through a central coordinating body, we will have unilateral chaos.

Well-planned, well-programmed efforts can function outside the umbrella when their merit is obvious or when necessity does not compel them to labor under the umbrella agency. Such a situation currently prevails in my district in the Head Start programs which are functioning quite apart from local community action groups.

There has been some criticism of the salary structure within the community action program. Nationwide surveys manifestly disprove this criticism, for a tabulation representing 38 of the 39 cities presently conducting such efforts shows that average salaries of the staff directors of community action programs are: \$6,000 below the mayor or city manager, \$10,000 below the superintendent of schools, \$2,000 below the director of urban renewal, \$1,000 below the director of public works, and higher only by approximately \$2,000 than the director of public welfare.

On March 6 of this year the president of the Snohomish County Planning Council wrote me and urged retention of a permanent director to be given an adequate salary.

The need for professional coordination—

He said—

becomes daily more apparent.

Compensation of \$12,000, equal to that of the local Executive Secretary of the United Good Neighbors, was recommended by authorities at the University of Washington. While aiding the poor offers personal fulfillment, a labor of charity alone cannot support a family. On April 6 the Planning Council was awarded a 6-month grant of \$11,000, all of which must bolster a staff of five.

Community action programs, however, do not alone relate the entire story of success in combating poverty. The State of Washington is advancing in other areas as well. New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio entertain four Neighborhood Youth Corps projects. Washington has seven. Last week we received a \$76,000 technical assistance grant. And Project Head Start is rolling forward.

Great potential exists within the VISTA program for the Indian tribes within my district. The condition of the Indians on reservations attests to the inability of previous programs to really grasp the core problem—empathy. The VISTA program enables volunteers to go among these people, to learn of their difficulties, and to take meaningful action. The success of such an empathy oriented program has been well established by the Peace Corps.

All of these projects depend largely upon local initiative, local planning, local control, and local involvement.

Through passage of the amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 we can nourish local agencies and local initiative. But to extinguish the sparks of optimism and reform would make rekindling improbable. We must continue to support the efforts of local communities to help themselves. I can see a new day. Let us move forward and continue

to illuminate those shadowed and afflicted corners of American life.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965".

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

Job Corps—Enrollee affidavits

SEC. 2. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: "(d) Each enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic'. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection."

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, we all want to move this bill along as expeditiously as possible. We want to give everyone a fair opportunity. It is my hope that we will arrive at a conclusion of this matter not later than tomorrow afternoon.

As the chairman of the committee handling the legislative matter on this side of the aisle, I hope that there will not be any dilatory tactics.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POWELL. I am glad to yield to my friend from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

Mr. QUIE. I will say to the chairman that finishing the bill late tomorrow afternoon is quite acceptable to me. I have talked to other gentlemen on your side of the aisle.

With that understanding, it seems there should be no necessity for closing off debate, unless for some reason it should appear it will run beyond that time. That surely is acceptable to this side.

I believe this would be the best way to expedite the matter, and all would have an opportunity to offer any amendments they desire to offer.

Mr. POWELL. Will the gentleman be kind enough to inform us as to roughly how many amendments there are on that side of the aisle?

Mr. QUIE. So far as the committee is concerned, we have 23.

If there is anybody off the committee that has not told us about it, then we do not know about that. However, on the committee where we drafted amendments to accomplish what we think ought to be done with this legislation, we have 23 amendments.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words. Mr. Chairman, I listened with keen interest to the record reported to the committee by the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] in closing general debate. It is my opinion that every single one of the programs described by him could have been handled by existing Federal

or State agencies without creating this vast new Government bureaucracy. There has been a great deal said on the floor in the debate today about the high cost of consultants. This high overhead cost could have been eliminated if the sponsors of the antipoverty program had been willing to act through existing Federal, State, and local agencies which in my opinion are perfectly capable of handling these programs with existing machinery.

I tried to get some time during general debate but it was not available. I cannot say all that I would like to say about this bill in 5 minutes so will restrict my comment to only one program. I do this because it offers a glaring example of extra cost whenever the Federal Government insists on handling a local program out of Washington.

I do not blame the bureaucrats downtown for wanting to expand their authority. I do not blame them for wanting to concentrate all power in the Federal Government or for arguing that the people at local and State levels are incapable of managing their own affairs and that all of the intelligence in this country is vested in the people who work in Washington. I do not believe these things but understand why the bureaucrats advance these arguments. Bureaucracy feeds on power and it would be unnatural for those who have tasted power not to seek to extend and expand that power.

I do blame Congress for accepting these points of view because we all come from local communities and we know there is just as much ability, integrity, compassion, and intelligence in the local communities of this country, and the various State capitals of the Nation, as in Washington, D.C.

I wish to talk about the Head Start program. This in my judgment is a wonderful program and should be continued but one listening to the debate on this bill must have concluded that this was a brandnew program conceived in the mind of the President of the United States or of the Director of the antipoverty program. The fact of the matter is that we had a Head Start program in North Carolina before this bill was ever drafted. The only difference is we called it a summer readiness program which was part of our State's school improvement program. North Carolina conducted 100 separate summer readiness programs in 1964, all financed by non-Federal funds. The plan contemplated increasing the program to 200 units in 1965 and to 300 units in 1966.

When the Federal Head Start program was inaugurated, the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction submitted an application to the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for funds to expand the North Carolina program to 1,000 units which would have benefited 15,000 children. Since we already had a program underway, with all the machinery in place to expand it, all the Project Head Start people had to do was to make a grant of money to the State. But the North Carolina proposition and suggested expansion of the summer readiness program was rejected by the

Federal officials who insisted that the Federal Government would have to exercise control and direction of the entire program.

The sole reason advanced by the Director of Project Head Start for rejecting the North Carolina plan was that our plan was based on State administration of the funds and program. It apparently did not matter to the Federal officials that the North Carolina program had been conducted by professional and trained public schoolteachers at a cost of \$30 per child and that the federally directed program would cost \$170 per child. They were not interested in expanding a well established and efficiently operating program which would cost \$140 per child less than the Federal program but their concern was to retain control and direction of the program in the hands of Federal officials.

Among the conditions imposed by the Federal officials to the North Carolina proposal to incorporate its summer readiness program into the Head Start project was that an opportunity be given to "other than professional personnel" to become Head Start teachers, and that local organizations sponsoring programs would be able to submit nonschool plans to community action groups, dealing directly with Federal officials in Washington without channeling the plans through any State agency other than the Office of the Director of the Economic Opportunity Act. Here is an example of Federal officials in charge of this program refusing to expand an already functioning Head Start program in our State because they did not want the program handled by professionally trained teachers, under the direction of public school officials of North Carolina, and requiring sponsors to bypass public school officials in North Carolina and deal directly with the Director of the Economic Opportunity Act. It did not matter to them that the cost of the program would be increased from \$30 per child to \$170 per child. It was the central direction and control they sought.

Under leave obtained in the House, I include as part of my remarks a copy of a circular letter written by the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of North Carolina to county and city superintendents of schools in our State under date of May 17, 1965; copy of a letter written by Dr. Julius B. Richmond, program director of Project Head Start, to Governor Dan K. Moore of North Carolina under date of May 13, 1965; and a news story taken from the Charlotte Observer which quotes our State superintendent of public instruction as having said, in commenting on the rejection of North Carolina's application and on the conditions laid down by the Office of Economic Opportunity for incorporating the North Carolina summer readiness programs into the Head Start programs:

I feel the plan makes it easier to federalize education in the several States to a great degree.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
Raleigh, May 17, 1965.

To: County and city superintendents of schools.

From: Chas. F. Carroll, State superintendent of public instruction.

Subject: Rejection by Office of Economic Opportunity of application of State department of public instruction.

It is with regret that I must inform you that I have today copy of a letter received only yesterday, May 16, by Gov. Dan K. Moore, to the effect that the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington has failed to approve the application of the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction for Project Head Start programs to be administered by State, county, and city boards of education for the benefit of as many as 15,000 children.

A copy of the letter received by Governor Moore from Dr. Julius B. Richmond, Program Director, Project Head Start, is enclosed.

In meetings in Marion and Lexington on April 8 and in Raleigh and Kinston on the following day, I related to you, your board chairman, and attorney, the status of Project Head Start from the point of view of the State board of education and the department of public instruction. Events leading to our submission of an application for funds with which to finance 1,000 units in the summer readiness program included:

At a meeting in Charlotte on March 16 our Dr. Woodrow Sugg, director, comprehensive school improvement project, met with Mr. George Esser and North Carolina fund community consultants as per a request conveyed by Mr. Esser. Mrs. Polly Greenberg, senior program analyst of Head Start's southeastern region, discussed Head Start. Dr. Sugg conferred with Mrs. Greenberg relative to both Project Head Start and North Carolina's comprehensive school improvement project.

On March 22, Dr. Sugg received a letter from Mrs. Greenberg suggesting possible merger of the comprehensive school improvement project and the Head Start project.

On March 29, Dr. Sugg and Dr. James White, North Carolina's State technical assistance director, met in Washington with Mrs. Greenberg and Mr. Dudley Morris of the Office of Economic Opportunity Head Start staff. Following their return, Messrs. Sugg and White presented me with a memorandum to the effect that: "Head Start officials have indicated willingness to accept and incorporate the 200 North Carolina comprehensive school improvement project summer readiness programs into the Head Start program provided that:

1. Every effort shall be made to give opportunity to other than professional personnel to become head teachers in all units that are added to the 200 contemplated by the comprehensive school improvement project.

2. A concerted effort shall be made to integrate staff.

3. A reasonable effort shall be made to integrate students.

4. The program shall be extended to 8 weeks with increased staff and services.

And, provided further, that local organizations shall be able to submit nonschool plans to community action groups and deal directly with Federal officials in Washington without channeling the plans through any State agency other than the Office of the Director of the Economic Opportunity Act.

On April 1, the State board of education expressed its willingness to merge the board's contemplated 200 summer readiness programs, a part of the comprehensive school

improvement project, with the head start program, with the probable result that as many as 1,000 units or programs might be conducted in North Carolina in 1965, on the condition that the total program shall be operated by county and city boards of education under the supervision of the State department of public instruction and under policies, rules, and regulations adopted by the State board of education in 1964.

Among the State board's policies, rules, and regulations, these constitute the minimum:

1. The State superintendent of public instruction shall organize and administer the project in accordance with policies and procedures adopted by the State board of education.

2. The staff employed to administer and supervise the project shall be employed by the State board of education upon recommendation of the State superintendent.

3. At the local level, the project shall be administered and supervised by the superintendent of schools with the concurrence of his board of education and all negotiations concerning the project shall be between the State superintendent of public instruction and the county or city superintendent of schools.

4. All fiscal affairs related to the project shall be administered by the controller of the State board of education in accordance with policies and procedures approved by the State board of education.

5. Upon recommendation of the State superintendent, the State board of education shall from time to time appoint such advisory committees as may be needed in the conduct of the project.

The State board of education directed the superintendent of public instruction to prepare and submit a State proposal for the Head Start project.

On April 15, Dr. Sugg carried North Carolina's application for Head Start program to Washington and conferred with Dr. Jule M. Sugarman, deputy associate director, community action program, and with Mr. Dudley Morris.

It is to be observed that the communication from Dr. Julius Richmond declares that today, May 17, is the deadline for the submission of applications from local communities. This deadline appears to be in direct conflict with his statement "that State authorities and particularly the department of public instruction can play an extremely constructive role in helping local communities to develop their own program." Certainly, we at the State level are available to assist, to the extent of our ability, county and city boards of education as they develop plans in collaboration with community action groups for submission to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

With respect to the summer readiness programs conducted as a part of the comprehensive school improvement project it is our intention to proceed with these programs separate and apart from Head Start subject to the availability of funds to be provided by the 1965 general assembly. If there should be any change in the status of these programs, we shall notify your immediately.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
Washington, D.C., May 13, 1965.

HON. DAN K. MOORE,
Governor of North Carolina,
Raleigh, N.C.

DEAR GOVERNOR MOORE: Thank you for your letter concerning Project Head Start. I am well acquainted with the excellent progress that North Carolina has been making in improving its educational programs and

particularly with the cooperation between the State and the North Carolina Fund. The number of applications received from communities in North Carolina for Project Head Start indicates a continuing and growing interest in programs for early childhood development. I believe that it will be a very busy summer for all of you in getting these programs underway.

The application by the State department of public instruction presents difficulties in terms of our basic legislation and community action guidelines. With the exception of special problems and groups such as migrants, whose needs by their very nature cannot be adequately met on a local basis, community action programs are based on local communities. Moreover, these communities should include, as nearly as possible, all urban areas within their geographical borders. As you know, more than 70 North Carolina communities have already applied separately for Head Start grants. It is therefore not possible for us to approve a Head Start grant for North Carolina based on State administration of the funds and program. However, we do believe that State authorities and particularly the department of public instruction can play an extremely constructive role in helping local communities to develop their own programs. We have indicated to your associates that we would welcome supplemental applications directly from North Carolina communities which were originally included in the department of public instruction's application and we feel that the department can be extremely helpful to those communities in preparing these supplemental applications. Provided we can receive the applications by the close of business Monday, May 17, it will be possible to process them in time for a summer program.

We have previously forwarded to your State technical assistance director, Mr. White, a list of the applications which were submitted from North Carolina. I am sure he would be happy to make these available.

We look forward to working with you and your associates on many projects in the future. Please be assured that we welcome the opportunity to cooperate as closely as possible with the State government within the framework of our legislation.

Sincerely,

JULIUS B. RICHMOND, M.D.,
Program Director,
Project Head Start.

SCHOOL BILLS SEEK TO SKIP RALEIGH (By Joe Doster)

RALEIGH.—Bills to permit local school administrative units to deal directly with the Federal Government on such projects as Head Start were introduced jointly Tuesday in both houses of the general assembly.

More than 40 counties hope to participate in the Federal program to prepare more than 17,000 State children for the first grade through a preschool program.

The State has recently lost in its efforts to have funds and control of the program channeled through the North Carolina Board of Education and the Department of Public Instruction.

Superintendent of Instruction, Dr. Charles Carroll, described the bills as "one of the most profound declarations of State policy that has occurred in my lifetime in education."

"I feel the plan makes it easier to federalize education in the several States to a great degree."

Deputy Attorney General Ralph Moody agreed with Carroll's remarks, but said he felt the bills were necessary for the local communities to keep the funds some have already received.

Moody said recent decisions by the courts and actions by Congress had convinced him that the U.S. Constitution was "no longer worth the paper it is written on."

Department of Administration Director Ed Rankin, representing Governor Dan K. Moore, urged the committee to go ahead with the bills.

The Governor, he said, "shares much of the reluctance of Dr. Carroll and Mr. Moody in the methods Congress is using in this Economic Opportunity Act, but he thinks we can do nothing but proceed in this way."

"The funds are already being received. About \$1 million in Federal money is resting on the desk of the OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) in Washington."

"We are in the situation of saying to you that we see no other answer than to allow the city and county administrative units to deal with the Federal Government directly."

Members of the education committee asked if the bills were defeated would this mean the Federal Government would continue to deal directly with the local communities.

"I imagine some units will go ahead. I just don't know," Moody said. "Whatever the local school board is a State agency or not, I just don't know."

Carroll said he too felt that the Federal Government would continue to bypass the State board and deal directly with community action groups.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS], has expired.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

(Mr. JOELSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I have listened to the debate emanating from the Republican side and it reminds me of the very wealthy woman to whose door a beggar came. This beggar was dirty, disheveled, desperate, and dreary and he asked her for something to eat. The woman looked at him in tears and she said, "Throw him out, he is breaking my heart."

I say that the Republican attitude on this problem is that it is a difficult, desperate problem, and because of that they say, "Throw it out, it is breaking our hearts."

I have heard some of the most arrant nonsense today I have ever heard. We are asked to vote against this bill because, perhaps, somebody might get a job and he will run against us in a primary. I would say that is a really noble, edifying reason for opposing a poverty program.

I have heard a lot of talk about the inadequacies of the program. I have heard it said that some of the people who go into the Job Corps drop out, drop out of the program. Well, that is not a great surprise? Here we are dealing with disadvantaged, disoriented people who have a history of dropping out, and we must expect this to continue to some degree. But that is no reason to stop the program any more than you should stop treating narcotics victims because many of them backslide.

This is a problem we have got to stick with. We cannot despair, we cannot be summer soldiers and sunshine patriots. I will say to you that this program will go on, and in 5 or 10 years it will be a success and will be functioning smoothly, and the Republicans then, as they are now saying about social security and unemployment insurance, will go to the

people and say, "We are for this wonderful program."

But you will not be able to fool the people because the GOP has a new initial added, GOOP—the "Grand Old Obstructionist Party."

My free advice to you is to get with it and start backing some of these programs instead of obstructing them and carping about them.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I thank the gentleman. He told a story about this wealthy lady who turned away a beggar. I just wonder if that wealthy lady was one of those \$100-a-day consultants for the poverty program.

Mr. JOELSON. Well, I will say to the gentleman that probably she would not want to be a consultant to this program because it is much easier to turn your back on a program than to do something about it. So she probably was not one of the consultants.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support H.R. 8283. Title II(A) is perhaps the most imaginative and progressive section of this act.

The community action program is designed to allow a local community to create and coordinate its own local attack on poverty, and I shall address myself specifically to this part of the legislation.

It provides two things:

First. Federal funds are made available to finance new activities to assist poor persons of all ages to achieve improvements in education, employment training, health, housing, and other areas.

Second. It establishes a mechanism to coordinate these new activities with other new and existing programs so that together they will constitute an effective attack on the complex cycle of poverty.

Community action agencies have been set up in localities ranging in size from Detroit, New York, and Chicago to rural Appalachian counties and Indian reservations. They include representatives of many local public and private organizations—who help to coordinate local anti-poverty efforts—and of the poor themselves, to assure that the people to be served play a real role in shaping the program. In Cleveland, over 200 organizations concerned with specific problems of poverty have banded together to form there community action program.

These agencies can apply for and receive Federal grants covering up to 90 percent—and in some cases 100 percent—of the cost of carrying out such projects as:

Preschool programs, for children who would otherwise enter school unprepared to respond to effective education. Neighborhood centers, where a range of day care, health services, adult education, counseling, employment training

and assistance, housing information, and similar benefits can be offered within the neighborhood, close to the families that need them. Legal services to help poor families obtain their rights. Home-maker and home management aid, and consumer education to help poor families to manage their limited resources. Job development actions and business loans, often offered through small business development centers.

Many, many other activities are also possible, either to supplement existing programs or to link them together so that they will work together.

A key to all community action programs is involvement of the poor. In many places, this is achieved by employing unskilled but willing persons as community organizers, teachers' aids, health worker aids, and in other jobs where advanced education is not a prerequisite. It is also achieved by creating new neighborhood organizations to consider and advise on project design and operation, to be sure they reach the felt needs of the families to be served.

In addition to the activities funded under title II(A), community action agencies develop and coordinate other antipoverty actions, such as Neighborhood Youth Corps and work-experience projects, VISTA volunteers, Job Corps recruiting, Manpower Defense Training Act training programs, vocational education, community mental health centers, youth opportunity centers, and other Federal programs.

The community action agency carries out some projects itself and delegates the operation of others to the local public and private nonprofit agencies who are best equipped to run them, such as school or housing agencies or private social welfare organizations. The delegation process helps to coordinate different projects so that they support one another and result in a more effective overall program.

Community action, in summary, has three principal features:

First, local initiative, on the assumption that local knowledge is needed to solve local problems.

Second, coordinated action in a wide range of related fields, on the assumption that there is no single, simple solution to poverty and deprivation.

Third, meaningful involvement of the poor at all levels of the program together with responsible local public and private officials on the assumption that without this involvement the recipients of aid would not be motivated to help meet their own problems, and the war on poverty could not succeed.

There is no single, standard pattern to community action. It is an open-end process, subject to local variation to meet changing local needs, but always guided by the belief that a comprehensive assault on poverty stands the best chance to succeed and that a person motivated to overcome his own poverty contributes a vital ingredient to the comprehensive effort of his community.

As acting chairman of the task force designated by our committee to hold hearings on this legislation in Cleveland, Ohio, and Detroit, Mich., I was frankly pleased to see concrete evidence of broad

based community participation in the organization of their community action programs.

Several persons in each city observed that the community action programs under this act represent the greatest mobilizations of the individual citizens of widely varied backgrounds ever accomplished in these very forward looking cities.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, it is less than a year since Congress decided to begin a war on poverty. In passing the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, we expressed a determination to wipe out deprivation in the midst of plenty. We declared that we would bring new hope to our 35 million poverty-stricken citizens—"the other America" about which we have heard so much—that we would assure everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

The present bill, H.R. 8283, extends that effort. By increasing the original bill's authorization, it allows for a greater struggle against the causes of American poverty.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly supported the original bill last year, and I support this bill.

Last year I said:

This bill presents us with the opportunity to mobilize our resources and to get to the root of the problem of despair and hopelessness that is caused by poverty in this country.

I feel the same way about this bill. It would continue and enlarge one of our Nation's most important undertakings—the eradication of want within a land of plenty.

Let us consider the bill's major provisions.

It would double the authorization for economic opportunity programs to \$1.985 billion for the fiscal year 1966. This increased authorization should be sufficient to provide for 1,100 community action grants in 700 communities; adult basic education programs in all 50 States, benefiting 70,000 adults; 480,000 enrollees in the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps; work experience programs in all States, with 224,000 participants; \$45 million in rural poverty loans to 22,100 individuals and 410 cooperatives; and 5,000 VISTA volunteers in 200 communities.

It would extend through August 20, 1967, the provisions for 90 percent Federal contribution to the work-training, work-study, and community action programs.

It would extend for 1 additional year, through June 30, 1968, the other anti-poverty programs of the 1964 act, thus making the initial 3-year struggle a 4-year effort.

It would allot up to 5 percent of the adult basic education funds for the training of teachers for adult basic education courses.

It would authorize the assignment of VISTA volunteers, our domestic Peace Corps, to any of the act's programs.

Finally, it would allow the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to reconsider a community action, adult basic education, or work-training plan disapproved by a Governor, and to carry it out if, upon reconsideration, it is found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act.

The last provision attempts to correct one of the major problems that has faced the poverty program. But it does not go far enough. It still allows for a delaying tactic by any Governor on community action programs. It does nothing about the veto over Job Corps Centers or the veto over VISTA volunteer projects, both of which the Governors will retain.

We should take action now against the veto, in any form, of any project. It has been responsible for most of the poverty program's few setbacks. In Alabama, for instance, Governor Wallace vetoed a Birmingham community action program and a Project Head Start program at Green City. In Mississippi, a Head Start project at Clarksdale was vetoed by Governor Johnson. We acted last week to eradicate voting discrimination. Yet, the door must not be left open for discrimination in the struggle against poverty, that very poverty which keeps Negroes from education, employment, and from developing the necessary skills to fully enter American economic and political life. In my own State, the actions of Governor Rockefeller almost prevented \$16 million of aid to New York City. The Governor's veto should be completely abolished.

Mr. Chairman, I would be remiss if I did not point out several deficiencies in the administration of the program as it has been conducted to date which the bill before us does not correct.

I think that we must make clear our determination that there be a greater participation on the part of the people in the affected areas in the making of the policy of the antipoverty program. Community development efforts throughout the world have shown that programs which do not relate to existing cultural patterns and leadership norms inevitably fail. The persons most closely affected by community-change efforts have a unique perspective from which they can help counter this failure—free of organizational or political interests.

Participation would help stop the apathy of the impoverished, which only helps to perpetuate their situation. It would help engage the poor in constructive social action, which is and can be the only antidote to destructiveness.

Mr. Chairman, I will have more to say on this later on in the debate because I believe we must provide not only for the maximum feasible participation by the poor, as written into the present law, but we must go further and write in language to encourage local elections to antipoverty community action boards.

Mr. Chairman, another point I want to make is the fact that the Office of Economic Opportunity has not been willing

to assert itself and to intervene when a city administration fails to take advantage of the programs or to implement them properly. I could point out examples in the city of New York. The Job Corps was intended to reach youngsters between the ages of 16 and 21 who are largely unemployable because they lack skills and education. It is aimed at young people who have not completed high school and who are not working. At the conservation camps and training centers, basic education and job training are being provided.

In New York City it is estimated that there are 75,000 youths out of school and out of work. The Job Corps is important to them. Recruiting out-of-school, out-of-work youth, the Job Corps could get youths off the streets, give them work, inspiration, and skills.

In March of this year the Office of Economic Opportunity asked New York City to recommend some 830 youths for the Job Corps' initial enrollment. By the end of May New York City had screened 26 applicants, and only 2 New York City youths were in Job Corps camps.

On June 1 I urged the Office of Economic Opportunity to set up special emergency screening centers in New York City to process applications. This should have been done before summer arrived. Instead, the pious hope was expressed that the New York City administration would wake up and move. It has not, Mr. Chairman. When I checked last week, I found that instead of moving ahead, New York City had somehow managed, painfully managed, to process 64 youths who have been assigned to the Job Corps.

Mr. Chairman, although the Job Corps has not received substantial publicity in New York and although there has been no real effort at recruitment, some 2,056 youths have sent in applications. And now only 64 are assigned to centers.

Mr. Chairman, this incredible mismanagement should never have been permitted. The Office of Economic Opportunity should have stepped in. It should step in now so that these youngsters will be able to take advantage of opportunities in the Job Corps which are being denied to them because of the inefficient, bureaucratic administration which has not implemented this program.

Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, New York was the last major city to submit and receive approval of its program from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This was the direct result of the city's effort to set up a city hall dominated corporation to control community action programs. Instead of complying with the intent of the act to insure "maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served," the city administration submitted a proposal which was generally unacceptable. After the proposal was revised, it was approved in Washington although in my judgment it still fails to involve "the maximum feasible" participation of the community. Such attempts to monopolize programs endanger the success of the whole anti-poverty effort.

I strongly endorse the programs of the Economic Opportunity Act. But I fear that its programs will become unfilled promises unless vigilant watch is kept over them. The Office of Economic Opportunity must be the coordinating body for all antipoverty programs, unhampered by local political power plays, and affected only by the needs of the poor.

Last year on August 6, when we considered the original act, I warned that the greater national effort could be endangered by local bureaucracies. At that time, I said:

I am concerned that local community action programs be closely supervised by the Office of Economic Opportunity. It will not be enough to authorize community action programs and leave their administration to local public and private agencies. For instance, under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the departments having jurisdiction too often have been too reluctant to step in and exercise proper supervision, too ready to yield to the demands of local and State autonomy. Layers of city and State bureaucratic redtape can strangle any worthwhile concept. It must not happen in this program.

I might well utter that same warning again. In Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, and Texas, Governors have vetoed parts of the national program. Vetoes have occurred in California and Montana. And in other cities, including New York, the national effort has been hindered by local establishments which are fearful of change. The Office of Economic Opportunity must be a firm general, if the war on poverty is to be prosecuted successfully.

Mr. Chairman, if this legislation is to bring about the change of a system which has permitted poverty to persist, despite general prosperity, then it must encourage the new and the experimental. It must involve the hitherto silent poor in the planning and execution of programs. If the concept of involvement of the poor is sacrificed, then the central idea of the struggle for economic opportunity will be ignored.

Mr. Chairman, this program offers much promise. It must be made to work. The increased authorization is a step forward. If not enough, it is a recognition of our responsibility to press forward to deal with the cycle of poverty and provide economic opportunity for all our citizens.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GIBBONS.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GIBBONS: Page 1, after line 5, insert the following:

"JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES

"SEC. 2. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: 'For purposes of this subsection and section 114(a), any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States.'

And renumber the following sections accordingly.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, this is a very simple amendment. It applies only to Cuban refugees. It is specifically spelled out and tied down in the amendment. It allows them to participate in the Job Corps training program and in the neighborhood youth program, the only places I know of where there are a sufficient number of these to participate are in the city of Miami.

I am offering this amendment in support of my colleagues, the gentlemen from Florida [Mr. PEPPER and Mr. FASCELL]. I believe this has the support of the people in Miami. It will help them solve a problem, it will help them eliminate some of the problems that have come about by virtue of that situation down there.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. What is the application to citizenship, as mentioned in the reading of the gentleman's amendment?

Mr. GIBBONS. It does not make them citizens. It does not give them any additional rights. It just applies to this particular economic opportunity program. It applies to title 1, sections (a) and (b) where they are required to be permanent citizens of the United States in order to participate. It will not accelerate their right to citizenship. I am aware of the problems and I am not attempting in any way to change their rights to citizenship.

Mr. GROSS. Might this be called the domestic foreign-aid program?

Mr. GIBBONS. No, it may not be called that. This is a simple program to help these unfortunate people who are having a hard time becoming American citizens because of the vexatious position they find themselves in, and allowing them to grow up under that situation. We are trying to get them off the relief rolls by having them get into these two work programs. It will save the money we are paying them to sit still now. We are going to try to get them to work and help them become useful.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be reread.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

The Clerk reread the Gibbons amendment.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

I want to ask the gentleman from Florida, author of the amendment, a question. As I understand it, there is no limitation upon the amount of compensation that can be paid to these people.

Mr. GIBBONS. That is not true.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. What is the limitation?

Mr. GIBBONS. The same as any other person in the Job Corps.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Can the gentleman tell me what the limitation is on that?

Mr. GIBBONS. They get \$30 a month to take care of incidental needs. They

get \$50 a month which accumulates in a savings account for their start on a new life when they return home. These Cuban refugees now get quite a bit more than that. This is an effort to try to put them into a productive job and work.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. This amendment would also apply to your neighborhood youth program, would it not?

Mr. GIBBONS. That is right. Because most of these people would stay right there in the same neighborhood. They have language difficulties and language barriers. There are great programs going on in the Miami area and we are trying to work them into participating in our economic system.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. In other words, what I want to point out here is that you are going to have some trouble with this amendment if it should carry, and I do not think I am going to vote for your amendment because one of the greatest criticisms I have had from the neighborhood youth program is about the wage scale that is applicable in all sections of the country. I have had several letters from communities where the neighborhood youth program is in effect. I am for the program if it is operated in a commonsense basis.

But now in some instances we have had youngsters in the neighborhood youth corps put to work, let us say, in a hospital and they are paid \$1.25 an hour. I presume that is based on the minimum wage. But the people living in the community, adults who are professionals and experienced in doing this same kind of work, are being paid 60 cents to 75 cents an hour. In other words, the youth who goes in there is paid more than the permanent employee who may be the head of a family, mind you. That is bringing about some resentment and bringing about a lot of criticism of this program. I would like to see this program succeed. I am going to point out as we go along with the consideration of this bill some of the weaknesses in the program. I think there should be a limitation on the compensation that is paid so that it shall not be in excess of the prevailing wage for comparable work or similar work or identical work in the community. Because I think that has caused more criticism of this program. I might say the same thing applies as my colleague, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HULL] pointed out when he put in a bill here just this week about the Pages in the House. I think that is one of the weaknesses of the system. In other words, these youngsters, and I am for giving them training and all of that, but when we set them up and make them feel they are earning \$100 a week we are just kidding ourselves and we are kidding them. We are putting a false sense of value upon their service and I think it is going to react to their detriment later on in their lives.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GIBBONS. Your argument is not germane to the point I am trying to make here.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. My argument is germane on this point here: If you are going to put these foreigners who come over here and letting them live better than the people of our own country and if we are going to pay them more than we are paying our own people to work and they may be heads of families, I think it is wrong and I think it is pertinent and there should be a limitation put on it.

Mr. GIBBONS. The gentleman of course realizes that we are paying some of these people on the dole and they are not doing any work.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I am not in favor of that either. I would like to get that out, too.

Mr. GIBBONS. These people are in a very unfortunate situation. Most of them came in rowboats and after having lost everything they had and they do not have much. I do not want to get into any general debate on this subject about which the gentleman is talking. I am just trying to help some people who are fighting to be free. We are paying them to sit around now. They have all kinds of language barriers and language difficulties. They have no skills that can be used in this country and I am merely trying to get them put to work. The only place I know of that this applied to is Miami. My colleagues [Mr. PEPPER and Mr. FASCELL] are interested in getting these people to work and getting them off the dole. That is all I am trying to do.

(Mr. HORTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point.)

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending bill, H.R. 8283, to extend and expand the Economic Opportunity Act. I supported the original legislation in the 88th Congress to create this antipoverty offensive because I believed in the promise and potential it held for many millions of deprived and underprivileged people. I now support this authority to continue the war on poverty because, despite the difficulties involved, I believe progress and performance have been recorded so far.

When we pause to consider that this massive Federal program was begun only 9 months ago, we should not expect it to be free from controversy, criticism, and complaint. It is an arm of assistance that deals with human situations that can be unusually unpleasant.

Yet, I think the difficulties which have been experienced—and they should not be described beyond their actual dimensions—are more encouraging than discouraging. They offer hard evidence that the poverty war is being fought on the basic battleground of big-city slums and backwoods villages where life is often raw and revealing.

I have my own community of Rochester and Monroe County, N.Y., to look at for examples of how this kind of Federal assistance can help a community cope with the problems bred by deprived conditions. I can contrast the outlook in Rochester now and just a year ago and detect differences which the advent of the antipoverty effort has meant to the city and county.

The problems faced by the Rochester community—and they were explosive last year—are not going to pale into oblivion tomorrow or next year just because a program of Federal funds has come into existence. But, it is helping. It is providing promise where there once was none. It is offering an opportunity to those who have felt squeezed by economic and social conditions—so squeezed, in fact, that there appeared little reason to ever expect a chance for something better.

I am proud of those in Rochester and Monroe County who have not turned their back on the problems of the poor. They are the leaders in a series of local antipoverty endeavors that are the first ray of light ever seen by some of those who will benefit by this charitable concern.

We have in Rochester and Monroe County many examples of the antipoverty program. Their initial success and their continuing favorable development lies in large measure with Action for a Better Community, Inc., or, as it is familiarly known in my community, ABC, Inc. This is the private, nonprofit agency which was created last year to carry out the various community action programs of the Economic Opportunity Act. I might add that I consider the title II programs are the cornerstone of the whole antipoverty program and were the proposals which convinced me, above all others, of the real merit possessed by this program.

ABC, Inc., draws its membership from a considerable cross section of Rochester and Monroe County. Public and private social welfare agencies, educational institutions, business, labor organizations, religious faiths, civil rights movements, and government are all represented and all participate actively in the formulation of policies and programs.

Its principal and central coordination comes from its 21-member board of directors. The board comprises: City manager, city of Rochester; county manager, county of Monroe; manager, Community Chest of Rochester and Monroe County; executive director, Council of Social Agencies of Rochester and Monroe County; one appointee each from the Catholic diocese of Rochester, the Rochester Area Council of Churches, and the Jewish Community Council; manager, industrial management council; superintendent, city of Rochester school district; president, AFL-CIO council; five members designated by the citizens council against poverty; and six members to be selected by the above identified 15 members.

The citizens council against poverty is composed of residents of the high-priority areas of poverty-stricken people. It presently has a membership of 31. However, it is being expanded to 52 members to broaden the representation from the areas of the community which are the targets of the antipoverty campaign.

Every proposal which the ABC, Inc., board of directors submits for approval is first put before the council for its recommendations and comments. It is worthy of note, I believe, that this

"working in harness" arrangement has resulted in the council's full endorsement of every proposal which ABC, Inc., has made.

The ABC, Inc., board of directors also is enlarging its membership. The chairman of the citizens council as well as three more of its members are being brought on to the board. At the same time, the board is adding two more at-large members.

Otis Finley, executive director of ABC, Inc., has discussed these expansions with me and indicated the added flexibility and increased community participation which they will provide. I am particularly pleased at Mr. Finley's reports regarding the reception which the antipoverty programs are receiving in Rochester and Monroe County. Public and private agencies, industry, church organizations, and nearly every other source of community activity are giving increasing support to the program of ABC, Inc.

The local leadership of Rochester and Monroe County's antipoverty program began their efforts with an enlightened approach that I believe could well serve as a model for many other communities. They carefully documented every step they took.

Among the proposals which ABC, Inc., has submitted for approval to the Office of Economic Opportunity, I have found statements that are remarkably instructive on just how people get together in a community and set forth to put flesh on the bones of an antipoverty program. For the value of these commentaries to others interested in learning how Rochester and Monroe County launched a community action effort, I take pleasure in sharing with my colleagues excerpts from materials supplied me by ABC, Inc.

The following is taken from a summary written by Kenneth M. Storandt, executive director of the Council of Social Agencies of Rochester and Monroe County, after a meeting of the citizens advisory council against poverty on November 12, 1964:

To start with the members of the group represented various creeds, color, and national origin. We first introduced ourselves and generated an informal atmosphere. At the outset, and in retrospect very important, one member of the group observed that this was the first time that people either themselves living in poverty or living in an area of poverty had come together to share their views on the problems of poverty as well as the possible causes. This in itself was an important observation. An equally important agreement reached by the group after an hour and a half of discussion was that while continuing to talk and share ideas was essential, we should also urge that at the earliest possible moment some tangible accomplishment take place so that people would have confidence that something would happen as a result of this program and that it would be more than just a long series of talks.

As the discussion leader I am pleased to say that every member of the group participated—some at greater length or more loudly than others, including one member who leaped to his feet and banged on the table. All of this was good because we don't know what people are thinking until we give them a chance to express themselves.

As was to be expected one member of the group thought that the whole program was

a complete waste of the taxpayer's money and that the best way to deal with poverty was to close down the welfare department and tell everybody to go to work. This was, of course, the traditional easy solution until the question was asked where they would work, and at what. The answer was a combination of silence in terms of the question and more comments about wasting money.

Since its inception, I have worked closely with those who direct the ABC, Inc., work. The organization has shared with me copies of its many proposals to the Office of Economic Opportunity and I have willingly endorsed them to the Federal agency.

Among the most recent programs approved for Rochester is one for which I am quite enthusiastic. It is a grant of \$180,000 to ABC, Inc., for several youth projects. Its purpose is to provide a variety of needed and wholesome recreational outlets for thousands of young people.

It is expected that more than 20,000 of our disadvantaged young people will be the beneficiaries through:

A program of group counseling and tutoring for 500 high school students who are failing in school.

A program to send nearly 500 adolescents to summer camps.

A recreation program that will take 16- and 17-year olds to county parks for outdoor activity.

A program to establish recreation areas in crowded innercity neighborhoods.

A program to employ 42 nonprofessional aides in helping social workers counsel these 20,000 young people living in poverty-blighted areas. 35 other residents of depressed neighborhoods also are being put to work in the conduct of other local projects.

Of course, Rochester's war on poverty reaches far beyond the teenagers. Part of the summer grant, for example, is providing 8-week summer classes in reading and arithmetic for about 1,000 underprivileged children. Special play-schools for preschoolers have been established throughout the impoverished neighborhoods. And earlier grants have created community centers serving some 45,000 poor people, a day-care center to enable parents to work or to undertake job training, and an experimental program to train antipoverty workers—workers who are themselves in the ranks of the poor.

The lineup of the programs being carried on by ABC, Inc., is indeed impressive. Its nine regular programs, in addition to special summer crash programs, include:

Three work, education, and training centers. These centers have been funded and will serve some 330 young people and adults. Sites for their establishment now are being selected.

A lighted schoolhouse project with five centers has been operating for 6 weeks and is serving 2,500 high school juniors and seniors.

Sites are being chosen at present for three neighborhood service information centers. These multiservice centers will be available to an estimated 45,000 people in the community's area of poverty.

Two neighborhood youth corps projects have been in operation for 3 weeks.

By the end of this week, some 500 youths, between 16 and 21, are expected to be involved and at work.

Project Head Start in Rochester and Monroe County is in operation with 18 centers and serves 660 preschool children.

A family-child day care proposal submitted by ABC, Inc., has just been funded. It will help 120 children and 60 families.

Mr. Chairman, this is not all Rochester and Monroe County are doing with Federal assistance to blunt the hostility of poverty. In addition to community action programs, the colleges of our community are participating in combined work and educational programs. Local industries also are becoming involved and activating people and talents to help end the despairing cycle of poverty which affects and afflicts certain parts of the city.

Mr. Chairman, the foregoing offers but a brief outline of what is in reality an exciting and dynamic program of action and ambition. I am confident that what the legislation has meant for Rochester and what its pending extension will mean in the days ahead has application in most, if not all, of the urban centers of this Nation. While I do not presume to speak for them, I can without reservation speak enthusiastically for the role of Rochester and Monroe County in this very worthwhile program and offer it as a very practical reason for continuing and enlarging the work of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment merely for the purpose of asking the gentleman from Florida just what this additional program will cost?

Mr. GIBBONS. This is not an additional program. If the gentleman will look at page 25 of the report and examine the language there printed in accord with the Ramseyer rule, the gentleman will understand the necessity for this amendment.

In the Job Corps enrollees are limited to permanent residents of the United States. These people who come over here in rowboats, escaping communism in Cuba, who fought and did their best, are not permanent residents of the United States under the immigration laws.

We would not change the immigration laws. We would not give them anything else they do not already have. We merely wish to put them into productive labor, rather than to keep them sitting around not earning anything.

Mr. COLLIER. I thank the gentleman. I should like to repeat my question: What will this cost?

Mr. GIBBONS. It will involve, at the most, approximately 1,000 of those in this whole age group, and less than 1,000 would be eligible to participate in the whole program. It would come out of the allotment going to Miami, Fla., and Dade County. It would not cost the gentleman's section of the country a nickel.

Mr. COLLIER. That is all I wanted to know. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLLIER. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. What is proposed to be done with these aliens once they are given job training and fitted for employment? Will they enter the labor market of this country?

Mr. GIBBONS. May I answer that question?

I come from a part of the United States which began to get Cuban refugees 100 years ago, may I say to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross]. The great Cuban revolutions were spawned in my part of the country. Jose Martin launched one of the first Cuban revolutions from my district.

These people eventually, we hope, will become American citizens. I see no reasonable opportunity for them to return to their country in the next 3 or 4 or 5 years. I do not believe any of us does, barring a miracle.

All we are trying to do is to treat them as other immigrants are treated in this country—other unfortunate immigrants who came over, perhaps, like my great grandparents, in the hold of a ship. We are trying to get them into the mainstream of society. We are not trying to pull anything. There is nothing unusual involved.

If the gentleman will look at page 25, he will see that only permanent residents of the United States can come under this program.

Mr. GROSS. Since you say you have lived with this problem for 100 years, can the great State of Florida not live with it a little while longer, until we can find out where we are headed with this program?

Mr. GIBBONS. We never had refugees in the numbers we have now, may I say to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross].

Mr. GROSS. I see.

Mr. GIBBONS. There were perhaps 25 or 30 or 100. At this time there are hundreds of thousands of refugees, and they represent a very serious problem. It is possible for these people to go off into crime and delinquency and other things unless we can get them some work.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, I will say to the gentleman that I was satisfied before, and now he is talking about hundreds of thousands. Less than a minute and a half ago he talked about 1,000.

Mr. GIBBONS. I said that hundreds of thousands have come in. There are only about 1,000 involved in this program, at the most.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. JONES of Missouri) there were—ayes 89, noes 28.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I have been trying to get the floor to ask a few questions about what section 2 of the bill does. We have been talking about everything except the operation of section 2 itself. Mr. Chairman, if I may have the attention of the Members of the House and the attention of the members of the committee, I would

like to ask the committee for a clarification of the intent of the committee in section 2 and also the rationale behind the change in section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Section 2 of H.R. 8283 changes the form of the loyalty oath which was required of enrollees under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Section 2 strikes out this language:

Each enrollee must execute and file with the Director an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

This bill strikes out that loyalty oath. I have heard on the floor of the House neither the members of the minority nor the members of the majority on the committee speak in reference to this change. I would like to have a clarification from the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman yielding to me.

Another Member of this body had prepared remarks to answer any questions on this. That gentleman is the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE]. But unfortunately he is detained at this time at the White House working on the GI bill. However, I will answer the question.

This does not strike out the loyalty oath. It merely conforms the loyalty oath that Job Corps enrollees would take to the same loyalty oath that people take for the NDEA and the National Science Foundation. That is the only purpose of it, so we will have the same oath for everybody and the same one that we take, I believe, when we come into this body.

Mr. ICHORD. Let me say to the gentleman from Florida that I did not feel strongly either one way or the other when the great issue of loyalty oaths was sweeping the country. On the one hand, I feel loyalty oaths are rather ineffective because a person who is disloyal usually does not hesitate to take one, but on the other hand, I fail to see the great issue of principle involved against taking a loyalty oath. But I recognize the political facts of life. I recognize what happens out on the political stump. I would ask the gentleman from Florida what is going to happen out on the political stump if some Commies slip in and are enrolled under the Economic Opportunity Act? Here you are taking out the provision that they have to swear that they do not support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Mr. GIBBONS. This is an affirmative oath rather than a negative one. As I say, this issue has been thrashed out on this floor before I ever came here many, many times. It is the oath that Congress, I believe, had agreed to. All we are attempting to do here is to make the oath uniform as between college students and Job Corps enrollees and the National Science Foundation people who receive grants.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I have not heard from the members of the

minority of the committee. They are on this committee, too. Does this language satisfy the members of the minority of the committee, I inquire of the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. QUIE. I would inform the gentleman in the well that this language now is not identical to the NDEA language. We have not made a point of it, however, since we did not want to be engaged in a long debate over this question.

Mr. ICHORD. Then the gentleman is satisfied with the changes; I assume the minority is, because I have not heard it raised in the debate?

Mr. QUIE. That is right. I do not know of anybody on the minority side that is going to raise the question.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ICHORD] has expired.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I am very happy that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ICHORD] brought this matter before the House because, indeed, when this legislation was initially passed by this body the language which was written into the act, was contained in an amendment which I had offered from the floor and adopted by the House. That language—it is section 616 of the present law—reads:

No part of any funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under authority of this act shall be used to make payments to any individual unless such individual has executed and filed with the Director an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

I searched in vain through the hearings for any discussion as to why this language was being deleted from the present bill; in fact there is no discussion of it at all. No reason is given for its deletion. There is nothing in the report except a vague and totally inadequate explanation as to why this language is being taken out of the present law.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has very narrowly construed this amendment based on a letter from the Department of Justice and the remarks of two Members of the other body during debate when the House amendments were agreed to. The interpretation of the legislative history made by the Office of Economic Opportunity is entirely erroneous.

After the Senate debate I spoke on the floor of the House, since I was the author of the amendment, giving the correct interpretation of the amendment, and I am going to put those remarks in the RECORD at this point, when we get back into the House.

The matter referred to follows:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 12, 1965]

LOYALTY AMENDMENTS TO THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY BILL

(Mr. WILLIAMS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I was interested in the debate in the other body on yesterday relative to amendments I offered to

the economic opportunity bill and which the House adopted.

A letter from the Department of Justice was placed in the Record interpreting the scope and intent of the two amendments. Additionally, there was a discussion on the floor purporting to provide a legislative history of the language contained in the loyalty oath amendments.

It is interesting to note, Mr. Speaker, that the Justice Department did not contact me relative to the scope and intent of the amendments. Furthermore, no Member of the other body contacted me with reference to this matter.

At the time the two amendments were offered, a majority of the House had limited the time for debate. As a consequence, I had but a few seconds to explain the amendments.

For the RECORD and as a part of the legislative history, I would like to state that the Justice Department has placed a rather narrow construction on the amendments. I feel that the Justice Department has correctly construed the purpose of my first amendment. The second amendment was intended to apply to every individual who received any monetary consideration, directly or indirectly, from the Treasury of the United States during the course of the administration of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Section 616 applies to every title of the bill. Section 616 is applicable to any loan or grant to any individual participating under the authority of this act.

It was my intent and purpose, as the author of the amendment, to have section 616 apply to an adult education program, a community program, a work-study program, or any kind of program, if the individual receives monetary remuneration which emanated directly or indirectly from the Federal Government. Any individual receiving salary from a nonprofit private or public agency the funds of which were obtained in whole or in part from the Federal Government under authority of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 would be subject to the provisions of section 616. Of course, an institution, private corporation, or public agency would not have to file an affidavit; but if any employee thereof receives his salary, in whole or in part, traceable to the Federal Government under authority of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, he would have to file an affidavit as provided in section 616. That is the intent and purpose of my amendments.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to observe that an Assistant Attorney General of the United States and two Members of the other body do not have the authority or responsibility of interpreting U.S. statutes. That is the function of the Federal judiciary.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, this bill would repeal that, and here is the only explanation that I find for such action in the committee report:

The committee felt that the loyalty oath as it applies to VISTA volunteers should be the same as the oath for the Job Corps, National Defense Education Act, and National Science Foundation Act. This objective is accomplished by section 15 of H.R. 8283.

The hearings did not touch on the subject anywhere I can find. There is a rather weak justification—and that is a charitable definition—in the presentation by the Office of Economic Opportunity. I quote it:

12. VISTA—REVISION OF LOYALTY OATH REQUIREMENT

The bill (sec. 14(b) and 16) would apply to VISTA volunteers the same modified loyalty oath requirement as would be provided under section 2 for Job Corps enrollees.

Section 616 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 presently requires disclaimer af-

fidavits on the part of individuals receiving direct payments from funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under the act. Interpretations expressed during final congressional consideration of the act indicated that this provision would not apply to recipients of loans or to beneficiaries of State of local programs being carried out with Federal assistance, but that it could apply to regular Federal employees, experts and consultants, VISTA volunteers and dairy farmers receiving indemnity payments under section 331 of the act.

In view of requirements normally applicable to Federal personnel, and lapse of the indemnity payments authority, section 616 is no longer significant except in the case of VISTA volunteers. The bill accordingly deletes this section from the act and inserts in its place a specific loyalty oath provision limited to VISTA volunteers. As in the case of Job Corps enrollees, disclaimer affidavits would not be required since these are inconsistent with the provisions of the National Science Foundation Act and the National Defense Education Act on which both section 616 and the Job Corps loyalty oath requirements were patterned.

As a matter of administrative policy, all VISTA volunteers receive a national agency check and are subject to full field investigations whenever this appears warranted. This policy of course would not be affected by the changes made in the bill.

As the bill now reads, Communists will not be excluded from participation in this program. Subversives are not barred from full and active participation under this program as the bill now stands.

There is nothing in the hearings or the report as to why section 616 is undesirable or unworkable. Of course, I have suspicions about its energetic application on the part of the administration.

The war on poverty involves among other things: the indoctrination of small children; adult education; training programs on the community level; and an assortment of programs, many yet undefined and unimagined, touching a large segment of our population. This massive endeavor should be protected against Communist infiltration.

Certainly, we all agree that the poor, the migrant worker, the uneducated, and the jobless are more susceptible to the Godless preachments of communism, than other groups. Despite this, we are making no effort in this bill to insure that this program will not be sabotaged by Communists.

In addition we have seen the turmoil, the confusion, and misbehavior in some of the Job Corps training centers. These people are ripe for Communist propaganda. We should offer some protection to them.

In my district there is a small cluster of buildings which formerly contained an education institution called Mount Beulah. Recently, it has been leased by the National Council of Churches. It is the housing and staging area for persons engaged in civil disobedience. It is also the headquarters of a political action group not sponsored by the NCC. In addition, this small facility is the headquarters of an organization which recently received a Federal grant for \$1,424,180 under Operation Head Start.

These three organizations intermingle and the personnel of each is probably indistinguishable. Myles Horton has recently been there. An avowed Socialist

and Communist sympathizer, Horton ran what has been described as a Communist training school in Tennessee until the State closed it down. Other known sympathizers have been seen there. Carl and Ann Braden, both notorious Communists, have been operating in and out of Mount Beulah for quite some time.

As an example of the type of persons located at Mount Beulah, let me quote from an article which appeared in the Memphis Press-Scimitar:

MARCHER

A good many of them, like Liz Fusco, of Seattle, Wash., may make a career out of causes. She was an English teacher before she started to work on a civil rights campaign in Mississippi 8 months ago. A tiny girl with a long pigtail that hangs down her back and seldom a shoe on her foot, she took part in the march on Washington that demanded the end of the war in Vietnam.

What has the Vietnam movement to do with the Mississippi movement? She said: "The government promised a free election in Vietnam and the people didn't get it. They say it's because of the Communists. There's no free election in Mississippi either."

PROPAGANDA?

All believe with great certainty there are no Communists in Vietnam. Acting as a spokesman, Miss Fusco said, "That's just Government propaganda."

She and others said this summer many peace movements—the anti-Government and anti-Vietnam war groups—would be working in the civil rights campaign in Mississippi.

I wonder what the President thinks about her statement that there are no Communists in Vietnam. What does Secretary McNamara think?

Above all, what do the families of the thousands of Americans serving there and those who died there think about the attitudes and philosophy of Liz Fusco and her associates at Mount Beulah, which is also the site of Operation Headstart?

Something needs to be done.

Mr. Chairman, at the appropriate time, I plan to offer an amendment to this bill which would retain the non-Communist affidavit in the law.

Mr. Chairman, the head start program was instituted in Mississippi through a grant to Mary Holmes Junior College, for a project sponsored by the Child Development Group of Mississippi. Insofar as I know or can ascertain, the so-called child development group has no official standing of any kind in my State nor has the personnel of this group been made public. Recently, a Dr. Levin, who reportedly heads the Mississippi Head Start operation, visited in Washington and I discussed this operation with him, though I must confess I was not able to get very much information from him. I asked Dr. Levin who comprised the child development group in Mississippi, and he stated that it was primarily a group of educators and professors who were interested in child development. I asked him how many of these were Mississippians, and how many, if any, were from other States. His response was that all were from outside Mississippi, with the exception of one person, whose name he refused to divulge to me. He declined to give any reason for refusing this information, which I thought certainly I was

entitled to have since Federal funds are being spent on this project.

Mr. Chairman, this entire program is shot through with this kind of vague and indefinite administration. Surely the people who pay the taxes that support this farflung program have a right to know how their money is being spent, and who is spending it.

Mr. Chairman, for some reason the people who operate this program seem to feel that they are above scrutiny by the public or representatives of the public. Getting specific information out of this outfit that will give some indication of how our money is being spent is about as easy as finding the pot of gold at the end of a rainbow.

A typical example of this is to be found in a newspaper story that appeared recently in the Jackson, Miss., Clarion Ledger, when an enterprising reporter sought to get some information on the operation of this program. I include herewith the text of this article:

DISORGANIZED HEAD STARTS SEEM NOT GOING BY RULES—PROJECT IN GREENWOOD, ITTA BENA EXCEPTIONAL

(By Jane Biggers)

GREENWOOD.—The largest Federal grant under Project Head Start was awarded to Mary Holmes Junior College who channeled \$1.4 million to the child development group, an organization set up by the Delta Ministry at Mount Beulah near Edwards, who said funds would be used to maintain 75 centers in the State.

Two such centers opened in Leflore County on Monday bringing to a total 10 head start programs providing training for children unable to attend formal kindergarten.

There is, however, a vast difference in the Operation Headstart schools being maintained in one city, six county and the Pax Christi center at St. Francis Mission.

In order for these centers to qualify, a complete breakdown of proposed plans, list of faculty, background of each teacher, a full-time director, parent assistants, student assistants, menu plans, and sanitation set-ups were required in a detailed report which took weeks of preparation. Faculty members also attended a 1-week class preparation at the University of Alabama and a week in the local classroom.

When Mary Holmes received the grant, the school president, D. I. Horne, Jr., said that the classes would be staffed by first and second grade teachers at a salary of \$150 per week; hot meals, medical and dental service would be provided and social and educational habits would be taught.

NOT BEING DONE

None of these are being carried out in the Greenwood and Itta Bena centers.

Faculty members in the original headstart classes which began the last of June are all college graduates with some holding master's degree. A college degree was not a requirement, but head start officials said they would prefer top personnel as teachers.

In Greenwood the child development operation is at the Negro American Legion building on Jordan Avenue. James Robinson, local commander, said the building was being leased rent free to the organization, but as late as last Friday he said he was not sure the classrooms had been approved.

Bobbie McKennley, who is listed as the district office director, with headquarters in Holly Springs was contacted by telephone during the weekend.

McKennley said he was going to serve as director for the Greenwood and Itta Bena centers as to faculty. "I don't know yet, but we will have a lot of them." As to

enrollment he said there "will be a lot of children too." McKennley emphasized the fact the largest grant has been awarded to the child development program, which he said "was special."

HANDBILL

While other preschool children were notified by a house to house canvass, the child development centers locally posted a handbill in the Itta Bena post office. It described the program as "regular kindergarten activities, trips to places of interest, health checkup, and hot noon meal." It also listed the centers as "mostly in churches." Children eligible are those entering the first grade this year or next, was also mentioned on the handbill.

Most of the children in the two centers visited on Monday here were under 5 years, and several appeared to be about 3.

In the Greenwood center the children were placed in orderly fashion, looking at picture books. Large alphabet letters were on a bulletin board.

Three faculty members and five adults were present. Six of these are known COFO and SNCC workers, who have participated in demonstrations, here and in Jackson. One of the workers was arrested for assault and battery when she hit a Greenwood auxiliary police officer last year. Another was arrested in Jackson last month.

A Miss Sharon Chelton who said she was from New York City with a degree from Brooklyn College described herself as a resource worker.

BRUSHED OFF

When pressed for details as to the noon meal and other plans for classroom activity, Miss Chelton said: "Today they are going to get sandwiches, and the rest is none of your business."

In Edwards, when asked about the known civil rights demonstrators serving as teachers, a spokesman said they were well aware of that, after all in most cases they are the leaders in the community.

State Director Tom Levin, said in an earlier statement the policy of the child development group will "be aggressive compliance to the Civil Rights Act."

When attempts were made to take pictures at the Greenwood Center, one of the teachers tried to break the camera in a grab with a photographer.

Other centers have encouraged press relations and have sought pictures and coverage of their activities.

In Itta Bena the classroom is operated in the Hopewell Baptist Church, the scene of many civil rights meetings.

The small, wood, frame building has no separate facilities. Willie Ester McGee, who said she was acting as "sorta chairman," noted the classroom would be divided into six areas with "more teachers coming."

Mrs. McGee, who is the wife of an active civil rights worker here, said there were 25 pupils on the first day of classes with about 82 coming in all.

FOOD "CATERED"

As to food, Mrs. McGee said the noon meal would be "catered" from someplace in Itta Bena. A snack would be served in the morning. At the other Head Start centers here breakfast, a hot noon meal, and a morning snack is being served under rigid sanitation requirements in school cafeterias.

During the Monday visit two half-gallons of milk were viewed on a pulpit table with paper napkins. There was no refrigeration.

Bill Brainerd, another resource worker who gave his home as Chico, Calif. was surprised to learn there are other "headstarts" in the country.

"I did not know that," he said. "You mean they have these centers in Tennessee, Arkansas, and other places?" he asked.

No one at the Itta Bena center knew anything about salaries. "We will just have to

see how much it takes to operate the first week," said the chairman.

CHECKS CASHED

It is a fact, that Mrs. McGee cashed two checks signed by Tom Levin, for more than \$300 last week with a notation on each check for "child care and food * * * 1 week." Both checks were drawn on a Holly Springs bank.

Brainerd said he was not going to serve as one of the faculty members, but Peggy Griffin, who said she had a B.S. in elementary education and a masters from Andover Theological Seminary will be one of the faculty members. Norma Williams, said she had received her degree from Tougaloo College, and would "teach some."

"The books have not arrived yet," one teacher pointed, "but, we are expecting some."

Children were seated on the floor, building blocks, or in the church pews with picture puzzles. Two children were sweeping with small brooms, and an elderly woman continued to mop and remop the floor. There were no tables.

Most of the children were much younger than 6, appearing to be as young as 3 years of age, although Mrs. McGee said they were mostly 4, 5, and 6. There were also three teenage boys playing with the preschool puzzles.

In other headstart centers the students must be 6 years of age, or will be 6 by January of next year. Birth certificates were required.

TEACHER CORRECTED

Mrs. McGee said, "we might teach science and numbers," but she was corrected by another teacher who added, "we will probably not get to that."

Plans to teach table etiquette, study habits and play will be taught later. "I imagine we will get around to that before the classes end in August, this is just the first day," she noted.

Other centers had to have full scale operation in effect the first day.

Leflore County Health Director James Lary said both Greenwood and Itta Bena centers had many violations which would not pass the State board of health requirements.

Lary said in order to qualify to operate a Head Start center they should have petitioned to do so before they began.

The inspector said that in Greenwood there were many corrections to be made in the preparation of the food. The same held true for Itta Bena, where he said the food was being prepared in a woman's home. Lary said that he has given the two centers three days to meet the requirements to serve food and maintain a center for children.

He also noted that no one from the Child Development had sought medical or dental care from the office, while the other centers were being cared for and had petitioned through proper channels. Inspector Lary said the two new Head Start would have to meet the requirements or discontinue their operation. Under the present setup they do not qualify to operate, Lary stated.

Mr. Chairman, the operation of this program, certainly insofar as its operation in Mississippi is concerned, could not stand an objective investigation. Instead of extending and enlarging it, the Congress would be wise, in my opinion, to call a halt to it until its operation could be subjected to a full and complete and impartial investigation with no holds barred.

The Clerk read as follows:

JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION ACT

SEC. 3. Section 106(c)(2)(A) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"(A) The term 'performance of duty' in the Federal Employee's Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps."

JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

SEC. 4. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting the word "male" before the word "enrollees" in the first sentence.

WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 5. The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out "or June 30, 1966, whichever is later."

WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 6. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out "or June 30, 1966, which ever is later."

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 7. (a) The first sentence of section 208(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out "or June 30, 1966, whichever is later."

(b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations."

(c) Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: "The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved."

AMENDMENT BY MR. QUIE

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the desk which goes to page 3, line 14. To expedite the matter, I ask unanimous consent that an amendment I have on page 4, line 18, be considered at the same time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. QUIE: Page 3, line 14, insert the following:

"ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTION BOARDS—STATE APPROVAL OF PROGRAMS

"SEC. 7. (a) Section 202(a) (4) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: ', in the case of a program other than a multiple-purpose community action program, or by a community action board, in the case of a multiple-purpose community action program'.

"(b) Section 202 of such Act is amended

by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (d), and by inserting after subsection (a) the following new subsections:

"(b) A community action program shall be deemed to be a multiple-purpose community action program if it provides two or more related component programs and is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a community action board; and

"(c) The term 'community action board' means a board which is organized and maintained to conduct, administer, or coordinate a multiple-purpose community action program—

"(1) at least one-third of the membership of which consists of low-income individuals residing in the area to be served by the program who have been selected through a procedure, designed by the State community action agency, which will insure that such members are truly representative of the low-income individuals in the area, and

"(2) the membership of which (except for persons elected as provided in paragraph (1)) consists of—

"(A) a number of representatives of local government who are themselves elective officials or are appointed by elective officials equal to the number of members elected as provided in paragraph (1), and

"(B) representatives of private institutions or organizations having a concern with the problems of poverty selected by the members of the board described in paragraph (1) and clause (A) of this paragraph, 'who are representatives of the governing body of the local political subdivision in which such program is to be carried out, or, if it is to be carried out in more than one local political subdivision, representatives of the governing bodies of all such subdivisions shall be selected in such manner as the State community action organization may prescribe.'"

"APPROVAL BY STATE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

"SEC. 8. Section 205 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) The Director shall not make any grant under this part for any community action program, or any component thereof, until a plan setting forth such community action program or component thereof has been submitted to the State community action agency and has been approved by it."

"And renumber the sections which follow."

Page 4, after line 18, insert the following:

"DESIGNATION OF STATE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES

"SEC. 9. (a) Section 209(a) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(a) Each State desiring to have Federal assistance for community action programs carried on in the State shall designate as its community action agency either (1) the agency in the State principally concerned with the problems of poverty, or (2) a State agency which includes one or more of the major public health, public welfare, or labor programs of the State. It shall be the function of each community action agency to examine each plan submitted to it under section 205(e), and approve or disapprove it, and to design procedures to govern selection of members of community action boards."

"(b) Section 209(c) of such Act is amended by striking out 'and title II'."

"And renumber the sections which follow accordingly."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] is recognized.

(Mr. QUIE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I will spend this time explaining my amendment. I have given a copy of it to the author of the bill, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] and the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS] who spoke of his interest in it, and I hope the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] has a copy as well.

The purpose of this amendment is to require by law the Office of Economic Opportunity to operate first as far as the community action programs are concerned the way I think the men with vision down in the OEO think it ought to operate and it would back them up.

Second, it would enable us to have a State agency responsible for the operation of the CAP which will then be running with the same kind of unanimity of feeling as we see in such programs as vocational rehabilitation.

Let me explain this point by point. It would first define a community action program as one that provides two or more related programs and necessitates the establishment of a community action board to administer such a program.

Two, it would specify that one-third of the membership of the board shall consist of the low-income individuals residing in the area served by the program who will be selected in a manner prescribed by the State community action agency.

Let me state briefly and explain this need. Especially you on the committee will recall the testimony of such individuals as Reverend Stevenson of the Woodlawn organization in Chicago. He was very critical of the fact that the local poor were not participating in developing the program. We heard the same thing from people like Mrs. Craggett and Reverend Younger in Cleveland and from several others across the country. They all had the same criticism. You remember Cecil Moore of Philadelphia who said they ought to have an election in Philadelphia. They have now had their election and even though a small percentage of the people participated, I believe they made an initial effective step toward that election.

Now I prefer that the poor who serve on these councils be elected in every case, but rather than spelling this out in the bill, I permit it to operate the way the cooperative extension program operates. In some States the farmer representatives on the cooperative extension board are elected from within the county by the farmers themselves. In other States they have a process of appointments. But in any case the reason why the cooperative extension program works and is accepted by the farmers is that the farmers themselves participate in the development of the program.

We have seen the criticism of the war on poverty and the community action programs by the people who are themselves poor. They feel they have not been participating.

We do not have to fear that this will be a new power structure which will take over the community. I believe if we recognize this and give them an opportunity, they will work well with the elected officials and other appointed officials who would work on the council.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I will yield to the gentleman, and I hope I may be granted some additional time to explain the amendment.

Mr. PERKINS. I wonder if the gentleman's amendment will not make the operation of the community action program so cumbersome that it would be impossible to get a community action program approved in many instances.

As an example, if an important section of the community wanted a preventive health program, a remedial health program, or a remedial education program, would it not be much more difficult under the amendment to get a program of that type approved?

Mr. QUIE. No, because any single action agency would not come under this. This would apply only to multiple action agencies. The umbrella agencies are the only ones to which it would apply.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Is it not true that now we are administering this program throughout the United States without any such State agency as the gentleman is describing? The amendment would require every single State, as a condition precedent to any city within that State having a community action program, to establish a new bureaucracy and to create a new commission at the State level, which does not now exist; and the cities then would have to submit their plans to it and have them modified by it, and they would be dictated to by a State agency, although this is not now a requirement.

Mr. QUIE. I will explain this, as I get to that part of my amendment.

In many States already, the Governors have appointed a coordinator of the Office of Economic Opportunity within the State.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for an additional 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. QUIE. Also, other Federal programs are operating the way I propose, through State agencies. I pointed out vocational rehabilitation as one of them. We do not hear any of the criticisms of that program which we hear of the war on poverty. When anybody brings up a vocational rehabilitation bill, we stumble all over ourselves to show how much we are in favor of it, all over this body.

I should like to see the so-called war on poverty operate in such a way that this would happen with the war on poverty.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I wish to commend the gentleman for his amendment. I support it wholeheartedly.

In answer to the point made by the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky, it is difficult to conceive of it being any more difficult by any procedure to get an umbrella agency set up on a workable basis than it has been by experience thus far.

Also, one of the greatest problems we have had in the setting up of umbrella agencies is that the States with working organizations, with experience in these fields, have had no authority. As the gentleman from Minnesota indicates, where they are beginning to be set up on a workable basis, it is primarily because the State has taken over some responsibility and, on an ad hoc or informal basis, set up its own coordinator of the Economic Opportunity Act.

I should also like to point out what the gentleman from Minnesota touched on. It seems to me a very peculiar thing to hear our colleagues who are defending this program constantly malign the existing programs in this country today to fight poverty. There are a great many of them, most of which have been supported by our esteemed colleagues on both sides of the aisle. These programs are run on the precise kind of basis proposed in the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota, with States participating and having a role to initiate and set up State plans and to coordinate the programs through their employees, so that it is not necessary to set up a central bureaucracy in Washington to do it all.

I commend the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. The law already provides for participation by State agencies in section 209, and has this authority. We are not doing something completely out of line.

Mr. Chairman, as I promised the gentleman from New York [Mr. CAREY] I would yield to him, I will yield to him now, but otherwise I do not want to yield until I finish my statement. However, since I promised it, I will be glad to yield to the gentleman now.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, I am always interested in the great devotion, precision, and accuracy demonstrated by my colleague from the State of Minnesota. I note he mentions the great vocational rehabilitation program as a strength which we should emulate in this program. I know he has attended hearings very consistently and persistently and knows our record on vocational rehabilitation showed that we have numerous communications from State agencies indicating they were opposed to setting up a separate agency to deal with vocational rehabilitation and that they intended to pursue their previous course. So there is no consistent consensus among the States on the point of setting up a new agency. I will point out in my own State of New York we are somewhat sorry and somewhat niggardly in handling vocational rehabilitation. If we have to emulate the program in New York State to get community action programs going at a greater pace in New York State, we will be in a sorry state indeed. Vocational rehabilitation in New York State for the last several years, as

Howard Rusk, who has written very actively on the New York Times, has indicated, has for 3 years running in our State failed to pick up its share in Federal funds, and in vocational rehabilitation we lost \$3½ million in 1 year. If we follow that course of action, my State will do what it almost did, which is lose \$19 million in one city alone by failing to set up an appropriate agency. We cannot wait for the States to do this themselves, because we have no guarantee that they will do so. That is why we cannot rest the insecurity of poverty in the hands of the State agencies which are now nonexistent and negligible in their setup.

Mr. QUIE. I may say to the gentleman in a vocational rehabilitation bill there is not a proposal that they eliminate State agencies but just free them up and let the State decide which agency will handle it. Also, in the amendments we are going to offer with the vocational rehabilitation program we hope that it will encourage the States like New York or other States in the North to utilize vocational rehabilitation more than they have before.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New York will be very happy to learn that the Rules Committee is preparing to grant a rule on the extension of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act with a vast increase in sums.

Mr. QUIE. Let me finish now explaining what is in my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has again expired.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Minnesota be permitted to proceed for another 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to object. Reserving the right to object, I want to know how many others want to be heard on this new act being written now.

Mr. QUIE. What was the gentleman's request?

Mr. POWELL. I am calling the Quie amendment a new act.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to proceed for 5 more minutes and all debate on this amendment close at 5 minutes after 4.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman, then, does not object to the request of the gentleman from New York. There being no objection, the gentleman is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, the second point to close all debate would be a requirement for the gentleman from Minnesota to proceed the additional 5 minutes. My request was that I do not object to the gentleman from Minnesota proceeding for 5 more minutes, but I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this particular amendment close at 5 minutes after 4.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this amendment close at 5 minutes after 4 and the gentleman from Minnesota be given 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, the second provision in the makeup of the community action board is that the local elected officials or members appointed by the local elected officials serve on this board. The reason is that in some community action efforts there are proposals to bypass the local elected officials.

To give you an example, I will read from a letter that I have just received today from one of the counties in my district. Under a proposal that three counties be set up as an umbrella agency in their community action program, they refused to go along with it. They were told by Mr. Gene Flaten, from the State of Minnesota part of the Office of Economic Opportunity, as follows:

STATE OF MINNESOTA,
July 13, 1965.

Department: Office of Economics Opportunity

To: Bob Shaw.

From: Gene D. Flaten.

Subject: Community Action Committee.

I regretted to hear of the indecision on the part of the various boards with whom I met last evening. In the light of the fact this was the third session for most of them, I was hoping some progress could be made relative to the formation of a multicounty CAP council.

I hope to hear from your board within a week or so, and also from Freeborn. I am of the opinion that you—as well as your counterparts thereabouts—are aware of the breadth of this program effort, and the success we have enjoyed throughout almost the entire State of Minnesota in establishing and making operable CAP councils. On that basis alone, as well as well-established governmental directives, you can be certain we will accomplish our purposes. It is in the best interests of local government and local participation that we have proceeded—to date—through the county boards. If this cannot be done, we will establish citizens committees and proceed with and through such a group. The involvement of county boards or their individual members would be remote in that latter instance.

I submit that there might well be some valid considerations over the present effort of Federal programs to beef up the existing local programs. However, I also submit that there is little nor no likelihood of an alternative in this particular instance. To fight is folly.

I hope to hear from you quite soon so that we can assume the process of setting up a CAP council in your area, and begin to identify programs according to need and practical propriety.

Mr. Chairman, these are very clear words that the local elected officials will be bypassed if they do not go along. I think it is unwise; it is wrong. These men were elected to give some plans to their community, and they should be worked with in offering plans and advice which they will agree on.

Lastly, on this three-legged stool, that the representatives of private institutions and organizations concerned with

the problems of poverty also be included on this community action board. This is devised by law. Each community knows that this is the way to set up their council at its very inception. If operated in this way it will work better.

We have traveled to some of the cities and we found out, after they had devised the program and set it up, they would be put on a council at a later date.

In the areas where local officials have been barred in the past there is justifiable criticism wherever they are bypassed because the private agencies who are bypassed are the people who have had a tremendous amount of experience in helping people come out of that situation of poverty.

In case there is more than one political subdivision in the area, where the community action program will operate, representatives of all the governing bodies shall sit on the community action board. They will be selected in a manner prescribed by the State community action agency. You need some agency within the State over all to help them decide how the various members of more than one political subdivision will be selected.

It will prevent the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity from making any grant under title II until the plan for the grant has been approved by the State community action agency. This will give continuity to each State.

Lastly it will require that any State desiring assistance under the act designate a community action agency which will be an agency previously established and chiefly concerned with poverty or a new agency which will include the major health, welfare, and labor programs of the State.

As I look at the Federal assistance programs operating in my congressional district I find that the ones that operate through a State agency, where the State agency submits a plan, are the ones that get along with the least amount of criticism.

There must be the greatest amount of cooperation from the people within the State and the people within each local community in the programs. Where there is direct Federal action into the community, circumventing State, or the possibility of even circumventing the local community, it is full of controversy and political action between various people in the community.

Mr. Chairman, this is what is giving the so-called war on poverty a bad name. I believe in the tried and proven method of local and State and Federal cooperation.

Mr. Chairman, when the Federal Government embarks upon a program that must have the cooperation of the people who are involved, who may be called upon to administer the program, who have the responsibility within their communities, the very fact that this bypasses this type of operation is what is putting this program in what I call a shambles, in chaos, and everyone knows it.

I have not heard very much from the majority side of the aisle in criticism of it, but you know full well that this is the reason why it is in so much trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD] for 1 minute.

(Mr. MOORHEAD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. I believe that we cannot here in Washington write ground rules that will operate in all of the local communities across this Nation.

Mr. Chairman, in the city of Pittsburgh we have a very successful program in the war against poverty. The core of our program in Pittsburgh is a non-profit corporation called the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources. It is drawn from all areas. The membership is drawn from all areas in our civic life. We have the mayor, we have the president of the city council, there is an attorney, a bank vice president, a union vice president, a Catholic priest, a Baptist minister, a Presbyterian minister, a judge, a citizen's group official, and the urban renewal development director, two corporation officials, and the State secretary for labor and industry.

Mr. Chairman, this program has kept politics out of our war on poverty. But, Mr. Chairman, this program would not qualify under the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE]. This would be most unfortunate.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation which is designed to rededicate ourselves to the elimination of deprivation and dependency in the United States. The bill is designed—if I may turn Robert Frost's words around—to provide something to look backward to with pride and something to look forward to with hope.

It has been noted already that this is a rare peacetime effort involving public and private agencies, and government at all levels. It has been noted too that only in time of war before this has such a tremendous program as this gotten underway in so short a time. The program is not yet 1 year old.

You have heard about difficulties in some areas. I should like to give you a report on how one specific area is addressing itself to overcoming difficulties and more specifically how it is addressing itself to the war on poverty.

It seems to me that the experience of my own city of Pittsburgh may be of some value as a pattern for other cities and more immediately of some value to Members of this body who must evaluate this program and decide the character of legislation to further implement the program.

The Pittsburgh antipoverty program draws heavily on our earlier and spectacular Pittsburgh renaissance. The antipoverty program has brought together private, public, religious, governmental, labor, and business leaders of Pittsburgh to work out a harmonious, coordinated attack.

The unique aspect of the Pittsburgh battle of this war is the Mayor's Commission on Human Resources, Inc. This is a nonprofit corporation which is both coordinator and clearinghouse in the ad-

ministering of grants from the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is doubtful that this very admirable agency could function if the amendment to be proposed by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUER] is adopted by the House. Let me list the areas of civic life in Pittsburgh from which members of the mayor's committee were drawn. In addition to the mayor himself and the president of the city council, there are also an attorney, a bank vice president, a union vice president, a Catholic priest, a Baptist minister, a Presbyterian minister, a judge, a citizens group official, an urban redevelopment director, two corporation officials and the State secretary for labor and industry.

Members of this nonprofit corporation are a bipartisan, broadly representative group. They work hard and without pay.

Our distinguished mayor, Mr. Joseph Barr, told me in a letter several weeks ago that the important point to be made about the Pittsburgh program is that:

We have been able to consolidate a range of city, county, State, and Federal agencies as well as business, labor, voluntary groups, educational agencies, and the poor themselves into a unified approach in attacking the problems of poverty on a broad-based, nonpartisan level.

The Pittsburgh community action plan is operating in eight neighborhoods. There is a broad-based citizens committee in each neighborhood which is heavily representative of the poor themselves. They have a say in how the programs in their own neighborhoods are set up, how they are run, how they are evaluated.

What has been accomplished?

It seems to me that, in the 4 or 5 months the antipoverty program has been operating in Pittsburgh, we have made real progress and can look forward to a revolutionary change in the lives of thousands of our citizens.

In support of this, let me cite some figures.

In the 8 poverty neighborhoods, 8 neighborhood committees have been established, each with 200 to 300 active members, of which about 35 percent are poor. Thus nearly 2,000 people are involved in these policymaking committees. Six neighborhood coordinators are now on the job with full responsibility for developing a unified service pattern, new programs and involving the citizens of each neighborhood in full participation in the programs.

Seven neighborhood employment centers are now open and operating. Another will be ready soon. At these centers 4,100 applications have already been received. They have referred 700 persons for jobs and actually placed 300 of these people in jobs.

Parenthetically, I might point out that this program has been taken directly to the people. A few days ago applications were being taken at card tables set up on the sidewalks on a street in Pittsburgh's Hill district.

In the screening for Youth Corps jobs, 1,500 are now working and we have 1,500 additional jobs to fill.

One hundred persons have been placed in the Job Corps from Pittsburgh.

There are seven family service units operating out of the neighborhood centers.

Fourteen thousand children and three thousand five hundred adults have been given compensatory education by the public school system. Catholic schools have served 900 students.

There are 17 former public assistance recipients now working in neighborhood homemaker training; 23 more are now in training for this activity.

For legal aid, there are part-time lawyers working in four neighborhoods. It is planned to have full-time lawyers in all eight centers.

The health services program is established in one neighborhood so far, and there is one housing clinic operating and another ready to go.

Project Head Start finds 1,160 children in 58 centers now receiving health, dental, hearing, and eye tests. More than 2,000 homes in Pittsburgh were visited to find these 1,160 children. Ninety-four professionals and 232 subprofessionals have been hired for Head Start.

It is interesting to note that of the 232 subprofessionals, many never held a job before.

One of these subprofessionals, hired as a teacher's helper, wrote a letter to a Head Start official in Pittsburgh thanking him for providing an opportunity for her to go to work.

She said:

It means my children won't have to go to Sunday school in tennis shoes any more; it means an end to not quite enough of everything. It means a chance to provide enrichment to my children, all of whom are above average in intelligence, one of whom is extremely gifted, and to me (it means) literally a new life, a second chance, an opportunity at the career I have always wanted.

This lady concluded her heart-warming tribute to the program by expressing her hope that she would be able to justify the faith placed in her and hoped she could be considered in the fall for the ongoing program.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that our experience in Pittsburgh will be of value to Members of the House.

Because the Pittsburgh program proves the worth of this legislation, I urge enactment of H.R. 8283.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. EDWARDS] for 1 minute.

(Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama (by unanimous consent) asked and was granted permission to yield his time to the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL]).

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Minnesota.

I want to point out, however, that it is difficult for me to understand why the Members on the majority side are in effect criticizing the ongoing programs that are in effect such as the manpower development and training program, the Vocational Rehabilitation program, and others. They are State-oriented pro-

grams under which our Federal aid goes to the State. This is the way it has been operating and this is the way it is systematized. This in effect is the manner in which the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Minnesota will operate if adopted. It would place responsibility where we are accustomed to having that responsibility placed, at the State and local level.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] for 1 minute.

(Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I might say that I regret very much the imposition of such a severe gag rule so early in the discussion of possible improvements to this act.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me the height of folly for us to discuss a major modification and improvement in this program in the short length of time we have given ourselves.

The sponsor of the amendment, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUER], it is true, has been given 15 minutes to explain it. But the rest of us who have ideas which we would like to advance have no time at all in which to bring them up.

Of course, this shows also the difficulty of legislating sensibly on the floor of the House. The fact of the matter is that this is the kind of an amendment which should be discussed in detail in committee. The fact of the matter is that it was not. The fact of the matter is that there was no real discussion. I must admit, however, that I am not a member of the committee and I cannot speak from firsthand knowledge, but there was no real discussion of any alternatives to what we now have in the community action programs.

Mr. Chairman, this is regrettable. I regret the fact that we are not apparently going to have time to discuss the other major alternatives and improvements to the program, if we follow this gag rule.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD] for 1 minute.

(Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota shows a complete lack of confidence in local government. The gentleman from California said he preferred that the program be administered at the closest level to the people, that is, at the State or local level. It is administered today at the local level, within the local community. What the gentleman from Minnesota would do would be to authorize those local communities to act when and if they would go to the State capitol and get permission for programs even though they might be conceived for the individual communities. In the State of Minnesota, the gentleman believes that the individual local communities are not capable of this kind of action at the local

level without the assistance of the people at the statehouse.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. CAREY].

[Mr. CAREY addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD], should take a look at Minnesota and see that the local communities are objecting. Who is going to do it? The Office of Economic Opportunity. The Director is the czar of the programs. The programs that are presently operated would be operated under my amendment by the States and if they are operating well for a State, the program should be acceptable. Those are the people who live with it. The money should be made available to them, they should make their decision within the guidelines laid out by my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS].

[Mr. BRADEMAS addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS].

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the present amendment. [Mr. BRADEMAS and Mr. GIBBONS asked and were given permission to revise and extend their remarks.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT].

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, after listening to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], I do not think the amendment he offers would do at all what he said it would do because, after all, the local agency has to go to a State agency for approval by the State agency and then the State agency would have to come back to Washington. He has removed from the local agency any real hope that the local people carrying out the program will be considered at all on the State level. I would have to oppose the gentleman's amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

The amendments were rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. REID OF NEW YORK

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. REID of New York: Page 3, after line 14, insert the following:

"COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION

"Sec. 7. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'and' at the end of paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof: 'and', and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(5) which includes provision for reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director."

And renumber the sections which follow accordingly.

[Mr. REID of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.]

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, in my judgment this amendment is clear. It simply provides for public access to books and records as a matter of law. I believe this is important and that it will sustain the right of the American people to know the facts.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. POWELL. I want to compliment the gentleman from New York for his fine contributions to the full committee and to the subcommittee and to say that this is an excellent amendment and on behalf of the Members on this side of the aisle, we accept the amendment.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REID of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. First I have a question about this. The last part of it says, "in accordance with the procedures approved by the Director." The Director would be able to decide what he would or would not or what he would let the public have access to; is that correct?

Mr. REID of New York. No, it is my understanding the principle would be clear. There would be public access. The reference to the Director is not as to the principle but as to reasonable procedures to give effect to the principle which is unrestricted and unqualified.

Mr. QUIE. So he would have to make it available, but as to how he would make it available is up to him?

Mr. REID of New York. It would be reasonable and prompt access, that would be my understanding.

Mr. QUIE. I want to say to the gentleman, I accept the amendment.

Mr. REID of New York. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Chairman, I had intended to offer an amendment to insure that the public would have access to records of all funds expended for the so-called community action program.

My amendment would have called for the auditing by the General Accounting Office of all funds given to a private organization.

It appears that the amendment offered is intended to produce the same result—public disclosure and full accountability.

In the belief this will be effective if such provision is administered fairly, I will withhold the offering of my amendment at this time and join with my colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. REID], and in support of his amendment.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the necessary number of words.

[Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.]

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I have five questions to ask the chairman of the committee or someone who can speak for the committee who knows what has been taking place in the operation of the so-called Head Start program.

These questions were submitted to me by an Iowa schoolteacher who is observing closely what is taking place. Her first question: When the forms for registration were mailed to the parents, no mention was made that the program was designed for poverty-stricken families—why?

Mr. GIBBONS. I do not know what happened in Iowa. Perhaps they did not follow the suggestion of—I received a form in McLean, Va., where I reside temporarily while the Congress is in session, and it had all of the necessary information on it saying that this is a program limited to low-income families and asking for information such as that. I do not know about Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Then the forms are supposed to be directed to those with low income?

Mr. GIBBONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. Would that be \$3,000 and below, or what would be the breaking point?

Mr. GIBBONS. Well \$3,000 or below or exceeding that in the case of a large family, where the local communities have some leeway in accepting them where they are large families.

Mr. GROSS. The second question is, Why are children who have completed the first grade allowed to participate since the program supposedly is for preschool children?

Mr. GIBBONS. I frankly did not know that they were participating. It is the first time it has ever been brought to my attention. There may be children who have finished the first grade but there are some, I think—it would probably not hurt them a bit to go back and start over again.

Mr. GROSS. The third question: Why are the teachers paid such an exorbitant salary when no attempt is made to accomplish classroom instruction?

Mr. GIBBONS. I am not aware of any exorbitant salaries. I have checked our program in my own congressional district. I believe the salaries are in line with what a competent teacher would receive for that type of work. This is difficult work. These children are given a lot more than reading, writing, and arithmetic. They are taught how to make the simple adjustments which children from good homes and from well-run homes probably already know.

This Head Start program will not only help the young child who is from a disadvantaged home, but also it will help the child from the nondisadvantaged home, because when the two groups of children are mixed in school, the schoolteacher then can have the whole class proceed at a much more rapid rate.

Mr. GROSS. The fourth question: Who is responsible for the approval of participants in each school district?

Mr. GIBBONS. The local school personnel. The local school sponsoring

agency. In most cases it is the local public school system.

Mr. GROSS. The fifth question is, Why are children from high-income families allowed to attend? Is this not expensive babysitting?

Mr. GIBBONS. No. It should not be expensive babysitting. I did not know there were children from high-income families participating. It is not the objective of the act to bring in anything of that sort. I regret that it is going on in Iowa. I have no knowledge of it going on in my district or any place I have had an opportunity to check.

Mr. GROSS. So it is not supposed to include those of high or middle income?

Mr. GIBBONS. No. It is supposed to include the low-income child from the disadvantaged family.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman, and I hasten to add, Mr. Chairman, that the Head Start program, according to the evidence already available, is not being operated in Iowa in accordance with the answers given by the gentleman from Florida in response to the questions.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I listened with great interest to the colloquy which just occurred. I will say I believe the gentleman from Florida should have some information about how this Head Start program is operating in some areas.

I have five boys, from 2 to 9 years old. My fourth child is 5 years old, Michael Charles Ellsworth Goodell. We live while Congress is in session in the District of Columbia. He is no genius. None of my children are geniuses by a long shot, but Mike is one of the brightest.

About 3 weeks ago, we were called, and Michael was invited to participate in the Head Start program for the District of Columbia.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], and I both have supported preschool and early school training for youngsters long before the administration adopted it as a policy. We have been urging it in various substitutes. I believe very deeply in this program, but I want to ask the gentleman from Florida if this is his conception as to how the program should operate—that children of Congressmen should be invited to participate in a Head Start program?

Mr. GIBBONS. I would have to answer honestly it was not my intention, and I do not believe it was the intention of the Congress.

I am not aware of what happened to the gentleman's child. All I can repeat is what I saw happening to my children, in the part of the Washington metropolitan area in which I live. The forms which came to my home, delivered to my home from the school system and through the mail, were excellent forms, well-prepared, giving exactly the type of information needed.

Mr. GOODELL. Would the gentleman say, as a matter of legislative history today, it is not the intention that children who do not come from deprived families are to participate in the Head Start program?

Mr. GIBBONS. I believe the intention of the act is to cover low-income deprived families.

Mr. GOODELL. And the gentleman says that as a matter of legislative history. The Head Start program is for low-income deprived families, however the administrators define that term.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to my colleague from New York.

Mr. CAREY. I believe that what my colleague from New York and his wonderful family are experiencing is something I would term "Operation Head Start contagion."

Operation Head Start has become an infectious and contagious program among educators who have immediately apprehended its value. Therefore, while we have the initiative at the Federal level—and it was initiated at that level—local and community school systems are adopting this concept so as to bring in other children. In that way we are avoiding economic segregation, which means that congressional children go to school with other children.

Mr. GOODELL. I want to say to the gentleman that is not the case in this instance. This was a Federal program, and I am very much distressed to have them invite my child, who I do not believe needs the head start, although it is subject to some discussion. I will say that one of my Democratic colleagues said that they must have looked at my voting record and decided that my boy needed a head start. But, seriously, I hope that it is not the intention of the program to include children who have no need for this kind of help.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. Yes. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. DENT. I want to say it is possible, of course, that there might be more than one Goodell in the school system that your lad goes to. Also, it is not unusual for somebody to get a wrong number either on the telephone or anywhere else.

Mr. GOODELL. I must straighten out the RECORD on that, because I did check on it. My neighbors got the same calls, and some of them are participating in the District headstart program. That is in Northwest Washington, the last place that needs it. With all of the other places in Washington where we have children who need help, they are calling children in Northwest Washington to get these children into this headstart program. It makes me very angry and I think it would make the gentleman from Pennsylvania very angry, too. It is an abuse of a good idea. And if it is extended nationally in this form, it will ruin the idea and give it a black name.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. There may have been a mistake here somewhere, but I hope it will assuage the gentleman's anger to know how the interest in this program has exploded across every sector of our economy and our society. I hope it will assuage his anger to know that we have had 100,000 full-time people from all sectors of our economy nationally interested in this program; 400,000 of them are

part-time volunteers who have contributed \$90 million worth of time valued at \$1.50 an hour.

Mr. GOODELL. The gentleman does not have to sell me on preschool and early school programs for deprived youngsters. I just reiterate my previous remarks the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] and I preceded the administration with this suggestion and we believe very deeply in the kind of headstart program which is directed at those who need it, but we do not believe it ought to be diverted to other children who have not the same kind of need.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. POWELL. The gentleman is totally correct. Our operation Head Start is only for the children of the poor. It is my intention and I have just instructed our assistant chief counsel to find out why this happened and to stop it immediately.

Mr. GOODELL. I appreciate the assurance from the chairman that Head Start is only for the children of the poor, as he has just said. I also hope that his commitment to stop what they are doing now will be stopped. My boy is just one example.

Mr. POWELL. Thank you for your contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. REIN].

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. RYAN

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN. I yield to the chairman.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I just wish to take this opportunity to say there are many Members of the House who have been invited to the White House for the education program at 5:15. Therefore, it is my hope that the Committee can rise at 5 o'clock.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN. Yes. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. AYRES. I would like to concur in the request of my chairman. I think it would be most unfortunate, in view of the fact that educators have come in from all over the country, for the House of Representatives not to be represented there.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. RYAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I hope the gentleman is not suggesting that because we may rise at 5 o'clock we will have a further imposition of the gag rule with respect to amendments which are pending and already at the desk.

Mr. POWELL. I do not believe in a gag rule.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RYAN: Page 3, after line 14, insert the following:

"COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—ELECTIVE
POLICY BOARDS

"SEC. 7. Section 202(a)(3) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after 'served' the following: ', and with maximum feasible use of elections to select members of such groups and residents of such areas to serve on policymaking boards or other bodies'."

And renumber the sections which follow accordingly.

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is directed at the section of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which deals with community action programs and particularly amends that section which defines a community action program as one "which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."

This provision in the act has been the subject of considerable discussion and debate since this act has been implemented by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Its interpretation was one of the chief topics during the hearings. I believe very strongly that there should be a real involvement of people in the area affected, that what we are concerned with as much as poverty, in terms of economic poverty, is also the poverty of power. People in the ghetto communities are powerless. One way to overcome this poverty of power is to provide a process whereby representatives of the community are elected to local community action boards.

My amendment would express the sense of Congress, in addition to the language already in the act, that there should be a maximum feasible use of elections, to select members of such groups and residents of such areas to serve on policymaking boards or other bodies.

In view of the statement of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUAIL], earlier this afternoon, I would think that this is an amendment which he could support. Those on his side of the aisle as well as on our side of the aisle might find agreement on the value of electing representatives in the neighborhoods.

He spoke of the idea, of the concept, of electing representatives of the poor. He cited the Philadelphia experience and said that he preferred for the poor to be elected. He made an analogy to farmers' extension programs, which I think makes a good deal of sense. Mr. Chairman, if we analyze community action programs which have been developed so far, we should recognize that there has not been sufficient involvement of people at the neighborhood level; that too often programs are imposed from above; that too often city administrations seek to control these programs to the exclusion of the people in the communities who are affected.

So my proposal is simply that we make it clear that we believe there should be a process whereby local citizens, people who are poor, as defined under this act, have an opportunity to vote in their own communities for their own representatives to serve on these boards. It is typical that in some cities there is an overall structure which is called an antipoverty board on which an effort is made to have representatives of the poor. My suggestion is that there be, as in Philadelphia, elections to select these representatives; so that local boards are representative, with members elected from the community.

In this fashion, with this kind of process, the poor people, the deprived people in disadvantaged areas will participate in the decisionmaking process; and by participating in the decisionmaking process, they will immeasurably improve the program, because they know better than anyone else, they know better than any city administration, they know better than any social welfare agency what is needed in their own community, what is needed to take advantage of the opportunities which the Economic Opportunities Act provides.

Mr. Chairman, I feel very strongly that the language of my amendment, which is not binding, but which is advisory, would further spell out the purpose which I believe we intended a year ago when we adopted this act.

The procedures and criteria for conducting the local elections would be worked out between the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the local communities.

Mr. Chairman, I am concerned that the antipoverty program root out the causes and not merely attack the symptoms of poverty. We need more than palliatives which may in the short run subdue the hostility of those who live as victims of an unjust economic and political system, but which hardly touch the sources of poverty. We need more than legislation to make the daily lives of people a little easier. We need legislation which enables people to live as citizens in a free society, to be involved at all times with decisions that affect their lives.

There is an old maxim that "the poorest man that is in America has a life to live as the richest man." People have a life to live, not a role to fulfill. In a democracy, that means making one's life and the conditions of life one's own.

It is not enough to remove the barriers which entrap the poor, although that is essential. The poor should know the freedom of coming together and setting the alternatives in which they live. Not only a freedom from want but a freedom to act, to control the decisions which affect their own lives, should be the goal.

There are different ways to do this. The poor can be hired for a variety of program tasks. Social organization and action by the poor can be encouraged within the local neighborhoods. The poor can be involved in the planning, policy, and administrative bodies which provide overall guidance and supervision of citywide efforts.

In the first year of the antipoverty program, the poor have not been fully involved. New York City is a significant example. There the city administration attempted to dominate the program. Public reaction, congressional pressure, and pressure from the Office of Economic Opportunity forced a change. And the program has been funded. Yet the poor are not involved in the process of making and executing decisions.

The basic issue remains. Indigenous leadership will not be developed unless it is encouraged. The poverty of power will remain as long as city halls and established social agencies dominate community action programs.

There are those who believe that representation of private agencies on antipoverty boards meets the problem.

Prof. Richard A. Cloward, of the Columbia School of Social Work, director of research of the mobilization for youth program on Manhattan's lower East Side, discussed this when he testified before the Senate Select Subcommittee on Poverty recently.

When private agencies take positions on this expanding range of Government programs, they are quite mindful of their interests. This statement will hold even when their interests run counter to those of what are now the most depressed minority poor, as they often do. If this minority expects to influence the proliferating arenas of governmental activity, they will need their own organizational apparatus to help.

In the administration of antipoverty funds, there is a question about the effect on institutional power. If programs are operated exclusively by municipal governments or established voluntary agencies, the powerlessness of the poor will be perpetuated and their poverty with it.

Mr. Chairman, the changes in the life of the poor cannot come from above but must come from the people themselves. Community development efforts throughout the world have shown that even such beneficial changes as the introduction of improved health practices and facilities are wasted unless the leaders of the impoverished community lend support.

Today, the impoverished are people who are striking out for a future. If this legislation is to provide a world of possibility for the poor, it must elicit responsibility in a maximum way.

The House recently passed the voting rights bill. Let us now create an opportunity for those who not only suffer from economic poverty but also from a poverty of power to use their vote to re-create their lives.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise regretfully in opposition to the amendment offered by my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. Chairman, I can understand why my colleague, the gentleman from New York, is preoccupied with elections at this time. But this amendment would cause havoc. It would be almost impossible to administer. Who would establish the criteria? Who would set up the boards of elections? Who would administer the elections? It would cause not maximum

feasible use but maximum nonfeasible havoc on the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BUCHANAN

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BUCHANAN: Page 3, after line 14, insert the following:

"COMPONENTS OF COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS FORBIDDEN

"Sec. 7. (a) The first sentence of section 205(2) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: 'except that the Director shall make no grant to, and shall not contract with, any church or other religious body.'

"(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to programs approved prior to the enactment of this Act, except that no payments with respect to such a program shall be made after October 1, 1965."

(Mr. BUCHANAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, my amendment is simple and clear. It eliminates only one narrow phase of the present area of the poverty program.

The overwhelming number of grants and projects through the community action program of the OEO are not conducted by churches or other religious organizations, but only a relative handful. A small percentage fall into this classification. But in this handful of projects carried on by churches and other religious organizations, there is a dangerous precedent established, and in my judgment clear violation of the first amendment. I understand that these grants are not made directly to churches, but rather in most instances the church organizes a public corporation controlled by the church which corporation would in fact receive the grant and administer the program. Nevertheless, this constitutes an area of grave danger. It seems manifest to me that in such cases the church serves as majority stockholder or as board of directors to the corporation, with the clear and close involvement such a relationship would indicate.

Mr. Chairman, during the general debate I pointed out the counsel of some of our former Presidents such as John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and Andrew Johnson, concerning the value of religious liberty and the importance of maintaining absolute separation of church and state in order to preserve that liberty.

Please note that my amendment does not disturb the present project Head Start program which is now underway. It takes effect on October 1. These are all 8-week programs and they will be concluded by that time. We will, therefore, not default on any present commitments if my amendment is adopted. I believe, however, it will serve to clarify the intent of Congress in its original legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that this is a matter of administrative interpretation beyond the intent of the Congress, that religious organizations are being included.

From the point of view of the church and as a churchman, I am constrained to say that this is a connection which for a church is unwise, in which it becomes a partner to and with the secular state in the implementation of poverty programs.

Mr. Chairman, through 2,000 years Christian churches have carried out great works of benevolence through voluntary giving and through the voluntary work of its people. This is the proper way for churches to participate in the perpetual war on poverty in our world. Let the church stand secure and serene in her own function in proclaiming to the world her own good tidings and in carrying out her own benevolence to men through the giving of her people. Let her stand apart from the state. Let her not become intermixed and intermingled with that which is political and secular.

This I believe to be proper and right for the church. The maintenance of the principle of separation of church and state is also right for America. We deal too lightly with the Constitution of the United States; not that any document in itself is sacrosanct, but as the basic law of this land, the principles of law and government which it embodies, are basic to human freedom. It is the sure foundation upon which this house of freedom was built and now stands.

The separation of church and state is basic to religious liberty in this country. It is being violated now. Although we might say this is a small breach, let it be likened to a tiny hole in a dike. It is as the first trickle of water over an earthen dam. While the people rest in easy confidence, and the watchmen sleep, the wall of separation of church and state in this country is even now crumbling and falling down. It is time that we stand firm for constitutional principles; it is time we stand firm for that which has preserved religious liberty in this country.

The Pilgrims came to this country to seek a place to work, to live, and to worship in freedom. Notwithstanding which, they soon set up state churches in the Colonies themselves. It was not until the time of the adoption of the Constitution that we had true religious liberty here. I am of a church fellowship that was persecuted in Europe, in England, and in the Colonies. But since the adoption of the first amendment and the establishment of the separation of church and state in this land, we have seen the many splendid expressions of the Christian faith develop all over the Nation in cities and country places, running like a golden thread through the fabric of our free society. Differing churches serving one Lord in varying ways and working in mutual tolerance, mutual freedom, and total separation from their government have contributed beyond our ability to measure to the physical and spiritual well-being of the people of America. They have done so,

through the long years, without support from or connection with this Government. They can do so now.

Mr. Speaker, let the church be the church and the government the government. Like two pillars of the same structure, let them stand apart that they might serve together to keep the house of freedom strong and secure upon a foundation which has stood the test of time.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

(Mr. O'HARA of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, we should be very careful to distinguish exactly what we mean when we talk about participation of a church-related organization in the poverty program. We are not talking about Government support of a religious activity or a church activity in any sense. We are talking about Government using services provided under an agreement with a religiously oriented, or a religious organization or group to do the work of the poverty program in those instances where the church related group is best able to do that work, or, indeed, is uniquely qualified and able to do that work. I think we can understand this amendment better if we look at a few situations in which church-related organizations have entered into contracts with the Office of Economic Opportunity.

For instance, in my own State of Michigan, the Michigan Council of Churches and the Michigan Catholic Conference, together, have created an organization to provide services to migrant workers in the State. It is named Michigan Migrant Opportunity Inc. It is the only organization in Michigan providing the kind of service to migrants contemplated under the poverty program. Similar programs under similar auspices are operating in at least one other State.

The National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Jewish Women, the United Church Women, and the National Council of Negro Women have set up an organization known as WICR that is helping the Women's Job Corps to find young women who want and need the Job Corps program. They interview girls who might be interested, encourage them to apply, screen them and assist them in various ways.

I might suggest, in light of the criticism of the St. Petersburg program, that this is a very valuable service to the Job Corps, and it is supplied by a religiously oriented organization.

It should not make any difference to us, it seems to me, if we are getting a service we need, whether that service is performed by someone who wears a sport shirt or a certain kind of collar. It certainly does not if we undertake seismographic research directed toward determining whether or not we can effectively detect underground bomb blasts, for instance, that some of that research may be done by clerics at Georgetown University.

By the same criterion, it should not matter to us when we seek out persons

best qualified to carry out some aspect of the poverty program whether or not they are related to a particular church. The question is, Are they doing the job that we need and the job that the American people and the American Congress want?

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN] certainly raised an important point. The gentleman from Michigan says in his view this does not constitute any danger in church-State relationships. I would like to ask the gentleman from Alabama if he has any indication of any church that has used their relation with the poverty program in a way that he thinks unsound?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I thank the gentleman for his question.

May I say in response to the gentleman from Michigan that so far as I am concerned, whether a church is acting as an agent of the Federal Government or whether Federal funds are being employed in implementation of a church program, in either event it seems to me to be a union and a partnership which is unwise and which in my considered judgment is unconstitutional.

May I say further there have been at least to my knowledge 86 grants made to public corporations formed by churches and church implemented programs where Federal funds have gone into these programs and where they have been managed by a church group, however indirectly.

May I say, this certainly is an establishment of religion.

As a specific answer to the question of my colleague, the gentleman from Georgia, I would say, although I do not desire to point an accusing finger at any church, it is well to point out the danger in the union between church and state in this kind of program. By way of illustration, permit me to read the statement of a man whom I have known for years and whose integrity and character I can vouch for, Constable Jack Bailey of my own district. This is a statement that he made and had notarized and is in the form of an affidavit:

While carrying out my duties as constable of precinct 10 in Jefferson County, I encountered two young men going door to door. I had occasion to serve a civil process at one house at the same time that one of the boys was there.

First, he said that he was working with Operation Head Start. He then asked if anyone in the household was a member of a specific religion. He asked if any persons living there was interested in this particular religion and if they would accept some literature on the religion. He then asked for their names and addresses so that he might send additional literature. He then asked if all adults in the family were registered voters because he said he was helping on the voter registration drive.

I was working the same area and managed to approach another house just behind this person and heard the same story again. I then stopped him and talked with him. He said that his home was in Long Island, N.Y., and that he was in Birmingham for the summer. He said he worked on canvassing in the morning and at * * * (church) on Operation Head Start in the afternoon.

I prefer not to mention the name of the church.

That is signed and notarized and there will be a copy of this in the RECORD tomorrow.

Whether this is an isolated instance or just one example of a pattern across this Nation generally, I do not and cannot know. All I know is that there is grave danger when we take the risk that we have taken with the principle of separation of church and state and when we, by whatever means look lightly upon and deal lightly with the first amendment and the principle it embodies.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I would just like to say that the distinguished gentleman from Alabama is a distinguished minister in his own right and no one feels more strongly about this question than he.

I would certainly like to compliment him and point out, even if it is only an isolated instance, that there is extreme danger of a union of church and state in paying people with Federal funds who go out in the name of a church to solicit for that church.

No matter how worthy the church may be, or how worthy the cause, certainly each and every one of us should agree that Federal funds under this program should not be expended to help recruit for any church.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment and move to strike the requisite number of words.

I respect my fellow Baptist clergyman from Alabama. It is a well-known fact that we Baptists do not get along too well together, anyway. I am a Baptist clergyman.

Baptist bred and Baptist born, gonna go to heaven, and blow a Baptist horn.

I should like to read from the official guidelines of the OEO, the special conditions existing when a community action component is delegated to a church or church-related organization:

(a) None of the grant funds shall be used for the teaching of religion, for religious proselytization, or religious worship.

(b) There shall be no religious instruction, proselytization or worship in connection with any program supported in whole or in part by this grant.

(c) Admission to any of the programs supported by this grant shall not be based directly or indirectly on religious affiliation or on attendance at a church, church-related school or other church-related institution or organization. Affirmative steps shall be taken to make known the general availability of such programs in the area served.

(d) Participation in programs supported in whole or in part by this grant shall not be used as a means of inducing participation in sectarian or religious activities or of recruitment for sectarian or religious institutions.

(e) All materials, such as reading materials, used in programs supported in whole or in part by this grant shall be devoid of sectarian or religious content.

(f) Facilities renovated or rented for programs financed in whole or in part by this grant shall be devoid of sectarian or religious symbols, decoration, or other sectarian identification. Other facilities used primarily for such programs shall, to the maximum feasible extent, be devoid of sectarian or religious symbols, decoration, or other sectarian identification.

(g) Grant funds shall not be used in any manner to release funds regularly expended

by the church or church-related institution or organization. For example, grant funds shall not be used to pay in any part costs which would otherwise be incurred by the church or church-related institution or organization in its regular operation.

The grantee will, before executing a contract with any church or church-related institution or organization, submit the proposed contract to OEO for approval.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I have listened with great interest to the regulations of the Office of Economic Opportunity, just read for us by the chairman of the committee. It seems to me the very fact that such elaborate and detailed instructions and regulations exist bears rather eloquent proof of the fact which the gentleman from Alabama was trying to point out in offering his amendment; that the inherent possibility of abuse under this provision of permitting grants to church corporations and religious organizations is there, whether we like it or not. It is simply a fact of life that people do not always live up to the regulations.

I believe it is extremely important that we take a careful look, before we vote on this amendment, at the precise language of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama: "except that the Director shall make no grant to, and shall not contract with, any church or other religious body."

I do not believe the gentleman means to suggest by the amendment that we need to shut the churches out from participation in Project Head Start or community action programs or anything else. Let me give a specific example from my own home community of Rockford, Ill. Under title II application for a community action program was started under the aegis of a nonprofit corporation. One of the incorporators was a very prominent Unitarian minister in our community. He was active in the nonprofit corporation, which sought a planning grant under title II of the Economic Opportunity Act.

This should not invalidate the grant. This does not violate the principle of separation of church and state. This is the kind of participation I believe we can and should encourage on the part of the clergy, and on the part of organized churches. But it is a very different thing indeed when we go so far as actually to make a grant of money to a church or a church organization or group. This is what the gentleman is objecting to. This is what I believe, that if we are really interested in preserving this very salutary and important principle of separation between the church and the state, everybody in this Chamber ought to be able to agree with. I have been in this body now for going on 5 years, and I have watched, as some of you know, with growing concern the fact that little by little we are eating away and eroding the very basis of that doctrine. It is something of an anomaly that we have one branch of the Federal Government; namely, the Supreme Court of the United States, which by its decisions time and time again in interpreting the establishment of religion clause of the first amendment to the Constitution shows it is aware of this danger

and that it is determined that there shall not be a breaking down of the barriers between church and state. Yet in this Congress, when it comes time to legislate on this and other programs, we are very cavalier in our disregard of this doctrine and we make light of it and say that we have regulations and that the administrators have been instructed as to how to carry out a particular program and we should not worry about it. I think that the time has come for this Congress to write into the law the very simple, plain, clear, and unequivocal language proposed in this amendment and once again to reaffirm and reestablish what is an important and basic fundamental concept under our Constitution.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the necessary number of words.

(Mr. UDALL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. UDALL addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BUCHANAN].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. ROONEY of New York, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, had come to no resolution thereon.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have permission to revise and extend their remarks made in the debate today and to include extraneous matter and tables and charts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

HOOR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

WHERE ARE OUR ASIAN FRIENDS?

(Mr. JOELSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, since the hostilities in Vietnam are specifically for the purpose of aiding the people of Asia to avoid the danger of a Communist takeover, it is a matter of serious concern to me that most of the free nations of Asia as well as most of our so-called allies in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization are deliberately looking the other way.

At a time when we hear talk of calling up our own military reserves, we may well ask where are the troops of those Asiatic nations whose very fate will be determined by the outcome of the bloody struggle in Vietnam.

Where are the Philippine soldiers, or the Japanese, or the Pakistani? Where are the Indian troops who know intimately the danger of Red aggression? They are at home watching us protect Asia with American lives.

Not only would increased Asian participation buoy the morale of our own fighting forces, it would also indicate to the world, Communist and non-Communist alike, that the battle in Vietnam is to protect Asia itself, and that there is some desire upon the part of the people of Asia to resist Communist aggression.

I urge our State Department to face up to this situation, and persuade the governments of Asia to protect themselves.

MILITARY PAY RAISE

(Mr. SCHISLER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday H.R. 9075, to authorize a military pay raise, was considered and voted upon. I was unavoidably detained while in performance of my duties and my vote was, therefore, not recorded on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, had I been present at the time the vote was taken, I would have voted in favor of such pay increases.

PROFESSIONAL ATHLETIC TEAM OWNERS AND SPORTS FANS

(Mr. ROGERS of Colorado asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today for appropriate reference a bill which has been called for by the Supreme Court, professional athletic team owners and sports fans throughout the country. This bill is similar in many respects to bills which have been introduced in the past but have failed enactment largely as a result of a lack of time. The bill places the professional team sports of football, baseball, basketball, and hockey under the provisions of our antitrust laws. The bill then provides for specific exemptions which apply solely to the "sports" aspects of these ventures and not to the related business aspects.

Baseball has exempted from the antitrust laws as a result of two decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1922 in

Federal Baseball Club of Baltimore v. National League, 259 U.S. 200, the Supreme Court ruled that baseball was not a commercial enterprise so the antitrust laws did not apply. In 1953 in *Toole v. New York Yankees*, 346 U.S. 356, the Court affirmed this holding and stated:

We think that if there are evils in this field which now warrant application to it of the antitrust laws, it should be by legislation.

I shall not reiterate the numerous bills on which there have been hearings and passage by one body or the other since Supreme Court admonition, but I should like to point out the anomaly of baseball being generally exempted from the antitrust laws whereas the Supreme Court has included football—*Radovich v. National Football League*, 352 U.S. 443 (1957) and boxing—*United States v. International Boxing Corporation of New York*, 348 U.S. 236 (1955)—within the provisions of the antitrust laws. In addition to correcting this discrimination my bill makes four specific proposals which are essential to the continued success of professional sports enterprises. These exemptions provide that the antitrust laws would not apply to contracts, rules, or regulations of the various leagues or teams for:

First. Equalizing competitive player strengths;

Second. The employment, selection, or eligibility of players, or the reservation, selection, or assignment of player contracts, provided that each person who participates as an employer in a plan of selection of players or player contracts shall permit all other persons so engaged in the same professional sport at the same level to participate in such plan on an equitable basis;

Third. The right to operate within specific geographic areas; and

Fourth. The preservation of public confidence in the honesty of sports contests.

In addition to the exemptions which have been contained in most of the bills which have been introduced in the past, my bill provides a unique new feature which would require a common draft by all clubowners who participate in the same professional sport at the same level where the draft is used as a means of assigning rights to player contracts. The purpose of this amendment is to assist in the equalization of player strengths for all teams participating in the same sport at the same level. It would give the less wealthy teams in the professional sport equality with the more wealthy teams in the same sport in bidding for player personnel. The common draft is currently the practice in baseball and it should also be permissible for other sports enterprises without fear of antitrust implications.

I represent in Congress the heart of a large metropolitan area which has shown a strong resurgent interest in professional sports. That is one of the reasons—although certainly not the sole reason—that I have introduced a companion bill to S. 950, the sports bill being considered by the Senate.

My bill, as I have indicated, would go one step beyond S. 950, in that it would make mandatory, rather than merely authorize, a common draft of players by the two major football leagues—the Na-

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
NOT TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued July 23, 1965
For actions of July 22, 1965
89th-1st; No. 133

CONTENTS

Acreage allotments.....10	Feed grains.....10	Public Law 480.....4
Adjournment.....9	Foreign aid.....4	Purchasing.....17
Administrative provisions.....10	Housing.....2,8	Reclamation.....13,21
Animal research.....6	Land review commission...7	Recreation.....10
Appropriations.....8	Lands.....12,28	Regulatory practices...14
Balance of payments....19	Legislative program.....8	Research.....6
Bread tax.....20	Loans.....10,11	Surplus property.....27
CCC report.....5	Medicare.....8	Tobacco.....10
Cotton.....10,25	Natural resources.....18	Water pollution.....30
Dairy.....1	Patents.....29	Water resources.....32
Disaster relief.....11	Peanuts.....10	Water systems.....10
Economics.....26	Pesticides.....1	Weights and measures...23
Farm labor.....1,16,31	Platform.....22	Wheat.....3,10,20
Farm program.....3,15,22	Potatoes.....24	Wilderness.....21
	Poverty.....1	Wool.....25

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee reported the following bills: rural water facilities; diversion payments on acreage affected by disaster; implementation of International Wheat Agreement; Spruce Knob-Seneca Rocks recreation area; lease of tobacco allotments; and USDA administrative omnibus bill. Senate passed disaster relief bill. House passed bill to expand poverty program. Rep. Purcell defended wheat provisions of farm bill. Rep. Cooley praised USDA cotton and wool research programs.

HOUSE

1. POVERTY. Passed with amendments, 245 to 158, H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (pp. 17270-321, 17345-6). Rejected, 176 to 227, a motion by Rep. Quie to recommit the bill to committee (pp. 17319-20). The bill amends title III (Special Programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas) of the Economic Opportunity Act so as to make clear that the prohibition against loans to cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes does not prevent loans to cooperatives processing dairy products or similar edible farm products; to clarify the

authority granted with respect to the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which assistance may be extended to migrant workers and their families; and to authorize the appropriation of \$70 million for fiscal year 1966 for carrying out the purposes of title III.

Rejected the following amendments:

By Rep. Quie, to provide that all functions under title III (relating to rural areas) shall be transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture.
p. 17318

By Rep. Ayres, 150 to 155, which he stated would retain the existing veto power of State Governors over work-training projects and community action projects. pp. 17272-81

By Rep. Andrews, to bar political activity, threats, or favoritism from the community action programs. pp. 17289-91

By Rep. Quie, to provide that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall hold no other Federal position concurrently.
pp. 17300-1

A point of order was sustained against a proposed amendment by Rep. Sickles to extend from June 30, 1965 to June 30, 1967, authorization for indemnity payments to dairy farmers whose milk has been barred from the market because of residues of pesticides which had been approved by the Government.
pp. 17298-9

2. HOUSING. The "Daily Digest" states that conferees agreed to file a report on H. R. 7984, the housing and urban development bill (p. D689). At the request of Rep. Patman, unanimous consent was granted to file the conference report by midnight, July 23 (p. 17269).
3. FARM PROGRAM. Rep. Purcell defended the wheat provisions of the farm bill, and stated that increased wheat prices to farmers would permit them to purchase additional farm machinery and equipment which would benefit U. S. industry.
pp. 17351-2
4. FOREIGN AID; PUBLIC LAW 480. Rep. Halpern stated that he has "called upon the President to rescind his authorization to renew the remaining portion of our agricultural assistance program to the United Arab Republic." p. 17323
5. CCC. Both Houses received from the President the report of the Commodity Credit Corporation in which he reviewed accomplishments of CCC during the past 30 years. pp. 17269-70, 17163
6. RESEARCH. At the request of Rep. Harris, H. R. 9743, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, was re-referred from the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to the Agriculture Committee. p. 17325
7. LAND REVIEW COMMISSION. Rep. Aspinall resigned from, and Rep. Rogers, Tex., was appointed a member of, the Public Land Law Review Commission. p. 17269
8. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Rep. Albert announced that the conference reports on the housing bill and the medicare bill will be considered on Tues., and a continuing appropriations resolution will be considered on Wed. p. 17324
9. ADJOURNED until Mon., July 26. p. 17359

by Congressman ARENDS. I know that my brother and my family still feel deep gratitude for his consideration.

I am pleased to say that my experience with him since it has been my privilege to serve in the Congress has been a happy one. I am very grateful for the help he has rendered, as a former constituent of his on this side of the aisle.

His long and distinguished tenure in this body might be accepted by some unkind person as a major reason why I left Bloomington, Ill., and moved to Oregon, but I assure you that is not so, and I assure you that my parents are grateful for the distinguished service he has rendered to my former district over the years.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I should like to join the tributes to LES ARENDS. He has been a member of the NATO Parliamentarians Committee, of which I have had the honor to be chairman for a number of years. He has made a signal contribution to better understanding with our NATO allies. He is always genial and gracious on the floor. I am proud to have him for a friend.

I believe that a good part of his success in life he can attribute to his beautiful, gracious, and lovely wife, who came originally from my district. I am proud that we in eastern Ohio have been able to make that contribution to LES ARENDS.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the RECORD respecting LES ARENDS.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

CORRECTION OF ROLL CALL

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 144 and rollcall No. 170, quorum calls, I have just learned from the Clerk of the House of Representatives that I am recorded as absent.

I was present for these rollcalls, and in fact I am recorded on these same dates as being present and voting on other legislative matters.

I ask unanimous consent that the permanent RECORD and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality of the Committee on the Judiciary have permission to sit in executive session today during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. PELL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 195]

Arends	Mailliard	Rumsfeld
Ashley	Martin, Mass.	Scott
Bonner	Murray	Shipley
Bow	Pepper	Teague, Tex.
Evins, Tenn.	Pool	Toll
Halleck	Powell	Waggonner
Harvey, Ind.	Reid, N.Y.	White, Idaho
Karth	Rivers, Alaska	
Keogh	Roncalio	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 407 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

THE HOUSING BILL

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the conferees on H.R. 7984, the housing bill, have until midnight to file a report thereon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality of the Committee on the Judiciary have permission to sit this afternoon during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

RESIGNATION OF MEMBER OF PUBLIC LAND LAW REVIEW COMMISSION

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from the Public Land Law Review Commission:

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR
AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 22, 1965.

HON. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I have been elected as Chairman of the Public Land Law Review Commission. Under the provisions of Pub-

lic Law 88-606, the Chairman is the 19th member, selected by the 18 members whose composition is set forth in section 3(b), paragraphs (i), (ii), and (iii) of the law. I am therefore resigning as a member of the Commission from the House of Representatives appointed by you, effective July 22, 1965.

Sincerely yours,
WAYNE N. ASPINALL,
Chairman.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation will be accepted.
There was no objection.

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBER TO PUBLIC LAND LAW REVIEW COMMISSION

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 3, Public Law 88-606, the Chair appoints as a member of the Public Land Law Review Commission the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ROGERS] to fill an existing vacancy thereon.

REPORT OF THE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1964—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

To the Congress of the United States:

Thirty years ago, the Congress brought into being the Commodity Credit Corporation. In transmitting the report of this agency for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1964, as provided by section 13 of Public Law 806, 80th Congress, I feel it is appropriate to view, in summary, the three decades of the Corporation operations.

Over the past 30 years, the Commodity Credit Corporation has:

First. Enabled farmers to hold their crops for fair market prices.

Second. Minimized the depressing effect of surpluses by holding them off the market.

Third. Assured a stable flow of food to consumers, deterring inflationary pressures.

Fourth. Created a sound base for banks and other lending institutions which supply the credit needs of farmers.

Fifth. Provided in wartime the means of supplying our allies with food and fiber, and in the postwar period became the instrument which insured that food could also help keep the peace.

Sixth. Acted as the mechanism for executing the food-for-peace program, the International Wheat Agreement, and other similar international programs.

Seventh. Supported the rapid expansion of agricultural exports.

During fiscal 1964, the Commodity Credit Corporation reduced its investment in farm commodity inventories by more than \$380 million. The wheat inventory was reduced by about 275 million bushels, and the supplies of dairy products were brought down to manageable levels.

The Commodity Credit Corporation is a creature of legislation. Its ability to fulfill our objectives for the future is no greater than the strength of legislation enacted by the Congress. It can function best when farm commodity programs are responsive to the conditions which exist in the agricultural economy. If these programs are in tune with the times, the Commodity Credit Corporation can perform its proper functions for farmers and for the public.

The legislation which I proposed this year, and which is now before the Congress, will help the Corporation to carry forward the objectives it should fulfill in the coming decade. These objectives are:

To continue the financial progress of our farmers;

To further reduce the Corporation's costs by bringing stocks of farm commodities down to more manageable levels;

To assure an abundant supply of high-quality, reasonably priced foods without fear of severe price fluctuations for our consumers;

To cushion the forces of the revolution in farm productivity which enable output to far exceed our capacity for use by balancing the growth in farm output with our ever-expanding food and fiber requirements;

To use our abundance as a force for peace and progress;

To rely more upon the marketplace as the primary source of fair farm returns.

Instruments of public policy can weight the scales of economic justice on the side of those who are disadvantaged, but they should enhance—not supplant—the equal opportunity for each person to obtain a decent livelihood from our economic system.

The Commodity Credit Corporation has an important place among the instruments of public policy:

Without the programs for which it acts as fiscal agent, the income netted by farmers would decline by half.

Without adequate income, the family farm system which dominates our agriculture would die.

Without family farms, the vast abundance of food and fiber we all have come to expect as a natural condition of a highly productive economy would no longer be assured.

The Commodity Credit Corporation, as a visible expression of our commitment to abundance, continues to be a servant of all people. What began 30 years ago as an experiment to provide economic justice for the farmer has now become a tested instrument in the continuing experiment each generation performs to demonstrate the vitality of our democracy.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 22, 1965.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 8283 with Mr. ROONEY of New York in the Chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on yesterday, the Clerk had read through section 7 under line 18, page 4 of the bill.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this bill. Before commenting on the bill, I think it is appropriate to recognize the fine job that the great Committee on Education and Labor has performed in managing this bill and bringing it to the floor. I congratulate its distinguished chairman and other members. Mr. Chairman, we who have served in the House a long time are always reassured by the fact that whenever the occasion arises and duty calls, new Members rise to responsibilities of leadership in tune with the highest tradition of the House. I think all Members will join me in commending the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS], for the competent and dedicated management he has given to this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, the debate on this bill has been good. For the most part it has been constructive.

I do feel, however, that most of the criticism has related either to exceptional cases or to mistakes in administration.

We have heard that at one center a number of women got drunk and were dismissed. Of course, we did not hear about the thousands of young women who are using this program to further their education and to give themselves an additional chance in life. We heard, probably with some degree of humor, that someone was told, when calling somebody in the administration, that he or she should relax. Such an answer was perhaps uncalled for, but it certainly does not go to the question of the merits of this important legislation. I think my good friend from Minnesota talked yesterday about a telephone directory, whether the administration had one and if it had one, whether it was a good one. I am for telephone directories, I am for good telephone directories, but I really do not think that goes to the merits of this issue.

In my opinion, from what I know of this program, and I have examined it in my district and in my State, no program has done more in less time for humanity than the antipoverty program which we passed only a few months ago. This program is under the direction of one of the greatest and finest administrators in the Federal Government. He has proved that in his administration of the

Peace Corps program. He had to put this program on the track before he had set up his office establishment. Before he had organized his staff, he was receiving calls from thousands of people, from hundreds of communities across the land. That has been inevitable because it is a human relations program.

It is a program that goes to every part of the country and in which many, many citizens are interested. Give the Honorable Sargeant Shriver a chance, and I sincerely believe that when we come back here next year we will find this one of the best administered programs in the country. I think the affirmative side of this issue completely overshadows any mistakes that may have been made in administration.

The big thing about this program is that in the first year of its operation, several millions of our most unfortunate fellow citizens have been touched and have been given new hope—3,000 American communities have responded to the challenge to assist their poor.

Over 300,000 boys and girls have sought a new chance through the Job Corps and the job centers. Over 10,000 Americans have already been given this chance.

Over 1 million teenagers are already working through neighborhood youth centers.

Over 20,000 Americans have applied to participate in VISTA which is the American home variety of the Peace Corps. Hundreds of thousands of low income children are already enrolled in the Head Start program.

Over 10,000 American groups and individuals under the auspices of this program are creating new jobs and new businesses for the American poor.

In 9 months of operation, I have been advised that this program has helped nearly 6 million Americans in some aspect of their lives—and this is only the beginning.

I do not believe, Mr. Chairman, that I am speaking in pious platitudes when I say that this issue has a moral origin. I think the work that can be done through this bill, even if we attain only half of our goals, will be worth twice the money. I think it will strengthen American homes and American family life. I think it will help us to lift up individual American citizens. I think it is in line with the highest traditions and practices of our country. Certainly, it was that spirit—that emphasis on the individual and his dignity, that caused our forefathers to write the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Emancipation Proclamation. It was in that same spirit that we enacted last year the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is in the same spirit that we come here today. We believe that the great educational programs sponsored by President Johnson and supported in many instances on both sides of the aisle will help uplift individual Americans and will help to give dignity to the individual man. This it seems to me is the great thrust of the 89th Congress. If we do nothing more than to help those who need help the most to become self-respecting and self-support-

ing individuals who can hold their heads high among their fellows, history will vindicate the 89th Congress. Thousands who follow us for a hundred years will call us blessed and will say our job was well done.

Mr. Chairman, this is a good bill. This bill is right. This bill is just. This bill should be passed. This committee should be supported and I hope that this great new emancipation proclamation—emancipation from poverty and ignorance—will have resounding support from both sides of the aisle.

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(Mr. HARSHA asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks; and, by unanimous consent, was granted permission to speak for an additional 3 minutes.)

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Chairman, I should like to call the attention of the House to a proposal under this program which has been presented by the Community Action Organization of Scioto County, Ohio under the auspices and leadership of the United Consumers of Ohio.

This committee was first organized by designating certain people on the committee without their consent or knowledge. Then a number of meetings were called without advance notice to some members serving on the committee, and in some cases without adequate notice, so that many of those selected on the committee knew nothing of the meetings or knew nothing of the organizational procedure. Then everything—lock, stock and barrel—was turned over to the United Consumers of Ohio to direct, manage, and operate.

They have now presented the Office of Economic Opportunity with two programs.

First. They are going to conduct a survey of the impoverished people in the area, and they will start out with a staff director and secretary and two clerical aids, and they are going to have a salary of \$9,412. These will be supplied by the United Consumers of Ohio, I assume.

Second. This organization says in its brochure that the number of impoverished people can be ascertained from the census data, yet they are going to make this determination and charge the Federal Government a fee of \$6,250, representing \$1 for every impoverished family in the area. Apparently, they already know how many there are. They already have the data. As their brochure indicates, they will get this from census information, yet they are going to charge the Federal Government \$1 per family to make this determination and tabulation and to explain to the staff what this figure means.

This organization was organized as a nonprofit organization but considerable profits will be reaped by it if this application is approved.

The next program calls for a consumer education program. They are going to teach the poor people in this community how to spend their money.

I should like to make inquiry of the gentleman from Ohio, or possibly some Member on the other side, in regard to this.

Can the gentleman from California advise me whether the instruction of the poor people on how to spend their money is a proper function under this program? I thought that one of the problems was they did not have any assets or money to spend, that the purpose of the program was to teach them a vocation or trade so they would be able to sustain themselves. Why should money and effort be wasted teaching them how to spend something they do not have?

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARSHA. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. In answer to the gentleman's question, that is a part of the program, to educate poor people.

Mr. HARSHA. Education is one thing but instruction on how to spend your money which they do not have is another thing. It would seem to me they could better serve a purpose by teaching them vocations or giving them basic education, rather than instruction on how to spend something they do not have.

This is how they propose to go about it. They submitted a budget. It contains salaries of \$14,600. They set forth in their brochure that they are going to encourage neighborhood meetings and encourage that these meetings be held in the homes of the various individuals around, so that there will be a more intimate atmosphere and a less formal atmosphere and the necessity of travel will be eliminated. Yet they have in their proposal \$29,000 for travel. That is a lot of traveling in any neighborhood.

I am giving this as an example of how the taxpayer's money is going to be used.

They also have in their application \$50,000 for space cost and rentals, \$45,000 of which is for the rental of meeting places. There are in that community meeting places which are available free of charge, in sufficient numbers to be running out of their ears.

Who is going to get this \$45,000? Does the gentleman know the practice, in this procedure? Furthermore, if they are going to conduct these meetings in neighborhood homes as the summary of the proposal suggests why is it necessary to spend \$45,000 of the taxpayer's money for meeting places. Or is this money going to be used to compensate some politician for past or future favors?

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, it might be better if you were to ask that question of the other side of the aisle.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARSHA. Yes. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Has this application been approved?

Mr. HARSHA. No, sir. And in all fairness I should say I contacted the Office of Economic Opportunity and requested that they hold it up and make a further investigation, and they have done this.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I think, if the gentleman will yield further, the answer to his question is, if the review is made, much of what you are talking about will be eliminated.

Mr. HARSHA. I should certainly

hope so, but let me point out that they go on further in the program with \$28,000 for consumer supplies. I suppose that will be the material and the propaganda that the people will be served or indoctrinated with.

Now, here is an interesting item. Other costs, \$24,000. Included in these other costs are administrative overhead, personnel operating expenses of \$1,500 per unit for six units, which is a total of \$9,000, which this nonprofit organization, the United Consumers of Ohio, are going to get as a fee in addition to the salaries and other funds available to them in here. In addition to that, they have another item in the sum of \$8,200 which they represent as 10 percent for reserves in the event they have not figured their costs accurately.

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARSHA. Surely.

Mr. MOELLER. A moment ago the gentleman stated that this program had not been approved. It does not seem to add to the value of our discussion to deliberate on what someone has proposed. I know this same organization. It has been repudiated in my area of the State. It has attempted to solicit support to do the same thing in my congressional district, but it has been given a cold shoulder. It is an isolated case where someone thought he had a chance to get in on a program and make a little extra money. I am sure that your people are wise enough not to accept it and my people are wise enough not to accept it. Therefore, I do not feel it contributes anything to our discussion.

Mr. HARSHA. I disagree with my good friend from Ohio in this respect, because I think if we can call these cases to the attention of the OEO they will be placed on guard for some of the outlandish proposals and I hope will have the good judgment to deny any expenditures of this kind. Nor is this an isolated case because United Consumers of Ohio have indicated they will attempt similar programs in 10 Ohio counties—that is far from being isolated. It serves this purpose. At least it will put the Office of Economic Opportunity on guard for applications of this kind. If it is going to be done in 10 different instances, it will involve a lot of money. For example, they have \$8,250 in there for deviation costs. They have \$9,000 for fees on top of the \$6,200 for fees, on top of \$9,400 in salaries plus other items plus the \$45,000 for renting space. This is an unconscionable waste of the taxpayers' money. I hope that the Office of Economic Opportunity will look at this in the proper light. Certainly from this application the impoverished people of this area are not going to benefit any from this program whatsoever. In fact, the poverty stricken people are going to be the scapegoats of this, and some outfit like the United Consumers of Ohio will reap the profits. This one proposal alone involves over \$250,000 yet only a small part of this sum is ever going to reach the impoverished people—and that in the form of \$28,000 in consumable supplies.

This is a device for some enterprising concern not to make war on poverty but upon the poverty stricken. The poor

people are going to be completely disillusioned by these types of programs. The promises held out to these unfortunate people that this legislation will be such a great salvation are as empty as last year's bird nest.

I trust the OEO will have the good judgment to deny any concern the opportunity to reap such profits at the expense of the taxpayer and impoverished people of this Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further amendments to section 7, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 4, line 19:

"DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

"Sec. 8. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting 'of part B' before 'of title I' and (2) striking out 'and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission' and inserting in lieu thereof 'and such plan has not been disapproved by the Governor within thirty days of such submission, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part'."

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. AYRES

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. AYRES: Beginning with line 19 on page 4, strike out everything down through line 3 on page 5. And renumber the following sections accordingly.

(Mr. AYRES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to proceed for an additional 5 minutes.)

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, practically every member of the Committee has received a communication from his Governor. This is the so-called amendment that would restore the veto power to the Governors of our various States. It is a very simple amendment but it is certainly one of the crucial ones. It is important not only to the operation of this act but to the future direction of Federal-State relations.

The amendment merely retains the existing veto power of State Governors in two key programs under this act. Under the act, as it now stands, the Governor can veto the following projects in his State:

First. Location of a Job Corps camp or residential center.

Second. A work-training project known as the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Third. Community action project.

In addition, the Governor must approve of the sending of a list of volunteers into his State.

The bill, Mr. Chairman, for all practical purposes, destroys the veto power as applied to work-training projects and the community action projects.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. AYRES. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Will the gentleman tell me, as a member of the Committee, whether the amendment he proposes requires the Governor to exer-

cise the absolute power he is given pursuant to any criteria contained in his amendment or any part of the bill, or might the Governor simply exercise the veto because he did not particularly like the mayor of a particular city or city council or had some reason other than the purpose of this legislation?

Mr. AYRES. As the gentleman from Michigan knows, Sargent Shriver, the Director, said that he has gotten along very well with the program with the language that is in the present act. All my amendment does is leave the language as it is now in the act.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. That is not my question, if the gentleman will yield further.

Mr. AYRES. I understood the gentleman's question very well, and I am not about to say that your Governor or my Governor or any other Governor is going to make those decisions. If the gentleman will permit me to proceed, at the end of my statement perhaps we can have a discussion on that issue.

In fact, if the present language prevails this would remove the last vestige of control over the tangled, confused, and controversial community action programs.

This is not a partisan issue. As Governor King, Democrat, of New Hampshire, has pointed out, the mere existence of the veto power gives the Governor some leverage in assuring that these vast new Federal programs do not conflict with and injure the existence of the efforts in such vital fields as education and public health and welfare.

As Governor King put it:

The existence of the veto power has already made it possible to tailor projects to specific needs of New Hampshire.

The veto has been used only a few times, the first use having been made by President Johnson's good friend, Governor Connally, of Texas. Let me emphasize this point. The President of the United States did not oppose tampering with the veto power, nor for that matter did Sargent Shriver, who told members of our committee that he could administer these programs with or without the veto power as it is found in the act.

This amendment was adopted by our committee on motion of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS], who, as far as I can determine, was acting only for himself.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Would the gentleman care to state to the House the grounds on which the Governor of Texas exercised his veto power, and tell the House whether he thinks this is a proper exercise of the veto and that we should do nothing about it in the House?

Mr. AYRES. I have no way of knowing what motivated the Governor of Texas to veto the program.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. If the gentleman will yield further, the gentleman does have a way of knowing. It is a matter of public knowledge and record.

Mr. AYRES. If the gentleman from California knows why the Governor of Texas vetoed it, I would ask the gentle-

man to explain why he vetoed it since the Governor is a member of his party and not a member of mine.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I do not say that everyone in my party is always right. But in this particular instance the Governor very clearly exercised his veto in a manner which had nothing to do with the merits of the project but which unfortunately had racial overtones and therefore had nothing to do with the basic rightness of the project itself.

It seems to me we should find language—and I believe the committee has found such language—so as to make sure that the veto must be within the concept of the bill and the rightness of the project.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I think we ought to set the RECORD straight on this. As I have looked at the Governor of Texas' veto, he raised the question of the Farmers' Union having a Neighborhood Youth Corps program. He looked at this organization as too political to handle a Neighborhood Youth Corps program.

Mr. Chairman, the Governor of Montana has done the same thing for the same reason.

This it seems to me is a question for the Governor to decide. If he feels that the organizations are too political in their States, that is their business. The law now only says that no political party should be running any of these programs.

But if the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] could see any racial overtones in the Farmers' Union, I surely fail to see any of it. The Governor of Texas' veto had nothing to do with the interracial balance of the project.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I think the gentleman will find in all of the comment that has been made about it, it was done primarily because the Farmers' Union project was going to be a biracial project and that, therefore, it was opposed not because it was the Farmers' Union project but because the Farmers' Union project followed a nonbiased basis all the way through.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. There is just no proof whatsoever about that.

There have been projects accepted in State after State in the South that are interracial. In fact the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity would not be doing his duty if he permitted any project to be set up that was not interracial.

Mr. Chairman, to claim that the Governor is going to veto every project that is interracial just is not true.

You can throw out the suspicions all the time and start waving the racial flag and thereby condemn every southerner just because he is a southerner. I think we should get over that attitude. We now

see many Federal programs that are interracial in the South.

Mr. Chairman, we passed a civil rights law last year and I think most southerners have made the decision that they are going to live by the law. But just to condemn them because they happen to come from the South, I do not feel is fair at all.

Mr. AYRES. The gentleman from Minnesota has pinpointed the issue very clearly. All programs financed under this act must be racially integrated and must be nondiscriminatory. It is required by the Civil Rights Act. Furthermore, each of the Governors who has exercised a veto power has also declined to veto other programs under this act, all of which are nondiscriminatory and all of which are racially integrated in their operation.

Governor Smylie, of Idaho, chairman of the Republican Governors' conference, has sent me a copy of the resolution that was adopted on May 5 in which the Governors who are Republicans support our amendment to restore the veto power.

Yesterday I had the privilege of talking again with my friend from California, Governor Brown, and I thank the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] for making it possible for me to have a little chat with him.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me at that point?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. I want to point out that the gentleman is certainly correct, that our very fine Governor of California, whom I believe is a very fairminded Governor and is doing a great service for the people of California, in testifying before our committee on the Minimum Wage Act amendments, the question was brought up as to how he felt about the Governors' veto power being repealed under the Poverty Act. The Governor stated, and I quote him:

Now, I know this may not be the position of my colleagues on the Democratic side, but I think it would be fundamentally wrong to take away the Governors' veto power.

Mr. AYRES. I thank the gentleman from California. The Governor said practically the same thing to me. In fact, he said, "Congressman, I hope your amendment prevails."

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I am authorized to say on behalf of the Governor of California that he did not realize in his statement that there was a provision in the bill as written. He has authorized me to say he fully supports the provisions of the bill as written in spite of the remarks he made before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard. Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment and, like my friend from Ohio, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Chairman, I regret very much having had to object to the request of my friend from Ohio, but some of us on our side of the aisle also want to have the opportunity to address ourselves to this particular amendment.

At the outset, let me say a word about the statement that has just been made by the gentleman from Ohio with respect to the position of the President of the United States and with respect to the position of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity on the question of the Governor's veto. I can say to my friend from Ohio that night before last I had a conversation with the President of the United States in which he indicated his full support of the committee bill as written. I can also say to the gentleman from Ohio that, when I introduced my amendment providing for a modification of the Governor's veto, I did so with the full knowledge and support of Mr. Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. So I want to be very clear that the inference of the gentleman from Ohio that neither the President nor Mr. Shriver supports the committee bill is not accurate.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio and in doing so I want to say a word about the law as it now stands.

The present act provides that a Governor may veto any program or project of assistance proposed to be undertaken in his State by the Office of Economic Opportunity in conjunction with any public agency or any private institution or organization other than an institution of higher education.

The veto power, the absolute veto power, in the present law affects the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the community action program, the adult basic education program, the VISTA volunteers, and the Job Corps. The veto power as it is in the act is total and absolute and extends to every section of the act. The committee amendment to the act, section 8, provides that applications for programs or projects by local communities for a community action program, Neighborhood Youth Corps, or adult basic education program must still be submitted to the Governor of that State for his approval. The Governor has 30 days within which to express an opinion on the program. If the 30-day period ends without the Governor having expressed disapproval of the program, it goes into effect. In those rare cases where a Governor should decide to disapprove a program, under the committee amendment, it must be reviewed and reconsidered by the Office of Economic Opportunity in light of the comments of the Governor, if he has made any. He is

not, under the present act, required to give any reasons whatsoever for his veto. Under the committee bill, however, where the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity finds reason to support a Governor's disapproval, then the application will be denied. Where, however, after review of the facts, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity makes the determination that the application is fully consistent with the law and with the purposes and policies of the act, then those projects and proposals may be permitted to go forward in spite of the Governor's disapproval.

I want to reiterate, Mr. Chairman, that this review of the Governor's veto applies only to the community action program, the adult basic education program, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps program.

The committee amendment in no way changes the existing absolute veto power of the Governor with respect to the Job Corps program or the VISTA volunteers.

Now, Mr. Chairman, our committee came to the point of view that the Governor should be provided with an effective voice concerning programs going on within his State. The committee recognizes that Governors may have knowledge, information, insight, and wisdom as to the desirability of particular projects and recognizes that Governors should have an opportunity to address themselves to any problems these projects may present to that State under State law. It understands that the Governors should have a method which enables them to bring their knowledge, competence, and prestige to bear on these programs.

The committee amendment allows for all of these factors while at the same time closes existing avenues of possible abuse under the present law under section 209(c). It affords us a method of review of vetoes that might be arbitrary, capricious, or discriminatory. It protects the right of local communities to a self-determination that is consistent with the policy of State and local law throughout this Nation and with the Economic Opportunity Act.

Now this retention by State Governors of their power to approve or disapprove the establishment of Job Corps centers and the assignment of VISTA volunteers to their particular States never came into contention in our committee.

The committee felt that the involvement of Governors in the decisions affecting applications for Job Corps centers and for VISTA volunteers present considerations substantially different from those applicable to the veto as it now stands under section 209(c).

Let me make my point clear.

In the case of the VISTA program, volunteers are trained and selected at Federal expense and even after assignment or referral retain a special Federal status—they come from outside the community to conduct a Federal program. This status, and the possible need for a special check by the States, has not been in issue and was recognized in the original bill submitted by the administration last year.

Secondly, in the case of the Job Corps centers these programs also involve a direct Federal activity as distinguished

from assistance to local programs or community agencies. A Governor's veto power over Job Corps programs in no way impinges upon the normal legal or governmental framework within the State. It does not operate to transfer to the Governor control over any matter which would normally be assigned elsewhere by State law.

To a great degree, Mr. Chairman, the committee amendment as it is now written provides for a return to orthodoxy. It was primarily concern for the traditional, constitutional, and statutory relationships of Governors to State officers, such as educational officials, and to communities within the State that convinced the members of the committee of the need to amend the act. The Governor's power with respect to adult basic education programs under title II-B of the act is a good example. Inasmuch as that program operates under the traditional State plan scheme and since the plan is prepared by the State education agency, the Governor's influence will sometimes control and will always be felt. The committee felt that power to exercise the veto in some States operated to shift legal power or responsibility for education programs to an official—the Governor—other than the one designated by State law, such as the director of the State education agency.

Of primary concern to the committee, however, was the unlimited power of the Governor to veto programs and projects under title II-A of the act, community action programs.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let me cite five major reasons why our committee was disturbed with the Governor's absolute veto power over essentially local, community oriented programs as distinguished from the essentially Federal programs, the Job Corps and VISTA volunteers.

First, as the gentleman from Michigan [Mrs. Ford] pointed out—and I note he failed to get any response to the question he directed to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ayres]—there are no standards and there are no criteria established under present law for the exercise of the veto. The law in its present form does not prescribe any criteria to be followed by the Governor in the course of his decisionmaking. The power of the Governor under section 209(c) is absolute. It may be exercised without any of the restrictions or restraints that would have been reasonably provided by a State legislature drafting a similar State statute and seeking to satisfy the concern of representatives anticipating its possible use in connection with programs in their own communities.

Second, the Governor's power of control over these federally assisted programs is far greater than that which they enjoy with respect to action of their own State governments. In some States, the Governor has no veto at all, but there is no State where the Governor's veto of the legislative process cannot be reversed by the State legislature. Nor can the Governor of any State veto the action of a city or municipality acting within its charter or conducting admittedly local affairs. In States with home rule provi-

sions in their constitutions, not even the State legislature could confer the kind of power over essentially local matters which the Congress has provided Governors in 209(c) as now written.

So the committee felt that the veto power in the hands of the Governor would give him a control over local programs and local affairs, over which, under State law, he normally would have no direct control and for which he is not responsible.

Third, the veto power as it is now written in the present law is without precedent in any Federal program where Federal assistance is given without a State contribution to the local community project. There are now many programs under which the Federal Government and a municipality interact with one another directly.

I refer, for example, Mr. Chairman, to such programs as community facilities, urban renewal, public housing, and Federal aid to airports. We do not give the Governor a right to veto an urban renewal project. This is because it is essentially a local community project.

A Governor's veto power, we all understand, would in no way contribute to the advancement of such essentially local programs and indeed might inhibit their effectiveness.

Fourth, the existence of an absolute veto in the hands of a Governor was deemed by the committee to be inconsistent with the philosophy of the Anti-poverty Act. To take a case in point, the community action program is based on the thesis, as the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. Hawkins] said so eloquently yesterday in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Quie], that broad-based and representative bodies of public and private agencies and organizations can best determine the needs of their own community, assess and coordinate local resources, and determine the best program for the eradication of poverty in their area. The Governor's absolute veto over local antipoverty programs is contradictory to this approach.

Fifth, the present veto allows completely arbitrary action. The veto could be based on prejudice, political rivalry, misunderstanding, or whim. It could be exercised for any reason, or no reason. Individual Governors, therefore, have it within their power to frustrate the purposes and policies of the act.

Rather than attempt to define the criteria which would govern the exercise of the gubernatorial veto, the committee devised the review process now in section 8 of H.R. 8283. This provision prevents only arbitrariness. If the Governor uses his power under State laws to limit a community program, it will not be because we have provided him with a license to do so. Review will provide the sort of balance that has proved so valuable in maintaining the democratic process.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio is defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Indiana has expired.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate that my very good friend from California mentioned the fact that he had a private conversation with Governor Brown, of California. I certainly would have no reason to doubt his explanation of it.

However, I wish to point out that before the committee Governor Brown made it very clear he opposed the elimination of the Governor's veto. Further than this, another member of the committee subsequent to this, while the Governor was still testifying, brought up the question as to specifically whether the Governor or other members of the committee understood the way the bill would be applied, and Governor Brown said nothing, or said nothing to indicate that he did not. I immediately attempted to clarify the matter to the Governor and the other members of the committee, and no comment was made by the Governor to the committee to the effect that he did not understand how the Governor's veto operated.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. I should like to ask the gentleman from Indiana how his own Governor feels about this veto?

Mr. BRADEMAS. I am delighted to be able to tell the gentleman from New York, my very good friend, with whom I have worked on many bills, that the Governor of Indiana, a great Democrat, a distinguished Governor, Roger Branigin, fully supports the committee bill as written.

I might say further to the gentleman from New York that on the 13th of May, I believe it was, when I offered my amendment to this bill the first time, the committee adopted the amendment.

On the 20th of May, in committee, I offered a modification of my original amendment, the modification was adopted and is now to be found in the committee bill which we are discussing.

The Governor of Indiana, Mr. Branigin, sent me a telegram on the 20th of May in which he said that he was opposed to a ban on the Governor's veto. His telegram to me came in the afternoon after we had already adopted the modified amendment that same morning. I thereupon wrote a letter to Governor Branigin explaining the modification of the original amendment.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I decline to yield.

Mr. BRADEMAS. I would like to answer the gentleman's question.

Mr. BELL. I believe you have answered the gentleman's question.

Mr. BRADEMAS. I am saying the Governor of Indiana fully supports the committee amendment in H.R. 8283.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Have I answered the question clearly?

Mr. QUIE. I thank the gentleman from California for yielding.

In respect to the claims that certain individuals support the bill, of course they support the bill, but that does not

mean they would not support the bill if the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio were adopted.

The Director of the program, Mr. Shriver, was before the minority one day and he said that he did not care how it was. He said, "Congress can make up its own mind." Let us permit Congress to make up its own mind on something, for once.

I might say, if the Congress wants the governors to have the veto, I think this is the inducement we ought to make. Just because the Governors exercised their veto in the last year shows there is some value to this proposal. If nobody had used it at all, perhaps there would not have been any value at all to it.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to pay any tribute to the administration of this poverty program in Illinois, but I do want to support our Governor of Illinois, who sent me a telegram, which reads as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL.,
May 18, 1965.

Hon. ROBERT McCLORY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I strongly oppose amending the Economic Opportunity Act to delete the power of the Governor to veto certain projects proposed under the program. The veto power is imperative if we are to have proper cooperative effort and if we are to insure proper implementation of the program.

OTTO KERNER,
Governor.

In reply I sent him this communication.

MAY 20, 1965.

Hon. OTTO KERNER,
Governor, State of Illinois,
Springfield, Ill.

DEAR GOVERNOR: I appreciate having your telegram stating your opposition to amending the Economic Opportunity Act to delete the power of the Governor to veto certain projects under the program.

I strongly support your position in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT McCLORY,
Member of Congress.

I think the Governor has expressed himself very wisely, and it is consistent with our system of government. He happens to be a Democrat, but he is a good friend of mine and I respect his judgment on this issue. I have stated to him that I would support a retention of his authority to veto as it is in the bill at the present time.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

While I oppose this particular amendment proposed by the gentleman from Indiana, I cannot help but think that it is quite appropriate that it would come before the Congress. We have all manner of things which are not really so. We have tax increases which are not tax

increases. We have reciprocal trade which is not reciprocal trade. We have tax cuts which are not really tax cuts. We have Federal aid to education without control but with all forms of control in it. I think it is very appropriate that we should have a veto here which is not a veto.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS].

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Chairman, I simply cannot resist the observation that Members on the other side are fond of quoting Governors who agree with them, but when the Governors do not agree with them, they make an argument that Congress should use its own discretion in these matters. I want to reiterate, to be as clear as possible, that the Governor of Indiana specifically supports the committee amendment as it is written in the bill, because I called his office and asked him if he did.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Yes. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, may I use this time to correct the RECORD, as it has been confused by the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL]. As he indicated, during the hearings on the wage bill in the House Education and Labor Committee, the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] posed a question to the Governor concerning the poverty program and asked whether or not the Governor of the State of California agreed that there should be a Governor's veto. That is all he asked. The Governor, not realizing that the committee did not take away the veto, said "I do agree there should be a gubernatorial veto." That is all he said. At that point I asked for recognition and, also being told I was out of order as much as the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL], I proceeded to ask the Governor whether or not he realized the committee bill did not take away the Governor's veto but merely provided for a review by the administration, and he said no, he did not. Before he could explain any further, the chairman rightfully ruled both the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] and myself out of order, because this was merely a question used in order to trap the Governor without fully presenting and faithfully presenting the question as it should have been presented and in a hearing not on the poverty subject at all. I think it is unfair for the answer given by the Governor to be so used today, when certainly I think the opposition knows they are not presenting the full facts as to what actually happened in our committee.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I think I have about one moment left, and I would like to make a brief statement before I yield any further.

The essence of what we are talking about here can be found in the committee report on page 13, where it says:

What Congress has done in section 209(c) is to confer upon the Governors more power

of control over a federally assisted program than the Governors enjoy with respect to State action of their own governments.

In other words, we have given the Governors power to inject themselves into the local affairs of cities throughout this country, in the spending of money raised by local taxation, in a way that the laws and constitutions of the several States of this country would prohibit. The committee bill will correct this error made in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and restore once again to the cities, the sovereignty which they enjoy with respect to the spending of the money they raise through local taxation.

To give you an example, in my State of Michigan we have a Governor who has played fast and loose politics with the poverty program. As a matter of fact, he does it not only in the State of Michigan but throughout the country. He is currently engaged in building a national image of himself, so he talks one way the about poverty program in New York and another way about it in the State of Michigan. And within the State itself he talks differently. He is a conservative when he is in Cadillac, Mich., and a liberal when he is in Livonia, Mich. But in any event he has been sniping at the program outside of the State of Michigan ever since it was enacted, while taking credit within the State of Michigan for everything the program is doing.

Quite recently he went to the city of Detroit which has about \$10 million of projects under way, \$1 million of which represents the tax money of the people of the city of Detroit—raised under their city charter, voted by them and levied against themselves and collected from them, and ostensibly to be spent by their city council. The Governor of the State of Michigan had before him a proposal to retrain 1,800 Detroit policemen. He stated to a newspaper reporter in Lansing—and I quote from the Detroit News:

Romney said a State Governor can veto a project but, once it has been approved, has little control over its operation.

The article also said, quoting the Governor:

I am concerned about some things I hear about a few projects in the State being used for purposes other than poverty.

And then the article goes on to say the Governor was reluctant to identify the projects. We finally discovered what he was doing. He was threatening Mayor Cavanagh, of Detroit, with the veto of a program to retrain 1,800 police officers unless the mayor of the city of Detroit made specific provisions in the city's plans for this training.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] has expired.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I just simply want to support what my colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS] said, and in further support of what was said about the Governor of Michigan and by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr.

BRADEMAS]. When Governor Brown was asked this question it was not made clear to him what was in the bill, in any way, shape, or form and it was not a germane subject matter to the hearing. He was caught completely by surprise, I am sure inadvertently, by my good friends on the other side of the aisle who did not mean to do this, but that is what happened.

I want to say that he has been a supporter of the local programs, and I think he did not realize, as he said shortly afterward, that all that was being taken away was the unlimited veto of the community action programs, and that the Job Corps veto remained. He was very happy to abide by the result of the committee's action and support the committee's amendment.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, to pursue the program in Detroit just a little bit further. I would like to point out that the police retraining program is a 90-10-percent program; 90 cents out of every dollar coming from the appropriations that you gentleman in this Congress authorize as Representatives to the Federal Government's legislative body, and 10 percent of the cost of that program, or the entire balance, comes from the taxpayers of the city of Detroit. These funds must be appropriated by the duly elected local officials of the city council. But the Governor of the State of Michigan is telling the mayor of the city of Detroit and the common council of the city, not only what kind of program he will permit them to spend the local tax dollars on, but he is telling them in specific detail that unless the specific training of the police officers follows the exact course that he dictates from Lansing he will exercise a veto.

So I will say to the Members of this body, on the other side of the aisle, that they are kidding when they try to talk about the specific vetoes that have in fact been exercised, because that is only part of the iceberg that was above the water. The part that is sinking the ships of progress in the local communities is the implied threat by the Governors of some of the States of this country, who are playing politics with poverty, and who are using this to subvert the true purpose of the act, and take away from locally elected officials the power that the people have conferred upon them by election.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I thank the gentleman. I realize because I am not a member of the committee it is difficult to secure time so as to participate in this debate.

Mr. GOODELL. I think a short answer to the statement made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD] is the fact that we have a veto from the Governor of Texas who is not a

Republican. I think among the vetoes that we have had is one by Governor Wallace, of Alabama, and he is not a Republican. It comes I feel rather in bad grace from the gentleman from Michigan to accuse the Republican Governors of using politics. I would further point out that the Democratic Governors have been beseeching us just as the Republican Governors have in support of this veto, and are on record in favor of retaining the veto so that they will have some role through their State agencies in these programs.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I thank the gentleman.

(Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, in spite of the clarification, and the reclarification of the position of the Governor of California, I am still not sure how he would feel about the language proposed by the committee.

In any event, I would like to direct the attention of the members of the committee to the fact that at the western Governors' conference, held at Portland, Oreg., in June—and I assume the Governor of California is a member of that conference—there was a strong statement adopted in favor of retaining the Governors' veto which reads in part as follows:

If the States are to remain as active parties, it is vital that they retain their present power to approve or veto the various projects under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The gentleman from Indiana pointed to some serious flaws—what he considers to be serious flaws—in the present veto power of the Governor.

I would suggest that the committee amendment does not correct any of those flaws.

He admits—and I would fully support him—that the State Governors should be provided with an effective voice in the formulation and execution of these federally financed programs which we are not now providing. Surely we are not providing governors with an effective voice through the veto power. Admittedly, it is a very crude power but it is certainly better than nothing.

Mr. Chairman, I feel very strongly that the only way—whether they use an implied veto or an active veto—that there can be any kind of meaningful participation by the States is to maintain and perhaps improve the veto power.

Mr. Chairman, it is essential that we recognize that a serious problem is involved here which does need attention and improvement.

The gentleman from Oklahoma, the majority leader [Mr. ALBERT], made a very eloquent statement about the fact that he has not heard much criticism regarding the merits of this legislation. I trust that he is still listening to what is being said. We are, I hope, making some very meaningful suggestions about what needs to be done.

I fail to understand how wrapping ourselves in the American flag accomplishes very much. It is not enough simply to say because this money is doing

somebody some good we need not look with care at the kinds of programs we are financing.

As a case in point, the gentleman from Oklahoma says that nearly 6 million Americans are being benefited one way or the other because of what has been done thus far. The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity disagrees very sharply with the gentleman about the numbers benefited. In a letter to me only a few days ago Mr. Shriver, in what I thought was patting himself on the back, suggested that perhaps nearly 3 million were being benefited. I put this particular letter from Mr. Shriver to me in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on July 12. It appears on page A3681 of the Appendix on that day.

Obviously, we could get into some real differences of opinion about what is actually being done in behalf of those in need, and also how much is going toward lining the pockets of those who do not need it.

In this discussion of what constitutes a reasonable role for the State governments and, of course, the local governments, we are hitting on a very fundamental objection to the change in the law as is being proposed by the committee.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I would emphasize that in the debate last year the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] led the forces on this side of the aisle who were trying to do more than just put in what we considered to be a rather negative and sterile approach to States rights. We did not like simply telling the States that the only power they had was the veto program. We wanted the States to have a positive power in order to cooperate in developing these programs from the beginning.

We still hold to this position. Yesterday an amendment was offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] that would have brought the States in at an early stage in a positive and constructive way. The only power in the States, as the legislation stands, is through this veto power. It is being utilized. The gentleman from Michigan made the point it is being utilized. The reason it is being done in that way is because it is the orderly way to do it.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close at 1:15.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close at 1:15.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Montana [Mr. OLSEN].

(Mr. OLSEN of Montana asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I want to point out that this amendment should be defeated for the reason it is giving a power to the Governors such as was used in Montana in violation of

the act. The Governor of Montana said he would not approve a particular project because it would place Federal funds in the hands of a nonprofit organization.

Granting the veto power is giving the opponents of this program another opportunity to sabotage this program—another opportunity to sabotage America.

In June of this year, the Governor of Montana vetoed a neighborhood youth corps program sponsored by the Farmers Union. There was not just that private nonprofit organization included, but many local municipalities and small nonprofit charitable organizations; 1,200 young men and women were to have jobs; \$563,100 was to be the payroll.

What happened?

The veto has kept 1,200 young men and women idle all summer.

Some of them were dropouts who could have earned and learned and perhaps returned to school.

But no.

The Governor said, "No."

His flimsy reason? He "didn't think a private organization should be entrusted with Federal and State funds."

Despite the will of Congress, he vetoed. He did not criticize the project.

In the following days, he granted to a private, nonprofit organization the management and expenditure of Federal and State funds of the public health care Kerr-Mills program.

But no—for 1,200 youths.

They still are idle—they walk the streets.

Oh, yes, now he has become the chameleon who would change his colors and petition for a program. But June 30 went by—the end of a fiscal year—a program vetoed.

He knows he cannot save the destruction he wrought for this summer.

Please, folks, do not give the opponents another cut at this program.

I wish to express my strong support for the bill as written and submitted, and subscribe to the statements of my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS], which would give the Director of the OEO the power to overrule the veto of a State Governor on any OEO project.

All of the recipients of this program would have come from families with incomes below \$3,000 annually. Our great Nation can hardly afford to miss the opportunity to do away with this type of waste.

The veto by the Governor of my State has stirred up an extensive protest over the State. By permission heretofore granted, I would like to enter into the RECORD at this point editorials from the Great Falls Tribune of Great Falls, Mont., and the People's Voice, of Helena, Mont., which do a fine job of expressing the extent of the dissatisfaction of the people of my State with the action of the Governor:

[From the Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune,
June 23, 1965]

**GOVERNOR BABCOCK'S VETO DASHES HOPES
1,200 YOUTHS HAD FOR SUMMER JOBS**

A harsh note of disapproval rang out from the Governor's office in Helena Monday. The sound dashed the hopes about 1,200 young Montanans had to get summer jobs.

Gov. Tim Babcock announced Monday afternoon he had decided to disapprove a proposed Farmers Union Neighborhood Youth Corps. If he had approved the proposal, youths from 16 to 21 participating would have drawn \$563,100 in summer wages. The money would have been contributed by the Federal Government's war on poverty program.

Some of the 1,200 young persons who had hoped to earn money this summer to help pay high school and college expenses may get other jobs. They will if they are lucky. A high percentage of them won't because jobs for the young simply aren't dangling from trees in this age of growing automation. Several thousand youthful Montanans will be glad to tell the Governor they are ready, willing, and able—and still without jobs.

About 200 young persons the Farmer Union program would have helped are high school dropouts. The sponsors hoped these dropouts would learn and earn enough this summer to encourage them to return to school. Many dropouts this program might have helped may never return to school. We wonder if the Governor thought about how many dropouts the program might have helped will wind up spending much of their future on welfare and unemployment rolls. Those are the destination points for the unskilled and uneducated as automation advances.

"My most important reason for denying approval is my belief that no private organization should be granted the authority to administer and spend Federal or State funds," the Governor explained.

The Governor, who has the reputation of looking askance at most Federal programs, said if the Neighborhood Youth Corps proposal had been made by school district, city or county that he would have approved it without hesitation.

Governor Babcock said he had received full information on the Farmers Union proposal only Monday morning. He vetoed it that afternoon.

The Farmers Union proposal was approved by the Federal Government June 8. News about the proposal was published many weeks before that. On June 11, the Farmers Union asked for a speedup in the Governor's consideration. A Governor's aid complained then that the Governor needed more information before acting.

On a program as significant as one that promises to provide summer jobs for 1,200 young Montanans, we think the Governor's office could take advantage of the telephone to query the Farmers Union or the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. He could have saved the State a long distance call last week when he was in Washington appealing for the atom smasher plant.

If the Governor had deep convictions against any private organization having the authority to administer and spend Federal or State money, he should have announced that earlier. We think he should have taken the leadership his office gives him to encourage governmental units to set up Neighborhood Youth Corps.

It takes a great deal of time to set up a program even to apply for Federal support of a Neighborhood Youth Corps. Much of the summer will have vanished before programs could be organized now to provide summer work for as many youths as the Farmers Union program would have helped.

That's the tragedy connected with Governor Babcock's veto. There'll be a lot of youthful idle hands this summer because of the veto.

[From the People's Voice]

GOVERNOR HAS NO COMPASSION FOR PEOPLE

The lack of compassion for the needs of young people exhibited by Montana's Governor last week when he vetoed the Farmers' Union-sponsored neighborhood youth corps

program, has drawn both sharp condemnation and a smattering of praise. Some examples:

The Missoulian, a staunch backer of the Governor, bluntly stated in its editorial headline, "Babcock Makes a Bad Decision," and charged that "the Governor's action was politically based and hard to justify. The point of the youth program is not who handles it but the young people involved."

Continuing, the Missoulian said that "the Farmers' Union project would have brought \$563,100 in summer pay for rural young people in this State. Now the 1,200 youngsters who would have benefited must find something else to do. In many cases that will mean idle whiling away of time, time that could have been spent learning and working and earning. Idleness breeds delinquency * * *. In balance, the decision was a bad one."

The Great Falls Tribune editorially condemned Babcock's negative action, pointing out that he had "dashed the hopes about 1,200 young Montanans had to get summer jobs," and noted that of the 1,200 about 200 of those who would have been helped are high school dropouts. "The sponsors hoped these dropouts would learn and earn enough this summer to encourage them to return to school * * *. We wonder if the Governor thought about how many dropouts the program might have helped will wind up spending much of their future on welfare and unemployment rolls. Those are the destination points for the unskilled and uneducated as automation advances."

As to the Governor's excuse for delaying action on the program due to lack of information, the Tribune pointed out that the Federal authorities had approved the proposal June 8—some 14 days before the veto, and that "on a program as significant as one that promises to provide summer jobs for 1,200 young Montanans, we think the Governor's office could" have taken "advantage of the telephone to query the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. He could have saved the State a long-distance call last week when he was in Washington appealing for the atom smasher plant."

Sharp disappointment was also expressed in Thompson Falls by State Representative Henry Gill and Mayor Orin Kendall, and the editor of the Sanders County Ledger summed up the effect of the veto in a terse statement that "the Governor's refusal to approve the project thus knocked out work for at least 34 youths in the Thompson Falls area." Mayor Kendall emphasized that the project would not only have given young people something to do, but would have made possible city beautification and other works for which the town does not have funds in its regular budget.

State Democratic Chairman Fred Barrett opined that "if the Governor spent some time in his office thinking about the problems of young people and less time dreaming of his political ambitions for the U.S. Senate, our young people wouldn't be forced to leave our State to seek employment opportunity."

"Babcock's action," he continued, "again shows how far he is from the mainstream of political thinking in the United States and how unqualified he is for public office." In a final thrust he charged that "it is certainly unfortunate that our chief executive's callous attitude has deprived our youth of summer jobs that are so desperately needed."

Barrett's statement brought forth a half-hearted defense of the Governor by Republican State Chairman Mel Engles, who avoiding the crucial youth unemployment problem in Montana, said that Barrett's "ill-tempered tirades * * * show clearly that the real purpose of the camp would have been political."

Another belabored defense of the Governor's action came via editorial comment in the Helena Independent Record, which as usual wordily castigated the Farmers Union, and then said "we applaud Gov. Tim Babcock for his veto of the Federal plan to drop a half million dollars into the lap of the Farmers Union for alleged training of jobless youth * * * Babcock was right, but wasn't he an old meanie to say what he said?"

The net effect of the Governor's veto was summed up in a press statement by National Farmers Union President James G. Patton (see story elsewhere), when he said: "Depriving these youth—who are our most important commodity—the opportunity to work in summer employment which would enable them to return to school this fall would condemn many of his constituents to clearly indicates that Governor Babcock live in poverty."

Various comments have been made as to this veto being another manifestation of the Governor's antifederalism mania. But, as Yellowstone Democratic Chairman Chet Blaylock pointed out in last week's Voice, Montana's trucker-Governor is not consistent in this regard particularly as concerns those Federal projects where hauling cement may be a possibility.

Actually, while this latest example of Babcock's contempt for human beings is grounds for deep disappointment, it is in line with his general attitude toward people, as shown so graphically in the last legislative session. Remember:

It was he who vetoed the bill which would have made possible a greatly expanded vocational education program in Montana schools.

It was he who vetoed the air pollution control bill thereby condemning many Montanans to lingering respiratory illnesses and shortened lifespans.

It was he who vainly attempted to force the legislature into passing a \$5 head tax which would have borne most heavily on the aged, the disabled, the unemployed, the kid who, if lucky enough, has a summertime job.

It was he who vetoed the bill, which would have permitted nurses to collectively bargain for much-needed improvements in wages and working conditions.

Only one question remains, How soon will the people of Montana awaken to the fact that this political charlatan is for all intents and purposes a pawn of powerful reactionary interests; that he is vindictive to the nth degree, and that he has only disdain for the needs, desires, and aspirations of Montana people?—H.L.B.

There is great reason why the people of my State are not happy with the Governor's actions. The Neighborhood Youth Corps is the work-training program established by the Economic Opportunity Act for disadvantaged young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21. It is developed and directed by local people who understand local problems—unfortunately a few Governors lack such understanding. There are approximately 232 rural projects involving 51,522 people in 33 States now successfully being conducted. Several States have expanded their programs. I repeat, we cannot afford to waste our greatest resource, the young people of our Nation. And, we cannot afford to throw the opportunity to salvage the thousands of these young people who might otherwise be faced with a life of personal poverty and lack of ability or opportunity to make any large contribution to their Nation. The unilateral decision of a Governor to veto a project based on po-

litical reasons is what I object to. The need and end results are more important than a Governor's partisan analysis of a project—the young man or woman in poverty does not understand the sophisticated political decisions of any Governor that prohibits their opportunity to succeed.

This is why I am concerned—this is why I want the need of the individual to be considered aside from the purely partisan considerations. The need of the individual must rise above any of our political differences. This is why I support the amendment of my colleague from Indiana.

I would like to enter into the RECORD, with prior permission, an editorial contained in the Montana Farmers Union News. This editorial does a fine job of stating the farmers union position and indicates that the Governor did not read too closely the application which he vetoed:

KENFIELD COMMENTS ON GOVERNOR'S ACTION—YOUTH CORPS VETO DASHES HOPES OF MANY YOUNGSTERS

GREAT FALLS.—"Governor Babcock's denial of a job opportunity program for a thousand disadvantaged Montana youth is very regrettable and impossible to understand," Leonard Kenfield, president of the Montana Farmers Union, said Tuesday in response to the Governor's veto of the farm organization's application to sponsor a rural Neighborhood Youth Corps.

"More than 1,200 young people, 16 through 21 years of age, and 167 local organizations in 71 Montana communities have indicated a strong interest in the proposal," Kenfield declared, "which would not be a job camp but work experience provided by local community groups near the trainees' homes."

"Montana Farmers Union sponsorship has been approved by the U.S. Department of Labor and a wide cross-section of Montana residents and community leaders," he indicated.

"This unexpected turn of events, not only dashes the hopes of these many young people but it is a disappointment, I am sure, to many community leaders who were looking to the statewide rural Neighborhood Youth Corps as a means of upgrading the future of unemployed youth who are in need of funds and worthwhile occupation."

FARMERS UNION SHOULD BE A BANK

"Babcock's peculiar anti-federalism is clearly evident," Kenfield said. "While he is critical about the possibility of private farmers unions handling Federal funds, he isn't disturbed apparently by the private banks that handle Federal funds all the time; nor by his own way of handling Federal contract funds. Many other private organizations handle Federal funds including General Dynamics Corp., which is already administering some of the poverty program. And, has the chief executive of Montana forgotten that only a few days ago we were told his own administration is hiring a private medical agency to administer the new Kerr-Mills law that is heavily loaded with Federal funds?"

"What does he mean by a 'quasi-political' organization?" Kenfield asked. "The Montana Farmers Union neither endorses nor finances anyone's political campaign. While referring to the situation in Texas, Babcock does not have the generosity to say that the Governors of Illinois, Indiana, and Arkansas have approved rural Neighborhood Youth Corps programs sponsored by the farmers union organizations in those States."

"If he had read our application," the Montana Farmers Union president said, "Babcock would have seen that a private Great Falls

bank would have been custodian of the Federal Neighborhood Youth Corps funds, that the Neighborhood Youth Corps accountants would have been amply bonded and that a certified public accountant would have audited the project books periodically.

"Montana Farmers Union sought the application for sponsorship simply because no else was doing so in the rural areas where most of the poverty exists. This would not have been necessary if Montana's Governor, instead of being one of the last holdouts in the Nation, had appointed a full-time coordinator to keep citizens informed on possibilities under the economic opportunity program as it has been developing since last August."

"While Montana Farmers Union has no stake in the proposed program, we are disappointed in the lost opportunities for the rural people this summer," the farm leader stated. "With the gathering depression in rural Montana, here was a challenge to do something worthwhile for our most important resource, the oncoming generation of our State. Here was something more than chasing atomic rainbows on these numerous and costly gubernatorial gallops across the country."

"Montana Farmers Union will be glad to assist local public agencies and private nonprofit organizations prepare applications for Neighborhood Youth Corps projects, although there is hardly time now for anything effective this summer. Perhaps enough planning can be done, however, to put into operation a hundred or more local projects for the new school year," Kenfield concluded.

It is important to note that the Montana Farmers Union sought the application for sponsorship simply because no one else was doing so in the rural areas where most of the poverty exists.

But the amazing fact to me is that the Farmers Union of Montana informed the Governor that they had applied for the neighborhood youth corps program for Montana, both by letter and telegram, copies of which I have seen, several days before the program was vetoed. The officers of the Montana Farmers Union offered to discuss any aspect of the program. Apparently the Governor was not interested in any modification of the program. He vetoed it without even calling in the Montana Farmers Union officers.

This is only one example, from one State, Mr. Chairman, but since the issue at stake here is of such vital importance to the effectiveness of the entire poverty program, I feel it is adequate justification for the passage of the amendment offered by my colleague from Indiana, removing the final decision on an OEO State program from a Governor's hands.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT].

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. OLSEN].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has the floor and he may yield to whomever he pleases.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. DENT. No. I yield the gentleman from Montana the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. CAREY].

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, we have two well intended institutions in my State that are not working very well. One institution is the U.N. Security Council on the East River. It has the veto, it does not work very well. The other institution is the Republican administration on the Hudson River which also has the veto in Albany. That does not work very well either. When the Governor of New York was on his way to his vacation in Venezuela, one of his last acts was to veto a matter which nearly cost my State \$19 million. The poor in my State need help and we cannot stand that kind of nonsense.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CABELL].

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Chairman, I wish the record to reflect my resentment and my opposition to the implication that the Governor of the State of Texas vetoed a project because of its biracial nature. That is incorrect. Projects presently operating in Texas are biracial. I believe that the gentleman from California with his usual sense of fairness and propriety will either prove his implication or will retract it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. RYAN).

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks).

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, I apposed the veto last year. Events have shown that it has been used time and again to prevent poverty programs from reaching the people.

The bill before us, H.R. 8203, amends the present act with respect to the Governor's veto which I strenuously opposed when the legislation was before us last August. It provides that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity may reconsider any community action, adult basic education, or work-training plan disapproved by a Governor, and may carry it out if, upon reconsideration, he finds it to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act. This is an important change, for it removes the absolute veto over community action, neighborhood youth corps, and adult basic education programs. However, the absolute veto is retained over Job Corps and VISTA projects.

Instead of seeking to circle a way around the Governors, we should deal directly with their powers. The war on poverty is a national struggle, not to be nullified by local politicians for their own political purposes. We should act—now—to completely abolish the Governor's veto power.

Certainly, the Governor's veto power over Job Corps centers and VISTA volunteers in his State should not be retained.

Last year we established a single centralized agency to combat a national problem with a nationally planned solution. We recognized that concerted action was necessary.

But, by giving State Governors program-veto powers, the decision for concerted action was turned over to the State authorities. By giving the Governors veto powers, Congress allowed them to stand between the poor and opportunity; Congress allowed them to decide who in their States would benefit from our farsighted legislation, and who would, for lack of opportunity and motivation, be relegated to the dole. The Federal Government pays the bill for poverty through public assistance. It should be the means of providing motivation and training in order to change conditions for this and future generations.

As I pointed out last year, in many of the areas where the need for Federal assistance is greatest, State and local authorities are hostile to our antipoverty effort, both in concept and substance. The intent of the original legislation was to reach those whose plight local and State governments were either indifferent to or incapable of solving.

Last year it was said that no Governor would exercise this veto. But, if no Governor was going to use it, why was it written into the law in the first place?

Mr. Chairman, Governors have used the veto power, and without hesitation. Governor Wallace, of Alabama vetoed a Birmingham community action program. Project Head Start programs were vetoed by Governor Wallace, of Alabama, Governor Johnson, of Mississippi, and Governor Burns, of Florida. In my own State, Governor Rockefeller threatened to use the veto to keep over \$16 million from New York City.

It is not surprising that southern Governors dominate this list; nor can we afford not to learn a lesson from the fact. Where a Governor is opposed to integrated programs or fears their success, racial discrimination denies the most poverty stricken, the most needy of an opportunity for hope.

The bill before us would prevent a Governor from completely blocking a program, as the above Governors attempted to do, but it would do nothing toward preventing the use of a veto as a delaying tactic. Furthermore, it does not apply to the veto of Job Corps centers or VISTA volunteer projects. Both Governor Babcock, of Montana, and Governor Connally, of Texas, have vetoed Job Corps projects for their States. One million dollars of antipoverty money has been kept away from the people of Montana and Texas because of their Governors' actions.

We must put an end to these actions. Poverty is a national problem. Let us meet it nationally, without interference from the whims of local authorities.

I am not suggesting that we ignore the States. I support title II of the original legislation, which looks to State participation when it says:

The Director shall establish procedures which will facilitate effective participation by the States in community action programs.

We have neither, in the original legislation nor in the bill before us, bypassed the States as a source of valuable resources. The community action program

which we have formed and strengthened is in every way a self-help device.

But we cannot allow a Governor to veto a local community's effort to mobilize its own human and material resources. Nor should we allow a Governor to veto Federal assistance to local communities, aimed at helping these communities solve their own problems.

The Governor's veto is not reliance on responsible local action. It is merely obstruction. If we are to have an effective national antipoverty program, we must end this obstruction, in all its forms. For the poor, governmental delay might just as well be complete governmental inaction. Let us end the possibility of both and defeat the amendment which is now before us.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GURNEY].

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, I do rise in support of the amendment. I think this is a tempest in a teapot. All this argument back and forth seeks to show that this is a tremendous issue here when, as a matter of fact, the Governor's veto has been exercised only three times. On both sides of the aisle we often say that, even though we are doing things from here in Washington, we still want to leave as much control locally as possible. Here we have a chance to leave a little control in local hands. I hope the amendment will be supported.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK].

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment also and to say that once more we see the Democrats endeavoring to concentrate all the power that they can here in Washington and resisting all efforts to leave in the hands of the people at home and their properly elected officials their own discretion and authority over these matters.

One of the real trends in the last 5 years has been completely to do away with the concept of grants-in-aid, the time-honored concept that we have in the Hill-Burton programs and other programs, and concentrate power here in Washington and then to compound this by calling a veto a veto when it absolutely is not.

The recommendation of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] in his own statement very well indicated the fact that the veto is really not a veto.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD].

(Mr. LAIRD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. LAIRD addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LAIRD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. AYRES. We have had quite a bit of discussion here.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, I do not yield for that purpose.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, under the rules I demand recognition for a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I will make a point of order that the gentleman is not permitted to yield any more than I was.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin has yielded to me—and I presume my half minute is up.

Mr. DENT. I presume the same thing and I did not have it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES].

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, we have had quite a bit of discussion here regarding a wire sent out by the Governor of Indiana. I do not know what wire was sent to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS], but here is a wire that came to a Republican Member from Indiana, dated May 20, after the date that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] received his wire:

We urge you return Governor's veto power in review of Economic Opportunity Act projects. It can prevent conflicting programs and yet protect local initiative.

ROGER D. BRANIGAN.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN].

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I regret very much that what should be a serious debate has already turned into a circus.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. EDWARDS].

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL].

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to clarify my remarks and those of the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS] by reading from the last part of the record of the hearings held yesterday, during which Governor Brown was present and I now quote directly from the hearings:

Mr. HAWKINS. I assume you are clarifying it to the extent that you say that the Governor can still veto, but his veto would be subject to review by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. BELL. It would certainly be subject to review, but I am pointing out to the gentleman from California that Washington makes the final decision, not the Governor, if need be. It it comes down to a final analysis, the decision will be resting with Washington, not with Governor Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD].

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, the 1964 act gave to the Governors of the States powers over local ordinances and regulations which they do not ordinarily

have. The Ayres amendment would continue this inequity; I therefore oppose the Ayres amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. CONABLE].

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Chairman, on the positive side, quite apart from political attacks made upon him here, I should like to state that our Governor and our State administration of New York have shown a compassionate interest in this program. More than 200 Federal poverty projects have been approved by Mr. Rockefeller. Seven State employees have spent a great deal of State time working out State obligations under the economic opportunity program and investigating a number of worthy projects.

We would have avoided an unfortunate situation in the city of Syracuse had the veto power applied there, with respect to university projects. I urge support of this amendment, on the grounds that it will help insure continued State participation.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER].

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Chairman, I feel that this program should be carried out by cooperation between the local communities involved and the Federal Government. I oppose the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, the Members on the other aisle seem to have the opinion that the local communities are some autonomous bodies separate from the State, but there is not one existing except for the State. They do not have the same relationship to the States that the States have to the Federal Government. Therefore, the Governors has responsibilities toward local political subdivisions which the Federal Government does not have toward the States.

I showed yesterday a letter from one of the counties in my district, where the OEO threatened to circumvent them by setting up a separate organization. The only protection a local governing body has to prevent the Federal poverty czar from circumventing them is the Governor's veto.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER].

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OTTINGER. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BRADEMAS. The first point I want to make—and apparently my friend from Ohio does not understand Hoosiers when they talk—is that the Governor of Indiana sent me a telegram on the 20th of May, using exactly the same language as the telegram to which the gentleman referred. I wrote the Governor of Indiana on the 20th of May explaining the modified amendment. I had no response from him complaining about the modified amendment.

On the 20th of July, 2 months later, I talked with the office of the Governor,

and they assured me the Governor supports the committee bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS].

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Chairman, to reiterate, the Governor supports the committee bill. Governor Branigin supports the Brademas amendment.

Secondly and finally, to sum up, I read from a letter written on June 28 by the distinguished Speaker of the House [Mr. McCORMACK]; the distinguished majority leader [Mr. ALBERT]; and the distinguished majority whip [Mr. BOGGS]. In explanation of H.R. 8283, they say:

The Governor's veto is modified, preserving his right to veto programs that are strictly Federal in nature, but limiting his review of those programs that are strictly local in nature and which are in compliance with the Economic Opportunity Act.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER].

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, our colleagues on the Republican side have consistently tried to brand this bill as one which would extend the long arm of the Federal Government in Washington into local communities across the country. The fact is that this bill is structured to do exactly the contrary. It is structured to enable local communities to have vitally needed resources and tools to work out their own destinies, their own programs, their own projects which best reflect their thinking. The poverty program leaves it to the cities to decide how they can best meet their special local needs and problems and achieve their own image of their own future.

In too many cases, particularly in my own State, Governors have failed to act upon proposals and information in their possession for many weeks and months, have greatly delayed the orderly growth of the poverty program, have confused and disrupted orderly processing procedures, and have failed to resist the attempt to muddle and meddle in local problems and local areas where they have no proper concern.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK].

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, I oppose the amendment. I do not believe a Governor should have the authority to exercise a veto over a local poverty program in which the State makes no financial program, at such time as the several States recognize the State's obligation in this critical area and appropriate funds to supplement the Federal and local contributions, we can reconsider our action.

Up to the present time, State governments have been generally indifferent with respect to the special problems of the poor and the poverty areas in which the poor reside. As long as the States refuse to be contributing partners to the solution of the problems of poverty, they merit no right to review or veto

programs which are developed and paid for with Federal and local funds.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McCLODY].

Mr. McCLODY. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES].

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, with all this discussion about what the Governor said or did not say, my conversation with Governor Brown was not on the record but was an informal discussion. Governor Brown, I believe, had the same conversation with the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT]. According to what he said to me personally, he would like to have the bill remain as it now is. To override his veto does not mean that he really has the veto, and that is what the present language will do.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL].

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I reiterate again what I read very rapidly a few minutes ago which is the last part of the transcript of the hearings held yesterday. In the presence of Governor Brown, with the gentleman from California [Mr. HAWKINS] and myself participating, which concludes with the clear understanding as to where the responsibility clearly lies.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. DENTON].

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield back my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS].

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, the correct vote on this motion is to vote "No," because the Governor's veto is amply protected in the strictly Federal programs—the Job Corps and VISTA. What we are trying to correct is an unwarranted intervention and an unusual amount of power this Congress inadvertently gave the Governors to meddle in local affairs last year. I urge all my colleagues to vote "No."

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD].

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, the question now before the House is not whether the Governors shall or shall not have the veto, but the question is whether that veto can be exercised without any right of review. All we are seeking to do is give the right of review, to local people who feel aggrieved by arbitrary or capricious exercise of the veto power.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Washington, [Mr. MEEDS].

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Ayres amendment.

I would like to say that for years and years the minority has been urging local control. This is local control. Now evidently they are afraid of it. This bill really guarantees that we will prevent arbitrary action.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL].

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I want to make clear that the Governors do maintain absolute veto on this bill in every single title. In this particular title, we are merely saying that where there are circumstances such as have been evident, then the director has the right to override that veto. But the Governor still maintains all veto powers even in this title, and I ask that this amendment be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. AYRES) there were—ayes 110, noes 97.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. AYRES and Mr. POWELL.

The Committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 150, noes 155.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on the bill and all amendments thereto close at 5 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill has not as yet been read.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I object.
AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FRELINGHUYSEN

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN: On page 5, after line 3, insert:

"Section 209(c) is further amended (1) by inserting 'or by any institution of higher education,' after 'any private institution or organization,' and (2) by striking out 'Provided, however, That this section shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of approval of this Act'."

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out to the members of the Committee that the language which I would modify appears on page 37 of the committee report. This is another aspect of the veto power now provided the Governors. Let me say I regret very much that we are not going to retain the veto power now in the law.

My amendment would strike the proviso in the final section of 209(c) which excludes from the Governor's veto any grants, contract, agreement, or loan, or other assistance to institutions of higher education. I suggest this because, on the basis of the experience thus far under the OEO, serious problems have developed with respect to certain demonstration grants made to universities.

Let me mention a few of the grants that have already been made, and single out two of them in particular.

A grant of \$1,168,099 has been made to Tufts College to demonstrate how a comprehensive health service can be provided more effectively.

NYU in New York had a grant of

\$314,031, to develop a program to train low-achieving potential high school graduates to be teachers for their own kind.

Two particular projects deserve special attention. The one to the University of Syracuse for \$314,329 has been much criticized, by the press and by the authorities in Syracuse.

The reason for this particular project was to demonstrate, and I quote, "the development of effective democratic organization of low-income areas."

The Republican task force on economic opportunity heard testimony from the mayor of Syracuse with respect to this program. Mayor Walsh was concerned on several points. In the first place, the grant was made to the university without any consideration of how the local community might feel about this grant. The use to which the grant has been put has been described by the mayor of Syracuse as a dangerous social experimentation.

To put it bluntly, this would seem to be a kind of Federal financing of projects to fight city hall, in this case a progressive administration already actively engaged in fighting poverty, with programs financed by the Federal Government in part.

Another project, for \$188,250 to the University of Michigan, has also received much critical comment. Testimony was heard before our Republican task force from representatives from Ypsilanti, Mich., with respect to the inadvisability of this particular grant.

This grant is not exactly the normal kind—if there is such a thing as a normal kind of demonstration grant. Let me cite to you the purpose for which this money is to be made available. I quote from a federally subsidized pamphlet called WRAND Round-Up which defends and describes what they believe the purpose of this program to be:

This is not a grant as it applies to the poverty of Appalachia. This grant is for a quite different purpose. It is not an anti-poverty measure as such but is for the purpose of discovering how a community like ours helps itself to a more secure way of life for itself and a happier one for its children, how people try to come to grips with problems which are too large for a single individual to handle by himself. Can a community do this for itself if given some help? Or does it wait for someone else to do it for them?

I will skip one paragraph and continue.

The purpose is to give them a calling card into the Great Society. We have been selected here in the Willow Run area to show the country that working people like ourselves are ready and able to help ourselves upward. That is why the grant is such a small one.

I repeat, a grant totaling \$188,252 has been made to develop this kind of interest. To me that sounds like a considerable amount of money.

When we go back into the House, Mr. Chairman, I will ask permission to include from the current issue of True magazine, a publication which I do not normally read, an article entitled "A Prosperous Town Is Forced To Accept U.S. Poverty Money."

The article follows:

A PROSPEROUS TOWN IS FORCED TO ACCEPT U.S. POVERTY MONEY—ZEALOUS POVERTY FIGHTERS SAY MICHIGAN'S YPSILANTI TOWNSHIP NEEDS \$188,252 TO GET ON ITS FEET—AND THEY WON'T TAKE "NO" FOR AN ANSWER

(By Gene Caesar)

YPSILANTI TOWNSHIP, MICH.—On January 17, 1965, speaking at Johnson City, Tex., the President of the same name announced the approval of 88 new antipoverty grants. One of them, in the amount of \$188,252, was for a demonstration project in the Willow Village area of southeastern Michigan.

On January 18, a slim, soft-spoken fellow named Roy Smith picked up a newspaper and stared at it incredulously. He had no connection with the war on poverty. He was and is supervisor of Ypsilanti Township, which lies in Washtenaw County, the highest income county in Michigan. To be sure, the subdivisions of Smith's district weren't comparable to some of the prestige neighborhoods of nearby Ann Arbor, where the University of Michigan is located. A good share of his constituents were hourly rated employees or lower grade executives in the automobile industry. But he was certain his township could boast average family earnings of more than \$7,000 a year. So he had no connection with any impoverished area, either.

Even so, he had good reason for being stunned upon learning Willow Village had been designated an official poverty area to the tune of a sizable hunk of the taxpayers' money. For one thing, there wasn't any such place as Willow Village. For another, where most of Willow Village had once existed, the recently built homes and schools, parks, and glistening new shopping center stores of Ypsilanti Township were now standing.

Ironically enough, Roy Smith had been warned of what was coming. He'd simply refused to believe it was possible.

Some 8 weeks earlier, he'd received an inch-thick manuscript in the mail, along with a letter from Mr. Hyman Kornbluh of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations—one of the numerous research groups supported by Michigan's tax-supported universities. "Under separate cover, I am sending you a copy of the proposal we have submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington," the letter had explained. And it had gone on to request the township's cooperation in a project of mutual interest.

Roy had begun reading the manuscript. And in doing so he'd also begun what was to be, for him, a long, lonely journey into a bureaucratic-academic fantasyland—a world where reality was regarded as of so little importance by officious-sounding officials that he would more than once find himself doubting his own sanity. What was labeled a report to the Federal Government from a famed and respected university sounded more like some amateur novelist's attempt to write a Michigan version of "Tobacco Road."

"By almost any standards," the script insisted, "Willow Village is an impoverished community." Actually, Willow Village was the name of a World War II housing project erected for the workers at the big Willow Run bomber plant, a project the Federal Government had abandoned to be torn down by Ypsilanti Township and replaced by privately built housing. The name still existed only on some low-rent but extremely attractive apartments that lay just over the line in Superior Township. And by any standards whatsoever, income for the designated area ran well above the national average.

OFFICIAL ANGERED WHEN HIS TOWN IS FALSELY CALLED IMPOVERISHED

Industry had passed by the core of this depressed community, the report continued, and the few folks fortunate enough to find work were in service and menial jobs. The truth was that the smoke of five gigantic

automobile factories could be seen from the area's center, and the personnel manager of one of them had recently commented that anyone who could pass a physical could find employment there.

"Willow Village is a community without social services," the report went blithely on. "There is no medical facility, no newspaper, no self-government, no recreational or cultural or even entertainment facility. There are no stores in the area, and schools are a bus ride away."

Roy Smith had to shake his head hard and wipe his glasses before rereading that passage. The area not only received the social services of all Ypsilanti Community Chest agencies but even contained the headquarters of some of them. Ridgewood Hospital was just 1 mile to the north, and 3 miles to the southwest was the Beyer Memorial Hospital to which the township had paid \$58,000 last year to guarantee that none of its residents could be denied a bed. Furthermore, a busy doctor's office shared the new Sunrise shopping center with a supermarket, a discount department store, and several other shops, all within sight of a library and a bowling alley and some of the parks where the township's \$10,000 summer recreation program had been carried out. Four different newspapers were delivered daily in the area. All but a few of the children walked to school because they lived so close they were specifically prohibited from receiving bus rides under Michigan law. And if there was no self-government, Roy was forced to wonder, just who the h— had elected him?

Even more fantastic was the constant flow of phrases like "the present ghost town appearance" or "brush has overgrown the streets and roads." The report never quite claimed the inhabitants of this brush-choked ghost town were starving. Instead, it suggested "establishing a community vegetable field—to be run by the residents on a cooperative basis—with the produce available to the residents for their own consumption."

Starving or not, the manuscript noted, the impoverished people had formed a self-help group of about 400 to 500 members called the Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development—WRAND, for short—and immediately appealed to the University of Michigan to help them. After a thorough study, the university was submitting a proposed budget covering the community's needs. What the poor people needed most, it seemed, was the services of some "professional directors" with salaries up to \$11,000 a year. Except for such items as \$8,970 for the first year's publication of a community newsletter the only thing clear about the vaguely worded budget, all of which was subject to "university overhead," was that it was just the beginning. The report suggested, for example, that Willow Village Apartments be granted enough further "Title IV" funds to permit the building of "several hundred additional units."

Wondering whether to laugh or cry, Roy Smith closed the book of 90-odd pages and stared dully at the plywood walls of his office. He vaguely remembered hearing of WRAND. Someone had buttonholed him for a \$20 donation the summer before and, believing the group to be a normal community-betterment organization, he'd thoroughly approved of the idea. But the WRAND headquarters were over in Superior Township and, as far as he knew, so were its members. Yet all but a small portion of the area designated in the report was in Ypsilanti Township. Since the accompanying letter said "a proposal we have submitted," it was apparently too late to keep the university from making an incredible and perhaps embarrassing blunder. But he telephoned the man who'd written that letter anyway.

"Mr. Hyman Kornbluh? This is Roy Smith out in Ypsilanti Township. If you're going

to write about this area, why don't you drive the 10 miles out here and look at it? That report of yours is just plain garbage."

The voice on the telephone sounded extremely upset, but it finally said something about a matter of opinion.

"No, it's not," Roy asserted. "If you'd said there were few stores or inadequate facilities and so forth, that might be a matter of opinion. When you say there's no this, that and the other thing—all of which are located in the area—there's no question of opinion involved. Look, you come out here, any time, at your convenience, and I'll drive you around. I want you to try defending that report while you're seeing what's here with your own eyes."

Hyman Kornbluh finally agreed and promised to call back soon. But that call never came. Roy showed the weird manuscript to several citizens allegedly living in a grown-over ghost town. And it brought laughter instead of indignation from everyone who read it.

"Why, there isn't an unpaved street in any of these three subdivisions of ours they've listed," they said. "There isn't a house in the entire area more than 10 years old."

"Why worry about it?" everyone chuckled. "They'll read that in Washington and toss it in the nearest wastebasket. The war on poverty is for places like Appalachia. If they send someone out here from the Federal Government, then some professors will have some fast explaining to do. But that's not your problem."

Running into this same reaction everywhere, Roy Smith soon began wondering if he wasn't taking the ridiculous report too seriously. By the time the new year began, the manuscript was lying forgotten in his crowded files.

But on January 17—without any attempt at prior investigation, with entire sentences from the ghost town report being repeated word for word in a White House press release—Willow Village was awarded an antipoverty grant.

For 4 full days, Roy remained silent and did some soul searching, chiefly while walking the streets of what was now an official poverty area. He didn't dispute the fact that there were a few scattered folks on those streets, as on almost all streets, who weren't very well off. Roy wasn't opposed to the antipoverty program; he was all in favor of the Government helping poor people in any way it could.

Back in the depression, as a kid on a Tennessee farm, Roy Smith had eaten Government sowbelly the same as everyone around him was doing and been plenty glad to get it. He'd come a fair distance from that Tennessee farm, though. He'd been in the Marines in World War II and after the war had attended the University of Michigan on the GI bill. Then he'd worked in the automobile industry and, in 1959, had entered politics, where he'd been quite successful. He is a moderate Republican and, along with George Romney, was one of the few members of his party to survive the 1964 Johnson landslide.

But Roy Smith had never forgotten the depression. If there was the slightest chance that any portion of that \$188,252 might eventually filter down to help folks who needed it, he certainly didn't want to ruin that chance.

For four straight evenings, at home, with his wife sensing a crisis and hushing his three children, he went over the proposed budget again and again. And absolutely nothing was really being promised there. Beneath all the long-winded descriptions of what "might" be done, the hard fact was that some nonteaching fellows at the University of Michigan were being given a good-sized piece of public money to do with as they pleased as a reward for branding his township a poverty area. On January 22, he

finally telephoned the nearest newspaper and mentioned some of the falsities in the institute report.

The local papers, published in the shadow of the powerful university, were extremely wary of the story. They mentioned only a few of Roy's charges, then answered them with institute statements that "some errors of detail in describing the physical elements and population statistics of the area did occur * * * but none of these errors was fundamental."

"Willow Village is of course not totally impoverished," Hyman Kornbluh was quoted as saying. "But it does contain pockets of poverty."

Smith couldn't help wondering if this was the same Kornbluh who'd sent him the report saying, "By almost any standards, Willow Village is an impoverished community." But press objectivity seemed to be picking up in direct ratio to the distance from Ann Arbor. "Federal Government says it's impoverished; area says it's thriving" the Detroit Free Press reported. And the little Redford Record put it even more bluntly: "U. of M. dreams up poverty ghost town." But it was a Detroit TV commentator, Larry Carino of WJBK, who got to the heart of the matter.

He made a very sensible suggestion: "Let the University of Michigan explain exactly what it intends to do with the \$188,000—or send it back with apologies."

But the Institute parried even this thrust. "The program has not yet been spelled out," Hyman Kornbluh explained, "because the cardinal point of a demonstration project is to demonstrate that the community can assess its own needs." Whether the community had assessed a need for them or not, it was also announced that the hiring of a staff of about 12 would begin immediately.

Supervisor Roy Smith had understandably expected a cry of outrage to come from the folks who were being branded impoverished. But the issue had been so clouded and confused by academic doubletalk that only 10 people brought complaints to a township board meeting on February 2, and most of these were merely ladies who were miffed because friends were phoning and offering to send them CARE packages. Furthermore, their young township clerk, Tilden R. Stumbo, kept urging them to "Wait and see."

"Sure, they got the grant by falsifying a document," he argued. "But some good could still come of the grant itself—new roads or parks."

Roy Smith could only hope that none of the youngsters who might play in such parks were listening to his elders' moral logic, and he said as much 2 days later when he got off a letter to Dr. Harlan Hatcher, president of the University of Michigan. After listing two pages of the fraudulent claims made in the Institute report, then adding that this was only a sampling, that the entire report lacked reality, he invited Dr. Hatcher to tour the area with him at any time and make his own comparison. "We teach our children to tell the truth," he mentioned. "If funds have been received on the basis of false statements, those funds should be returned."

Word of the controversy had reached Washington, but there was still no hint that any investigation would be made. "We didn't force that money on those people," an Office of Economic Opportunity spokesman told newsmen. "They themselves asked for it. Four or five hundred of them formed this WRAND organization and requested the University of Michigan to apply for and administer the grant in their behalf."

Thus assured, the demonstration project proceeded as scheduled. The planting of the communal vegetable garden couldn't begin until the spring thaw, of course. But calling itself the WRAND roundup the com-

munity newsletter, for which \$8,970 of anti-poverty money had been allotted in the proposed budget, appeared immediately—with headlines saying "Who Says We're Impoverished?" above a story insisting the grant was only an expression of admiration for local initiative. WRAND further explained on February 8 that the grant was needed because the designated area, although not really impoverished, was not being served by the Ypsilanti Community Chest. On February 9 WRAND announced that yesterday's press release was "in error" since the area had always been served by the community chest.

It seemed strange to Roy Smith, reading the next day's papers, that an organization of area residents could make such a mistake. But before he could carry this curious inconsistency to its inevitable conclusion, he was interrupted by something even stranger. Three gentlemen from the university were ushered into his office. One was introduced as a full dean. Another described himself as merely an observer and was actually, Roy later learned, a recognized authority on, of all things, syphilis research. The third, a plump man wearing the look of a fellow being forced to endure petty indignity, was the long-awaited Hyman Kornbluh.

Instead of discussing the matter in his office, Roy loaded the delegation into his 3-year-old Chevrolet and spent more than 2 hours touring every street of the alleged poverty area. He didn't run into any brush, but he did stop regularly to read aloud sentences from the report for comparison with what lay outside the car windows. The dean made a gallant attempt at keeping the interview genial and friendly, under formidably difficult circumstances. Chain-smoking nervously, Mr. Kornbluh remained silent most of the time, as did the syphilis expert. Not until they'd returned to the township hall did Roy hear anything resembling an admission that the area wasn't a ghost town after all.

"Suppose instead of 'no' stores, we say 'few' stores?" Hyman Kornbluh offered then. "Suppose instead of 'no' facilities, we say 'inadequate' facilities?"

"Suppose you apologize to the people here and return the grant," Roy suggested instead. "If you can get another one by writing an honest report, the best of luck to you."

Kornbluh countered with the accusation that the whole affair was a political publicity stunt, asserted that he himself wouldn't be in politics for anything, and walked out. That was the last Roy Smith saw of him.

Roy Smith had some questionnaires made up to be circulated in the designated poverty area, requesting residents to return them unsigned. He wanted some statistics on the average income, and to learn what percentage favored the grant and how many were members of the mysterious WRAND organization that had requested it in the first place.

On February 16, a surprise resolution was introduced at a township board meeting, and Roy found himself standing totally alone. Five to one against him, his fellow board members voted to condemn the poverty label but to welcome the poverty money.

Everyone seemed to be saying exactly what Clerk Tilden R. Stumbo had said—"Sure, they got the grant by falsifying a document, but let's keep it anyway"—including, fantastically enough, the Federal Government itself. Because a tall, distinguished-looking man named William Lawrence was ushered into the township hall the next day and introduced as a consultant to the community action program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. And he soon made it clear that he'd come not as an investigator but as a peacemaker.

"I've already been around the area," he in-

sisted, declining the offer of another tour in Roy's Chevy. "Now I want to know what sort of proposal, satisfactory to you, I can take to the university. What would satisfy you, Mr. Smith?"

"Why didn't you make the 2-hour flight out here before the grant was given?" Roy couldn't help wondering.

"We're tremendously understaffed," Lawrence explained. "But I want to assure you and every citizen that no antipoverty grant will ever again be given without an on-the-spot inspection of the area."

"Michigan has a State antipoverty director," Roy Smith persisted. "Couldn't his office have been asked to check out the proposal?"

William Lawrence further explained that the poverty program permits the Federal Government to deal directly with universities. After all, he reminded Roy, the original appeal had come from the area residents themselves. By reporting on the area and offering to administer a grant, the University of Michigan was, in effect, the agency checking out the appeal for the Federal Government.

"Well, now that you've seen the area," Smith asked, "what are you going to do about it?"

Lawrence launched into an involved dissertation on the intricacies of antipoverty grants. Contracts had already been offered to professional directors, it seemed, and other commitments had been made. But the Office of Economic Opportunity would most certainly demand that the university correct the "errors" in the report, redefine it and update it before activating the project. "Would that satisfy you?" he asked hopefully.

"All that will satisfy me," Roy Smith told him, suddenly feeling very tired, "is the return of any poverty money intended for Ypsilanti Township and a public apology to the people here."

William Lawrence went away worriedly predicting that "the university won't go for anything like that." And the university didn't.

Meanwhile, the Willow Village demonstration project had already demonstrated one thing—the ease with which antipoverty funds could be obtained. And predictably enough, what followed was like a run on the bank. The Washtenaw County Committee on Alcoholism decided to try for \$39,900; everyone knows poor people drink too much. The local chapter of the Planned Parenthood League wanted \$26,290 because statistics show the impoverished do something else too much. The Ypsilanti public schools decided to go all out and ask \$375,000 for providing "compensatory education" for everyone from deprived preschoolers to the indigent aged. Before long, fully 20 poverty money requests were being feverishly prepared, and a 36-member "citizen's committee" was itself requesting \$54,501 merely for acting as a clearinghouse for other requests. All this was going on in just 1 county, the highest income county in Michigan, one of the 10 wealthiest States in the Union.

Nor was the national picture particularly different. The controversy was bringing Roy Smith a surprising amount of mail from people in some farflung places. Ministers and other citizens of Chicago and Cleveland and New York were claiming that their own antipoverty grants had served no purpose except as patronage plums for local political machines. West Virginians were writing to ask if Roy saw anything strange about the way the poverty money was being parceled out. After all, the late President Kennedy's shock at what he'd seen upon carrying his primary campaign into that State had been one of the prime factors in creating the national mood that resulted in the war on poverty. Why then, West Virginians were

wondering, had their antipoverty allotment so far been little more than \$400,000, while the high income State of New Jersey had already received \$12½ million?

But folks from New Jersey were writing as well, and they weren't happy with all that money. People in Monmouth County, for example, had received a \$67,000 grant, only to learn that \$52,000 of it had already been budgeted for the salaries and administration expenses of the professional directors. The whole State had been startled to hear that Antipoverty Director John C. Bullitt would be getting a salary of \$25,000 a year and would have a pair of \$19,000 assistants. But Bullitt had insisted these wage rates were not out of line, and in a sense he was right. This was less than his poverty-official superiors in Washington were getting and slightly more than was being paid city poverty officials. In Newark alone there were seven poverty fighters in the over-\$10,000 bracket, but the top wage was just \$23,000. Hearing of this, the corps of poverty fighters assigned to Paterson, where the highest salary was a mere \$18,500, were about to request a pay raise, but they finally decided against it. After all, the mayor of Paterson was getting only \$17,500.

Even so, Roy's chief concern was his own township, and he was pinning a large share of his hopes on the president of the University of Michigan. He still expected Dr. Harlan Hatcher to make a person comparison of the fraudulent report and the area it supposedly described, then crack down on those responsible with all the righteous wrath that might be expected of so distinguished an educator. But on March 2, when Roy Smith finally received an answer to his letter of nearly a month earlier, it was the most mystifying and disappointing development of the entire nightmarish affair. Dr. Hatcher described himself as "satisfied that the University of Michigan and its representatives acted in good faith and in accordance with recognized procedures, both in submitting the program and in accepting the grant" because "many of the alleged errors to which reference has been made occurred in a background document which was not submitted to Washington."

Numb with amazement, Roy searched his files for the original letter from Kornbluh, dated November 25. It still read, "I am sending you a copy of the proposal we have submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington," just as it always had. For fully 6 weeks the report had been the subject of incessant public controversy, mentioned in both news stories and editorials, and Roy himself had discussed it with both university and Federal Government officials. At no time in those 6 weeks had there been the slightest suggestion from anyone that the "background document" hadn't been submitted.

"We didn't force this money on those people," the OEO was still telling newsmen. "They themselves formed this WRAND organization and requested the university's assistance in getting a grant."

Pondering that statement that he'd heard and read so often, Roy Smith suddenly realized there was something very strange about it. Some 257 of the questionnaires he'd distributed had been returned by then, showing average family income so far of \$7,961 in the "depressed community" and turning up just 10 people who approved of the antipoverty grant. But more interesting yet, only four people had identified themselves, even unsigned, as members of WRAND. Roy had met the president and current spokesman of the group—a young junior high school teacher named Gerald Foley. But Foley himself admitted he'd joined the group months after its formation and had taken no part in the original request to the university. And the few other WRAND members who could be located locally said exactly the same thing.

Who, then, had made that request? Who had started WRAND in the first place?

There was a way to find out. Any such organization had to file articles of incorporation with the county clerk, and any citizen had a right to examine those articles. Roy Smith availed himself of that right. And all of a sudden, the whole puzzling business wasn't so puzzling any longer.

The Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development had been founded by just 6 people—not one of whom lived anywhere near the neighborhood they intended developing, all of whom were well-to-do residents of Ann Arbor. The "self-help" group that had asked the University of Michigan to help it help itself to some antipoverty money had been formed by one University of Michigan official, one University of Michigan professor, two wives of university professors, one prominent lawyer and the manager of the Willow Village Apartments—for which additional title IV antipoverty funds had been suggested in the resulting proposal.

At this writing, with the university already privately estimating its "overhead" at 32 percent, the antipoverty grant gained by the invention of an imaginary ghost town is still in effect. In fact, on April 27—speaking at Detroit, Mich., and still quoting the falsified phrases and statistics of a report that was supposedly never submitted to Washington—War on Poverty Director R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., threw his personal prestige behind the Office of Economic Opportunity's attempts to save face in the controversy by publicly praising the Willow Village demonstration project. (If he'd ventured just 30 miles farther, he might have seen what he was calling "an urban-fringe pocket of poverty." But he didn't.) And the OEO is still stubbornly sticking to its story that the "erroneous background material" was "not germane" to a proposal that "clearly met the criteria for demonstrations as developed by this office."

But government glibness no longer bothers Roy Smith the way it once did—chiefly because his struggle isn't a long one any longer. Roused by the realization that the entire scheme was both conceived and carried out by outsiders, the people of the designated area have begun battling back with every bit as much ingenuity as was used in calling them impoverished in the first place. A group of them have decided to play the alphabet game themselves by forming a rival self-help group called REPLY—which stands for Return Every Penny and Leave Ypsilanti Township. Petitions making the same demand have so far been signed by 80 percent of the area's residents, and a similar resolution received an 87½-percent favorable vote at the annual township meeting. Recognizing the fact that as leaders of the people they'd do well to follow them, four of Roy's fellow Township board members, Tilden R. Stumbo included, have reversed their earlier stand and joined him in demanding the return of the grant.

To dramatize the situation, signs have been erected informing visitors that they are entering an official poverty area where their tax dollars are hard at work. And a young man named Gordon Mattson, chairman of REPLY, even rented a horse and a Paul Revere costume, then braved a late snowstorm to go galloping through the streets shouting, "The bureaucrats are coming." He was followed by both a honking motorcade and what seemed an apt symbol of the incredible affair from its clouded beginning to its as yet undetermined end—a circus clown.

"Maybe that's the only answer for this kind of insanity," Roy Smith laughingly reflects. "A good sense of humor. But you know what worries me most? The way that fellow from Washington acted when he came out and saw for himself how the Government had been taken. He didn't get mad,

and he didn't seem surprised. He wasn't even interested. All he kept asking was what would satisfy me—which meant what would shut me up, I guess. Do you think what happened here could be the rule and not the exception? That this sort of thing is going on all over the country?"

That's an interesting question.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL].

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD].

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I rise to oppose the amendment because once again we have here an attempt to confer on the Governors of the several States powers which would be inconsistent with powers they now have under the constitutions of the several States and the statutes pursuant thereto.

I am glad the gentleman mentioned the University of Michigan as an example, because the University of Michigan is a constitutionally created institution within our State. It has a constitutionally created board elected directly by the people and it would be a clear violation of the constitution of our State for either the legislature or the Governor to attempt to dictate the terms of any program of education or any extension program under the direction of that university.

The people of my State and many other States have attempted to protect the sanctity of the educational institutions within their States by providing for this separate responsibility for education in the several States.

To have the Governors exercise such power would be wholly inconsistent with the educational structure of the several States.

With respect to Willow Village, which is once again rearing its ugly political head, I should like to correct the gentleman from New Jersey. It is not RAND, but it is WRAND, Willow Run being the situs of a World War II surplus housing project still occupied by 163 families on direct relief and 60 families who live by ADC.

The gentleman from New Jersey quoted as an authority a gentleman who came to appear before the extralegal hearings held by the Republican Party after the committee had concluded its hearings on this bill, who said that there was no poverty at Willow Village. He was totally apparently unaware of the more than 200 children of Willow Village who will be fed tonight with Federal, State, and local funds, as a result of being of relief, and aid to dependent children.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POWELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CAREY].

Mr. CAREY. Frankly, I am shocked and surprised to see this amendment originate in the able hands of the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], who in my experience I have always known to be a

good friend of academic autonomy and academic freedom in this land."

I suggest that the adoption of this amendment would reverse the entire course of academic autonomy and academic freedom which has been known in Western education since the 12th century, when, under the edict of a reigning Pope Clement, the universities of the Western World then in existence had removed from them all temporal, spiritual, and political interference in their disciplines and affairs.

This would bring into conflict and confrontation with university officials, State officials, and the political order who would review, decide, suggest, and veto disciplines, and programs originating in the academic world.

For instance, in New York City this would be a direct interference between the Governor's office with the city university, which is free and able to conduct its own affairs and does an outstanding job in originating programs to help the poor in my city.

This amendment should be anathema to the gentleman from New Jersey, in the light of his great record as a defender of academic freedom and academic autonomy.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POWELL. I yield to the gentleman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN] who has done such an exceptional job in the field of higher education.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment. It is inconceivable to me that the presidents of the great universities in the State of New Jersey—and I am thinking of Princeton and others—that these college and university presidents would possibly approve of a veto on any of their programs by the Governor.

From that side of the aisle in the last few days I have heard a great deal of debate about political implications and political involvement in this program. This amendment invites political involvement over institutions, private and public, which do not want to be subject to political power.

I am in complete agreement with the gentleman from New York. If there is anything the universities and colleges of this country really treasure, it is academic freedom and individual autonomy over their programs and institutions. In my State private universities are not under the Governor of the State in any way. In reference to public colleges, members of the board of higher education oftentimes oppose the Governor and his views. The board of higher education is the policy body—not the Governor.

I would certainly oppose in the strongest terms the adoption of this sort of amendment, which would do great damage to the academic freedom and the autonomy of both public and private institutions of higher education.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment and move to strike the requisite number of words.

(Mr. CONABLE asked and was given

permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Chairman, we hear a good deal of talk about academic freedom with respect to this amendment. I should like to say that the research projects engaged in under this sort of program have very little to do with academic freedom.

I should like to recount to Members a little more about a matter touched on by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN]; that is, the condition of things in the city of Syracuse. Before I begin I should like to say that I, myself, am planning to support this bill on final passage.

I am concerned about administration. The administration of this act has become a matter of substance in some areas.

I would say it has in Syracuse. Mayor Walsh, of Syracuse, is a man who is a trained social worker and who has done graduate work as such. He has been a social worker most of his life and was a great supporter of the poverty program when it first came up. Previous to that he was active in the President's Council on Juvenile Delinquency. He was instrumental in getting Syracuse started on a fine poverty program which was funded to the extent of about \$900,000 this past year. This program has been a constructive program. It is one which is doing good work in the city. Following that the University of Syracuse, through one of its departments, requested and received a \$300,000 grant which has been described by the gentleman from New Jersey. Mayor Walsh appeared before our task force and discussed this second program financed, as the first was, through poverty funds. He testified effectively that this grant in effect vitiated a good deal of the virtue and benefit coming from the first grant; \$900,000 was fine, but \$1.2 million largely canceled itself out.

Now, my distinguished colleagues from the Democratic Party, I say to you that this kind of administration becomes a matter of substance determining the effectiveness of this act. We cannot afford to have this sort of thing going on. It would not have happened had the Governor had the veto power over this program and been able to receive advance notice of it so as to see it was going to be in conflict with an existing program of considerable virtue.

This amendment, were it put into effect, would probably have avoided the problems which arose as a result of the failure of the poverty program director to investigate fully the impact of the second program.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CONABLE. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I thank the gentleman. I would like to add it seems evident, if we do not extend this veto power, in the name of academic freedom, it would be possible, as has been the case in Syracuse and in Ypsilanti, Mich., for one Federal agency to undercut what another agency is doing. As the gentleman pointed out, Syracuse already has a

very farsighted umbrella poverty program partly financed with Federal funds. However, this useful projects now has competition which in effect undercuts or attempts to undercut what is already being done.

If we do not provide some kind of a veto power, and do not provide for any participation by the local government, we are saying in the name of academic freedom that there is no way we can prevent a clash between the two efforts. There is not only a failure to coordinate but a real conflict between the two. The only way of improving these programs is to provide some kind of check. It must be a keen embarrassment for the University of Syracuse to have involved itself in what is obviously political activity—not academic activity but political activity—in this so-called poverty field. As a result, quite understandably, there has been a sharp clash with the local authorities who are attempting to do a good job themselves.

Mr. CONABLE. I thank the gentleman, and I would like to say that we are proud of our poverty program in the city of Rochester. We hope nothing of this sort comes along to cripple it. It seems a real tragedy for one good program to be canceled out by another.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. HANLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Chairman, the city of Syracuse, which I am privileged to represent, was among the first communities in the Nation to submit appropriate application to the Office of Economic Opportunity that it might enjoy the fruits of this legislation. In addition to the local government, two great educational institutions, Syracuse University and Le Moyne College, indicated desire to participate.

It was with a great sense of pride that I observed the expedient and sensible manner in which the legislation was evaluated and the local programs formulated. As a result of this foresight and good planning, the community has been the recipient of the necessary funds to support three substantial programs, the local government program, known as the crusade for opportunity; the Syracuse University program, known as the community action training program; and at Le Moyne College, the summer study school.

Each program serves the intent of the legislation.

We must not lose sight of the enormity and newness of this program, and along with these factors, the susceptibility to defect, which can only be corrected by trial and error.

Bear in mind that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was the first courageous, positive piece of legislation ever directed to upgrade the status of our less fortunate Americans by elimination of the causes rather than the symptoms of poverty. Hopefully it will result in a decline in our ever-expanding welfare costs.

A controversy arose in this community between two of the programs, the local

government program and the one sponsored by Syracuse University, and thus, unfortunately, a shadow of doubt was cast over all antipoverty activities.

Some weeks ago I was privileged to participate in a hearing on the poverty program in Syracuse at the invitation of our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER], of the education and labor ad hoc committee. This hearing attracted great community interest which resulted in about 6½ hours of testimony by officials of local government, principals in the poverty program, and other interested individuals.

Analysis of this testimony indicates general acceptance and approval of the concept of the program, in fact, enthusiasm. The area of defect seems to revolve around inadequate communications between two of the local programs. When communications are improved, the merit of the numerous aspects of both programs will be better understood, and thus any controversy will be resolved.

This past Friday I was privileged to inspect in Syracuse the Le Moyne College summer study program, a truly great program designed to show the potential high school dropout the other side of the coin; to rekindle hope for the future in the minds of these less-than-fortunate students. I am pleased to report that this fine program is moving along in exemplary fashion, and it is reasonable to believe that the future of many high school students is going to be enhanced by this program, and thus many substantial citizens produced who otherwise would have capitulated to the misfortune of their environment.

What better investment could be made?

The Office of Economic Opportunity has been attacked for standing firmly behind its demonstration program. The research, demonstration, and training program proposes to demonstrate that the development of effective democratic organization in low-income areas will support and motivate the poor to engage in self-directed courses of action on their own behalf. The intent of the project is to bring low-income persons into active and productive communication with the community action program and other groups in the community. This can only be done if the poor are given an organized forum through which they can be represented. Organization is seen as a means of enabling the poor to play a responsible role in the community.

The aims of this project are in complete accordance with the goals of the community action program. Section 202 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 states that among other things, a community action program is a program which is "developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."

The guide to demonstration grants under section 207 of the Economic Opportunity Act lists first under types of programs which will receive preference in funding:

Demonstrations which help to prepare and enable low-income people to take a more active role in the management and decision-making process of community affairs.

The grant which is under attack is a grant to a responsible institution of higher education, Syracuse University, to respected professional leadership, a mature community. The program Syracuse University is administering is aimed at examining in depth, and in the national interest, the process of developing indigenous leadership and organization, and this is being carried out with the backing of a great university.

The Syracuse program is attacked with the charge that it is "inciting the poor to riot." It is our feeling that riots will not occur if low-income people are given adequate opportunity for self-representation and given responsible roles in the community. This project is aimed at providing opportunities for the poor to become involved in the decisions concerning their fate, their destinies, the programs undertaken in their behalf.

While we have been given visions of disaster, of "storming city hall," this has not occurred. The poor have not stormed city hall, they have gone to city hall to make legitimate requests as responsible citizens. They have made requests to the housing authority to meet and discuss their grievances. They have done all this within the framework of their legal rights.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(Mr. GOODELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment.

I would emphasize that I do not believe there is any intent here or any effect here of limiting academic freedom.

Mr. Chairman, we seem to have an assumption throughout this debate that any responsibilities left in State officials are wrong on the face of it, that State officials for some reason or other are ogres. We might as well enact an amendment to this act to say that as far as any provisions of this act are concerned the State government shall not exist because we do not want to have anything to do with them.

Mr. Chairman, all of our basic Federal programs, prior to the poverty program, with very few exceptions, to help the poor and less fortunate in this country, are set up with State plans, with State officials helping to administer the programs.

This is simply an amendment to see to it that all the programs are coordinated, so that when a program is adopted in a community by the officials there, with an umbrella agency, a community action group, that the university cannot step in and start a program that is in conflict with the existing program that has been approved by the official organization.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let me emphasize here that the city of Syracuse should be very proud of its administration. I appreciate the words said by the gentleman who preceded me in the well of the House. Mayor Walsh was one of the first ones down here, a Republican mayor, who came down and testified in favor of many provisions contained in this bill last year. He felt they had programs

like those in Syracuse which could utilize this money and they were one of the first cities to move forward in this program.

Mr. Chairman, this year he came down and he was not given a hearing before the official committee. Reference was made to extralegal Republican task force hearings. They were held so people like Mayor Walsh could be heard, with their constructive criticisms. Mayor Walsh testified here very vehemently about the impact of this \$314,000 grant from Syracuse University that completely conflicted with the program in Syracuse that was being operated by the officials in charge.

Mr. Chairman, let me just read to the members of the Committee some quotations about what Mayor Walsh said.

He charged:

It was a misuse of public funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity to finance such a project to stir up demonstrations, rent strikes, and marches on city hall.

He documented some of the alleged troublemaking activities of trainees of the Syracuse University project, sponsored by OEO. He said one trainee had started a campaign to get a prisoner released from jail as a victim of poverty. Mr. Walsh described him as a vicious, habitual criminal, whose record included cases of rape, sodomy, and brutal assault. He read a full letter written by one of the trainees asking that this gentleman be released from jail because he was poor and he had not had a chance to defend himself, and then Mayor Walsh went down the record of what this particular individual had done in his life and the official charges and convictions involved.

Mayor Walsh charged trainees had stirred up so much unrest among residents of the Federal housing project that the city housing director had written to President Johnson demanding an investigation.

He noted further that employees of one Federal agency were stirring up trouble for another Federal agency.

He also charged that there were some registration drives in housing projects and in slum areas of the city in an effort to get the poor to register as Democrats. They put out a little pamphlet in the Syracuse University project and it was for the use of those individuals going into the public housing projects. Their instructions were when they rang the doorbell to say, among other things, that "we are here to strengthen democratic institutions and organizations." The word "democratic" in the pamphlet was not capitalized. But, Mr. Chairman, when you speak the word "democratic" you do not capitalize or uncapitalize it. They went into these housing developments saying, "We are here to strengthen democratic organizations."

Mr. Chairman, this is the kind of thing that was going on there.

I say to my friends on the other side of the aisle—and I respect very much their concern for academic freedom and I too have great concern for academic freedom—if these were projects of an academic nature, if they involved an intellectual investigation and some kind

of research procedures that belong in the academic community, I would say "Yes."

When the academic unit goes into an action program, when they are moving into areas in conflict with existing programs set out under the community action program, I say they should be coordinated through the State officials.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and section close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I have another amendment at the Clerk's desk which will affect this section and I hope we will have more than 10 minutes to discuss the amendment which has not been offered.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. GLENN ANDREWS].

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I will simply say, as Oliver Goldsmith stated:

Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind

And to Party gave up what was meant for mankind.

This is a program that has a great potential, the poverty program. Many of us on this side sincerely want to have many of these programs put into operation. But we decry the fact there is so much waste of human resources.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. VIVIAN].

(Mr. VIVIAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

The amendment could seriously impede some of the most necessary and productive efforts of the economic opportunity program.

A few minutes ago, while speaking in favor of the amendment, the gentleman claimed that a demonstration grant program being carried on now in Superior and Ypsilanti townships of Washtenaw County, Mich., in my district, is an example of a type of program that should be prevented by adoption of this amendment. I disagree.

The project in question is demonstration project No. 283.

Week after week, since the initiation of this project, efforts have been made to discredit the project, its sponsors, and the Office of Economic Opportunity, by a handful of persons who comprise a group that calls itself REPLY—which stands for Return Every Penny and Leave Ypsilanti.

This small group has obtained the attention of the Nation's news media by

pressing an attack on the persons and procedures involved in this project. A few moments hence, I will have more to say about this group.

But first, I would like to describe for the distinguished Members of this House, just what this project is, and what is being accomplished. You will quickly see that the project is a constructive effort, an effort of which the Office of Economic Opportunity and the community can both be proud.

The project was initiated on January 17, 1965, when a grant was made from the Community Action Program Department of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in the amount of \$188,252, to the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Michigan and Wayne State University—two of the great public universities of the Midwest. The grant was made to conduct a demonstration program in the Willow Run area. Willow Run Village was the area of homes and apartments constructed over two decades ago, to serve the famous World War II bomber plant at Willow Run Airport, 30 miles west of Detroit, Mich.

The area lies within Ypsilanti and Superior Townships of Washtenaw County, Mich., and contains some 5,000 residents. The project was requested and initiated to find, first, the reasons why several persistent "pockets of poverty" in the Willow Village area continue to exist, in spite of increasing employment and generally rising prosperity in the area; and, second, to try and to assess various techniques for alleviating and correcting this situation, to determine how similar pockets of poverty elsewhere might be handled. The sponsors were particularly interested in trying various "self-help" approaches, which would closely involve the residents in the operations of the project.

Families would be helped to improve their own economic and social positions, and to increase their participation in civic affairs.

The work in progress under the project comprises two principal efforts: First, a community action program; and second, a research program. The community action program has, as proposed, been assigned for day-by-day supervision to a neighborhood organization known as WRAND—standing for Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development. The specific projects now underway by this group are as follows:

First. A day-care, preschool program: This program, started originally by the WRAND organization prior to the award of the grant, is being continued and expanded to include additional children plus additional services for the children now registered. Typical preschool training is being given, and also an attempt is being made to discern what health and emotional problems each child may have which will require correction. A total of 25 children are now receiving assistance—half of whom were selected from families classified as low-income families. The number of students is to be increased as rapidly as competent teachers become available.

Second. A tutorial program for elementary school children: This program

also was already in existence prior to award of the grant, under the sponsorship of WRAND, and it is being continued and expanded to include junior high school as well as elementary school children. The tutors will be drawn from Eastern Michigan University nearby. The tutorial program is directed toward upgrading the educational background of those children who had limited educational opportunities.

Third. Job opportunities training: This demonstration work-training program is being begun to serve youths whose families are in economic need and who have dropped out of school. The initial effort will be the renovation of the WRAND community center building, which had deteriorated from lack of community sponsorship. Some 20 youths are currently enrolled. Remedial academic classes will be given to these youths, and job openings have already been found for some youths, both Caucasian and Negro.

Fourth. Adult education program: Adult classes are being formed in personal health and hygiene, and in family dietary needs, for residents of the area, particularly housewives, who have not been exposed to modern concepts in dietary or home economics practices. A further purpose of this adult education program is to accustom some of the less fortunate residents to classroom and learning situations—situations which had not been a part of their previous experience. As soon as the first classes have created adequate community interest, the enrollees will be offered courses in simple economics and English, and eventually an effort will be made to assist these people to complete a high school level of training. An adult education program in typing has been started for those able to cope with language requirements.

Fifth. Recreation program: A community recreation program has been begun, utilizing the limited facilities now existing, plus facilities being created under the job retraining effort mentioned a moment ago. Several baseball leagues are in operation for youths in the community, and an arts and crafts program is being started. A drill team and a majorette team are being initiated to interest the teenagers.

Sixth. Training in community activities and neighborhood cooperation: An attempt is being made to train selected residents of the community sufficiently so that they will be able to teach in the ongoing programs—first, the recreation programs; and second, the education programs. A newsletter is being published regularly to distribute information to the community on the progress of the entire project, and also to train the interested residents in the communication arts. Residents are being asked to participate in community self-surveys, so they will have a better comprehension of the interests, the problems, and the needs of the community.

The research portion of the overall program is proceeding concurrently with the above listed action programs. A professional research staff is observing all aspects of the operations of the various programs described above; and a

report will be prepared containing case histories, plus evaluations of the processes involved in developing this community effort.

The above efforts comprise the principal efforts under the project.

Now, Mr. Chairman, some of the detractors of this project have said, "This area is not poor; it is prosperous; we don't need this project."

Well, from personal experiences, including personal visits last fall to and into many homes in the area, I know that, in spite of the prosperity evident in much of the surrounding community, nevertheless "pockets of poverty" do exist in the area; they are very real, and very much in need of attention.

True, most of the geographic area of the two townships is becoming a very attractive community. However, I personally have walked along a street in the affected area where house after house was boarded shut because it had been repossessed. I have been in homes in the area where the furnishings and household equipment, the general condition of the home, showed very obviously that the occupants were not only financially ill off, but perhaps equally important, had not assimilated from our culture some of the essential habits required of a homeowner to maintain property in a creditable condition.

Many of the breadwinners in this immediate area have had, at best, very erratic employment. Their hourly wages have been low, and they have not been able, either through lack of opportunities of their own limitations, to maintain constant employment.

Many are receiving welfare assistance. During the month of February 1965, some 163 residents were eligible for surplus food; and 60 families were receiving funds under the aid to families with dependent children program.

Many will continue to do so, will continue to absorb welfare tax funds, unless some program such as this one can be made effective.

I repeat, this is a demonstration program aimed at learning how to ameliorate pockets of poverty in an otherwise prosperous area—a program being run by a famous institution which has a reputation for very effective research.

Next, detractors of the project have claimed that the local community overwhelmingly opposes it.

Those Members who have read a statement on page A3540 of the *RECORD*, made by a disaffected area resident and inserted in the Appendix of the *RECORD* by a Member of the other body, will find a sentence which reads as follows:

We—

Here referring to Mr. Arthur Amolsch and Mr. Gordon Mattson, identified as the chairman of the *REPLY* group—represents at least 75 percent of the residents of Willow Run Village. We are shocked at the highhanded methods employed by the OEO in our community.

I would like to point out that, to the best of my knowledge, neither of the gentlemen identified holds any official position which qualifies him to state that he represents 75 percent of the residents

of that area. Moreover, individuals who previously belonged to the *REPLY* group have left the group, disappointed at its methods and performance, and have now associated themselves with the *WRAND* organization. For example, Mr. Donna Helton, of Ypsilanti, Mich., formerly secretary of the *REPLY* group, has made public a letter dated June 11, 1965, in which she states:

The attacks on *WRAND* and the Federal grant have been vicious, unjustified and unfair. I was secretary of *REPLY* until recently when I realized the truth.

REPLY held only three meetings. By the third meeting the attendance had dwindled to only 10 people. That was months ago. It now consists of its three officers. It speaks for these three people. No membership meetings have been held to endorse their attitudes or their actions.

At first most of us thought that *REPLY* was going to serve the community. People became disgusted when the leaders began to deal only in politics and attacking *WRAND* and the grant. I really doubt that *REPLY* could get its members back because of what they, the leaders, have done.

I would never work with *REPLY* again unless it changed from politics to trying to help people.

I have recently gone to the *WRAND* building, saw for myself what was going on. I found that *WRAND* was using the money carefully and in the most worthwhile way. After finding out the truth I am going to work with *WRAND* to better our community.

Next, some persons who are engaged in political affairs in the area have objected because this demonstration grant was awarded from Washington directly to the research organization. They have objected that this procedure did not permit the local political power structure to veto or to dominate the project.

I have repeated before and must reiterate this grant is a demonstration grant to a research organization. This type of grant does not normally go to a local governmental agency not experienced in the conduct of research projects.

Furthermore, I am sure, from conversations with officials of the sponsoring institutions, that these organizations will be more than pleased to work constructively with the local governmental units. The local governments certainly are not being prevented or deterred from participation in the project. Local officials who have offered to participate on a constructive basis—rather than for the purpose of damaging the prospects of the fulfillment of the project—have been welcomed.

Perhaps the saddest single comment I can make is that a distressing number of local residents have objected to the grant award upon the basis that it implies that everyone in the community will be labeled as being "poor." I can only feel a sense of sorrow that there exist so many individuals who, in order that their own shining prosperity not be tarnished, attempt to deny aid to those nearby who are in dire need.

Furthermore, I am forced to point out a fact which is not disclosed in the statements frequently encountered; that is, that the neighborhood of principal concern is practically a Negro ghetto.

In fact, I have found that many of the residents of the surrounding area who

have complained about this project have never been on the streets of the most depressed area—it just was not part of their world.

Next, the authors of the statement, quoted earlier have claimed that the award was obtained "under false pretenses," that the award was the greatest swindle since the Roman era. They protest that the grant was awarded on the basis of an 88-page initial document, which document they claim contained a very large number of inaccuracies. I would like the Members to know that the document to which they refer was an initial first draft—a draft which, in fact, in my opinion did contain some inappropriate material. But all persons directly concerned with the negotiation of the award have repeated time and again that this document did not serve as the basis for the grant.

Contrary to the accusations made, the document submitted for funding purposes was in fact a shorter document which contained virtually none of the particular material to which they objected.

I would like to read the text of a telegram sent, on February 15, 1965, to Dr. Harold Dorr, dean of statewide education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., by the Acting Director of the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Richard W. Boone:

Re demonstration project No. 283.

The Office of Economic Opportunity would like to assure the university that the charge that has been leveled that the grant was obtained under false pretenses is, in our opinion, untrue. The Office of Economic Opportunity clearly understood that the employment situation in the Willow Village area had changed since the 1960 census. This grant was made under section 207 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as a demonstration program. The project was seen as an effort to ally a major university with an area which is regarded as in need of assistance in the development of self-help employment, health, and child care program.

The Willow Village area or portions of it are typical of hundreds of areas across the country which may fall outside of the usual development of an areawide community action program. The proposed project as submitted by the University of Michigan and supported by the Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development clearly met the criteria for demonstration as developed by this office. The 1960 background statistics were not germane to that decision. The project will be testing a technique of developing self-help programs and the rendering of technical assistance to a small community. Knowledge gained from the successful carrying out of this project is deemed important to the conduct of hundreds of other community action programs in areas like Willow Village. In addition, in our judgment, the upgrading of portions of a community like Willow Village reaps benefits for the larger communities of which they are a part. We have full confidence in the university and its capacity to carry out an effective demonstration.

As the director of the *WRAND* Association has said:

We are fervently hoping that those who have less need will join in with us to help those who have most need, and in so doing make a better community for all. We feel

that this kind of effort is in the best spirit of American democratic tradition.

My own attitude toward this particular project, is best summarized and expressed by words spoken on the matter by Emory Mulholland, the supervisor of the principally affected township—Superior Township—and, I might add, a bona fide long-term member of the so-called political power structure in the area. Mr. Mulholland recently remarked to a reporter from the New York Times:

If all units of Government would unite and back up the WRAND project, there would be a lot of good come out of it.

I, for one, agree with his philosophy, Mr. Chairman. For, in spite of whatever mistakes have been made long after the publicity seekers have gone, long after those who fancy insult have forgotten, or been diverted to newer fads, long after the partisan battle has subsided, most of my constituents in the Willow Run area will continue to live there, and die there, will continue to have children, will continue to dream that the pursuit of happiness applies to all. Our obligation is to aid them to help themselves. This program does just that. If it is successful, we will also learn how we can similarly help others, in like situations in other communities, throughout the Nation. Let us not be diverted by this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER].

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, I oppose this amendment for the same reason I opposed the Governor's veto amendment. In our State, we have just heard the Governor has seven employees charged with examining all aspects of our antipoverty program, and all local proposals for local projects anywhere in the State. That job cannot be done with seven employees and as a result the Governor has not been able to do his homework. Our programs in New York State have been delayed month after month, after the Governor has had knowledge of pending proposals as they were being developed.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS].

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I oppose this amendment. This question came up in the Rules Committee, when I was appearing before the Rules Committee in support of my bill. At that time the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] suggested that perhaps we should cut out this section of the act because under this section of the act head-start programs were able to get started in his particular congressional district down there. If you adopt this amendment, you are going to, in effect, slow down the Head Start program in areas of the United States where it is difficult to get them started.

I do not believe the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] knew what he was doing when he offered this amendment, but I want the House to know what it is doing when it votes on this question.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL].

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, all I can say is the gentleman from Florida has put his finger right on the Caucasian in the wood pile.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. PUCINSKI

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PUCINSKI: Page 5, after line 3, insert the following:

"NOTICES

"SEC. 9. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(e) When the Director receives an application from a private nonprofit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such community action agency of the receipt of such application."

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, this is a very simple amendment. It is designed to let the left hand know what the right hand is doing in many aspects of this antipoverty program. The amendment provides that when a city, or a group of cities, or a county, or a group of counties or State, or a group of States, organize a community action agency to try to coordinate and marshal the resources of their respective area to wage a war against poverty, that particular community action agency shall be notified by the OEO whenever the OEO receives an application for a community action program from a private agency in the area under the jurisdiction of the particular community action agency.

It is designed to let local people waging the war against poverty know what is going on in their respective communities. One of the most frequent criticisms we have heard of the antipoverty program is that local officials are not kept sufficiently posted on project applications in their own area being filed with the OEO in Washington. Several mayors have told me they have to learn from the newspapers what private agencies are being considered for community action programs in this area.

I think this will help local governments cooperate more effectively with each other and have a better understanding with respect to the program. Under the amendment, the OEO must notify the official community action agency within 5 days that it has received a request for funds from the OEO from a private agency in the area. This means that hereafter when private agencies bypass their local community action agency and try to get funds directly from Washington, the OEO must notify the local community action agency within 5 days that it has received such an application. This gives the local CAA an opportunity to either

comment on such application or contact the private agency and invite it to joint the local community action program.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL].

Mr. POWELL. I would like to thank the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, a member of our committee, for this amendment and say that we have no objection to it whatsoever.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PUCINSKI. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GOODELL. Would this include grants to universities?

Mr. PUCINSKI. Yes. It would include all applications by private agencies where there is a community action agency existing in the area. Whether they are universities or social service groups, unions, churches, or whoever else requests funds from the OEO.

Mr. GOODELL. Does it include a university or college if they are applying for funds—and the OEO receives this application?

Mr. PUCINSKI. That is correct; yes.

Mr. GOODELL. It applies to both State universities, public universities, and private universities?

Mr. PUCINSKI. It would apply to anyone seeking funds from the OEO for a community action program.

Mr. GOODELL. You used the words "private agencies and organizations." I think the record should indicate it include all types of universities.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The gentleman's point is well taken. It would include all such institutions and organizations, regardless of their nature. If they seek funds for a community action program, the nature of their request must be transmitted to the local community action agency within 5 days.

Mr. GOODELL. I will say to the gentleman, I do not think it is going to do very much good, but it is a short step in the right direction.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the distinguished chairman of our committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL], for his acceptance of the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI].

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GLENN ANDREWS

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GLENN ANDREWS: On page 5, after line 3, insert:

"POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

"SEC. 9. Section 209 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e)(1) No officer or employee of the executive branch of the Federal Government shall make any inquiry concerning the political affiliations or beliefs, except as to such membership in political parties or organizations as constitutes by law a disqualification for Government employment, of any

person who is employed by or associated with any public or private agency, organization, or institution which is a recipient of or an applicant for any assistance under this title, or of any person who is himself a beneficiary or an applicant for benefits under this title. No discrimination shall be exercised, threatened, or promised by any person in the executive branch of the Federal Government, or by any person whose salary is paid in whole or in part from funds appropriated under section 221 of this Act, against or in favor of any person who is a recipient of or an applicant for benefits under this title, because of his political affiliations or beliefs, except as may be specifically authorized or required by law.

"(2) No funds appropriated for the purpose of carrying out this title shall be used in whole or in part for any activity involving political management or a political campaign, or which interferes with or is designed to influence the outcome of any election, and no employee of any private or public agency, organization, or institution who receives a salary paid in whole or in part from these funds shall take any active part in political management or in political campaigns or use his official position or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the result thereof. All such persons shall retain the right to vote as they may choose and to express, in their private capacities, their opinions on all political subjects and candidates.

"(3) Whenever the United States Civil Service Commission finds that any person has violated the foregoing provisions, it shall, after giving due notice and opportunity for explanation to the officer or employee concerned, certify the facts to the Director with specific instructions as to discipline or dismissal or other corrective actions."

And renumber the sections which follow accordingly.

(Mr. GLENN ANDREWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, as I stated in the general debate two days ago, I am very favorably inclined to this interesting, though experimental educational bill for the very poor. But I wish to keep it an educational bill, not a charity bill, or a political bill. I concede that a worthwhile component of education is political education. The evidence, however, is in from all over the Nation that the principal course to be offered in the curricula of many community centers being set up under the community action program is political science. I shy away from political education at taxpayers expense whether being conducted by Communists as was indicated or suggested yesterday, or just plain partisans.

Great stress has been made on what is called involvement of the poor or in the language of the bill itself—the development of indigenous leadership. Yesterday it was proposed that this indigenous leadership dominate the community action program. I shy away from letting those who have been unable to earn a living dominate spending billions of dollars of the taxpayers money. I shy away from domination by these unfortunate people of great areas of the politics of our Nation. I never cared particularly for any kind of domination.

A friend and colleague of mine 2 days ago, when I complained of Tammany Halls all over America, advised me that Tammany Hall was originally a charitable organization. Now I have no real objection to Tammany Hall but there is one notable difference between the common conception of Tammany Hall and the halls apparently projected under the community action program. These modern-day Tammany Halls are at taxpayers' expense. I have happily paid my \$10 to the distinguished ranking minority member of my committee for his thoughtful telegram of yesterday. I discovered last night that my principal opponent in 1966 is organizing and is a leader in a community action program.

My amendment has the purpose of specifically barring political activity, threats, or favoritism from the community action programs.

The amendment closely parallels language already in the act—in section 107—which bars political discrimination and political activity in the conduct of the Job Corps. Of course, it is not in the Job Corps that one would expect to find political activity, but in the community action programs. The present act contains no language to prohibit usage of community action programs. My amendment supplies that missing language.

The amendment does two things: First, it prohibits Federal employees or others who are paid salaries from these funds from exercising any discrimination for or against anyone affected by the program because of that person's political affiliations; Second, it prohibits funds appropriated for community action being used for political management or political campaigns, and it prohibits persons paid a salary from these funds from taking an active part in political campaigns.

In short, my amendment—assuming the law would be enforced—takes community action out of the political arena.

Mr. Chairman, I surely hope that the managers of this bill will accept this amendment. I hope at any rate that the House will adopt it. If this amendment is rejected, the proponents of this legislation are saying—loud enough for all the world to hear—that the war against poverty is a political war for political advantage.

The action we take on this amendment will speak louder than any words as to the true intentions and good faith of those who propose to wage a war on poverty. The issue is clear: it is whether this is a war to help the poor, or merely a scheme to help the party.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment, but before I talk on the amendment I think I must tell my colleagues that Mr. GLENN ANDREWS of Alabama was a member of the subcommittee that went with me and went through the areas of the United States but primarily and practically entirely within the South. He is a very fine traveling companion and works hard on these trips. I took forward to working with him again, so it is not with

any animosity that I rise in opposition to his amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I have studied the gentleman's amendment. He was kind enough to furnish me a copy of it. I have researched the question, and I do not believe his amendment is necessary. We already have sufficient Federal laws on the statute books to prohibit what he is attempting to prohibit. We have the Hatch Act and quite a few other acts on this subject. I do not believe that the amendment is necessary or germane. In fact, if the amendment were adopted—and I do not believe it will be adopted—it would be almost impossible for us to speak to each other in this Chamber or to anyone else that we saw on the street, because it would practically be making criminals out of all of us. I know he does not intend that, but that is what it does. You would never know when you were violating this law, because it is so broad and so sweeping. As I say, there are already sufficient statutes on the books to prohibit this.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Would the gentleman explain to us why practically the same thing was put in section 107 of the bill and purposely, for some reason or another, deleted from the second section of the bill?

Mr. GIBBONS. I read your amendment over, and I had a hard time understanding the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. GLENN ANDREWS]. I found in the first sentence there were 90 words and 5 commas, and I really could not tell which hole you were coming in from and going out of. In the second sentence you had 108 words and 9 commas. These sentences are so long that it is almost as long as the Gettysburg Address in just two sentences. As a lawyer, I have real difficulty in reading the amendment and understanding what you are trying to do in your amendment.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will my colleague yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. Yes. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SCHEUER. I am confused as to the implications of how this amendment would affect the tremendous number of volunteers who have come forward to lend their talents, skills, and time to the poverty effort.

For example, in the community action programs we have had 30,000 citizen leaders across the country who have volunteered to participate. The work-study program has produced 500,000 volunteers this summer; 100,000 of them full time and 400,000 of them part time. Fifty thousand doctors, nurses, and other professionals have volunteered their services. At the rate of \$1.50 an hour for this voluntary time of professionals and leading citizens in local communities across the country, over \$90 million worth of time and effort and talent has been contributed to the poverty program.

Would this amendment mean that these people who are contributing their time and talents to their local commu-

nities would have their careers placed in jeopardy?

Mr. GIBBONS. I think the gentleman has illustrated the predicament in which we could find ourselves. If your wife were doing volunteer work, when you go home, you had better not talk to her about any political beliefs, if this amendment is adopted.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I yield.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. In answer to the question of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SCHEUER], this amendment has nothing to do with volunteers at all. It states specifically they must be salaried members directly connected with these programs.

Mr. GIBBONS. I should like to correct the gentleman. It says "or associated." "Associated" covers the complete waterfront.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I yield.

Mr. SCHEUER. Citizen volunteers may have official involvement in these programs on a volunteer, noncompensated basis. I would suggest to my colleague from Alabama that if there are politically motivated people across the country who want to solidify their roots in their communities and achieve proper recognition for constructive community work, they probably are working as volunteers in these programs. Are we going to foreclose them from being active participants at some future time in the political arena because of the recognition they receive for doing honest, legitimate constructive community service?

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I urge that this amendment be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. GLENN ANDREWS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I have in hand a booklet entitled "War on Waste" which was issued by the Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, and contains on the cover page this quotation from President Johnson:

I pledge a war on waste * * * And I ask you to help me to fight that war.

On page 52 of this booklet issued by the Executive Office of the President there is this quotation:

Experience indicated that increasing dependence on the cost-plus-fixed-fee (CPFF) type of contract had failed to gain the results desired in controlling programs after the contracts were placed. Major criticisms of this type of contract were lagging program schedules, performance failures, massive overruns in costs, and the general lack of incentives for contractors to turn in a better performance at lower cost. The reason for this was obvious: total reimbursement of all allowable costs and a negotiated fee were guaranteed. This is gradually being changed.

Despite the professed dim view which the Johnson administration takes in con-

nection with the waste and extravagance in using contract operators, I see no real signs of change. I hope some member of the committee on the Democrat side of the aisle will explain to me why the Johnson administration is now entering into additional multi-million-dollar cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts in this poverty program with some of the largest corporations in the United States. This at the very same time when the "War on Waste" booklet, issued with the approval of the President of the United States, says that such contracts ought to go, that we ought to get out of cost-plus-fixed-fee contract business. Only a few days ago, the Defense Department told us it is reducing its fixed-fee contract business in the next fiscal year and expects to save \$35 million by so doing. Yet here is a new program which is going head over heels into the use of such contracts.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Is the gentleman a member of the committee?

Mr. SICKLES. Yes, I am.

Mr. GROSS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. SICKLES. I was a little concerned about the same general subject matter. I have not read that document in the gentleman's hand and I am not sure that I can necessarily satisfy the gentleman in the well. But let me tell the gentleman what I did find out. The kinds of contracts which have been awarded by OEO are of a little bit different variety than those which have been negotiated before.

The percentage which is paid is 4.7 percent of expended costs but is not a true cost-plus contract.

It is true that based upon the costs that are expended, 4.7 percent is what is paid to the corporations. But the first thing that is done is that an estimated cost is determined. The Government determines that this is a proper estimated cost. Since this is a cost reimbursement plan if less than the estimated cost is spent, then of course the company receives less.

Mr. GROSS. Please do not take quite all of my time.

Mr. SICKLES. I just want one more point and I shall be concluded.

Mr. GROSS. All right.

Mr. SICKLES. If the cost goes over the estimated amount then there is no increase in the fee which is paid. In other words, the maximum they can receive would be 4.7 percent of the estimated cost.

Mr. GROSS. In other words, you have a contract that pay 5 percent—4.7, almost 5 percent—on top of lush salaries paid to these contract outfits.

The gentleman will not deny that there are some fancy salaries paid in these big corporation and their subsidiary contracting outfits?

Mr. SICKLES. If the gentleman will yield further, I am not aware of any excess salaries that are being paid in connection with these particular contracts.

Mr. GROSS. Well, has the gentleman or his committee made an investi-

gation to determine whether that is true or not?

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, briefly.

Mr. GIBBONS. I made an investigation of this because the matter came up before our committee at one time. I found that the corporations with whom contracts have been made apparently are offering the best price to the Government that we can get from any agency to conduct this type of business. Their overhead costs were five times as small as the overhead costs of the best universities that we could get interested in coming into this field.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me for 30 seconds?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, that briefly.

Mr. SCHEUER. Is my colleague aware of the fact that some of the large corporations which have undertaken research projects, an examination of the history and observation of the program on an input-output basis, are doing this for the OEO for 4.7 percent but yet were receiving for similar work from the armed services fees ranging from 7 to 10 percent? This is what the testimony discloses.

Mr. GROSS. But, my friend, this is supposed to be a poverty program.

Mr. SCHEUER. The figure of 4.7 percent is a rather close one.

Mr. GROSS. I want to see all the money saved that can possibly be saved in the Department of Defense and we have been assured that Defense is moving to cut down on service and management contracts.

I have been opposed to this contracting out of work that could be done in-house cheaper. I say again that this is supposed to be a poverty program and I wonder why all of this expense.

Mr. SCHEUER. This represents the cost of the overhead.

Mr. GROSS. Why should the Government be paying 4.7 percent on top of the fancy and lush salaries to those employed by the corporations, and there are some of the biggest in the business to which you are contracting out management of the poverty program? I thought the Democrats were opposed to fattening the big corporations.

When I came to Congress the Democrats were sweating and bleeding at every pore on the subject of the big, bad corporations in this country.

Yet here you are with a poverty program ladeling out multimillion-dollar contracts on a fixed-fee basis and all of these contracts—

Mr. SCHEUER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Wait a minute. And it is my understanding that all of these contracts, involving millions upon millions of dollars, have been negotiated, that not one of them has been entered into on a competitive-bid basis.

Mr. SCHEUER. There are very few companies in this country that qualify for this kind of work.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. I am glad the gentleman from Iowa has brought up this very significant point and that he has directed this colloquy especially to some member of the committee. There is the question as to whether or not there are built-in protections against exorbitant profits in these contracts which are similar to the Renegotiation Act as it pertains to the armed services or the process of redetermination of defense contracts.

Is there any protection against exorbitant profitmaking?

Mr. GROSS. I know of no protection against what amounts to exorbitant profitmaking in these poverty contracts. No standards have as yet been developed by the Office of Economic Opportunity to measure a contractor's costs or efficiency. It is easily possible that these big corporation contract holders, with their cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts, will be able to recoup from the poverty program the financial losses sustained through a reduced number of contracts in the Defense Department.

Mr. GUBSER. What is in there to preserve these costs?

Mr. GROSS. I say again that poverty program officials made no determination, so far as our subcommittee could find, of the actual cost of these contracts.

I want to point to another cute little gimmick that is used in this alleged poverty business. That is the training of lawyers to represent the poor.

Listen to what Mr. Julian R. Dugas, director of the neighborhood legal services project, says in announcing an expenditure of thousands of dollars in the Washington, D.C., area alone:

Our experience has taught us that the (legal) staff needs to be acquainted with law that deals specifically with the problems of the poor. The emphasis in law school is on serving the rich.

How do you lawyers like that indictment? How do you like this indictment of the entire legal fraternity, that lawyers have to be especially trained to represent the poor? The universities and colleges are not turning out lawyers who are competent to defend the poor as well as the rich.

You lawyers in the House ought to have some small concern about this indictment of your profession. And so the poverty program is spending some \$36,000 in the District of Columbia alone to train lawyers to take care of the poor. I thought every lawyer was trained to represent both poor and rich. Have we made a mistake in writing the law wherein we give a judge authority to appoint a lawyer to defend an indigent? I do not believe the law says anything about the lawyer having to be especially trained to represent the poor. Perhaps we had better amend the law to say that no judge can appoint a lawyer to defend an indigent in the future unless that lawyer has been especially trained and holds

a certificate qualifying him to practice in a poor court.

Our universities and colleges are turning out only attorneys to do what? To represent the rich. What an indictment of the law colleges of this Nation. I wish some Member on this side of the aisle would get up and defend this use of poverty money for the education of lawyers.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, while I do not always agree with my good friend from Iowa, I think he did a great service today by pointing out the serious problems that will come of this program. It was very difficult to let contracts on a competitive basis when this started. You did not know the kind of a contract to bid on or to ask bids on. Therefore, a negotiated contract was the sensible way to proceed. But within a short period of time from now—this should be a part of the record—the Committee on Education and Labor should either provide for some return of undue profits, although I am against that because of the detail and redtape it sets up, or we should serve notice that we will do everything we can to see wherever a competitive contract can be called for, that it will be called for under this act.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Yesterday the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] criticized the Head Start program in the District of Columbia because one of his children had been invited to join one of the programs. The House is entitled to know the facts of this matter, which I have had occasion to ascertain.

This particular Head Start project is being conducted on the premises of the National Child Research Center, which is donating its facilities, buildings, and grounds for the purpose. The program is being operated under the direction of two parent-teachers associations, one from a school composed largely of white children and the other from a school composed largely of Negro children. Their joint decision was that it would be desirable for the summer preschool project to include a small number of white children from the neighborhood and that the presence of these children would be of benefit to the other children. The parents of these white children—8 out of a total of 60—are paying a fee for the course. In addition, the sponsors of the project have obtained private contributions very substantially in excess of the requisite 10 percent. The Federal Government is contributing \$8,200 to this program. Private foundations and private individuals are contributing \$2,750, and this does not include the value of the land and school facilities being contributed. Thus, the fees charged and the supplemental private contributions more than cover the cost of including the eight white children.

If the gentleman from New York was familiar with these facts, he did not reveal them to the House. If he was not familiar with them, it is because he had not taken the trouble to investigate.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BINGHAM. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. How much does a parent, who is not a poverty-stricken parent, pay in the way of a fee for his or her child?

Mr. BINGHAM. The fee for each child is \$35 for the program.

Mr. QUIE. For the 2-month program?

Mr. BINGHAM. It is a 7-week program.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, a little later I will offer an amendment. My amendment is a simple one and I thought I would like to bring it up now for the benefit of the Members of the House so that they can give some thought to it.

As I said, my amendment is a very simple one. It provides that not more than 10 percent of the funds appropriated under this program be spent for the purposes of administration and salaries.

Obviously, if we're going to have a poverty program worth the name, we must see that it helps those who need the help rather than establishing a large new crop of aristocrats by patronage.

Because I am a member of the Appropriations Committee, some might say I am concerned about our Nation's money—and I am, as every legislator certainly should be. But I am even more concerned with the poor. I want to see that they get the benefit of these programs rather than some armchair appointees picked for their political performance.

Mr. Chairman, as the House considers the poverty program, let us make our decision based on three important views; first, our own views as legislators; second, the views of our Nation's poor; and third, the convictions and feelings of the citizens of the United States, who will pay the bill for this program. Since these views cannot be set apart in every respect, let us see how they affect each other and intermingle to form our basis for considering the legislation that is before us.

We know that the poverty-stricken of America need the full benefit of this program. Let us make sure we have a stable program that can do this before we waste fantastic amounts of appropriated money on side-benefactors and shirt-tail money grabbers who may be taking advantage of the poverty program.

We want to help the poor people of our Nation. We want to aid them through effective and proven patterns of economic assistance. Let us do this. Let us finish building the ship before we load the cargo. In this way, if the ship sinks, we will not lose that cargo. One and a half billion dollars is quite a cargo load, in my estimation.

Much of the "cargo" we loaded last year was lost, far out on some ocean of

waste and bureaucracy. It never got to port to benefit the Nation's poor.

As I was uncovering information concerning this legislation, I ran into a very unique and vague phrase—"administratively confidential." This phrase describes the information locked in the OEO offices that enumerates and accounts for the administrative and advertising expenses of the poverty program. I ask you, gentlemen—Do you want to approve more tax dollars for an agency that cannot or will not tell you what has been done with the last appropriation?

The OEO Director, Mr. Shriver, pointed to a pertinent fact in a recent Time magazine quote:

These local programs are gambles, all of them. We don't know, and the community doesn't know, if every single one of these projects will work, or if any particular assortment of projects is exactly the right combination to eliminate poverty today, tomorrow, or the next day.

I certainly have reservations about spending \$1½ billion on gambles. I do, however, hope that soon some of these gambles will prove to be sure bets. At that time, our taxpayers will not be cheated, and our poor will not be used as guinea pigs any longer. Let us remember that Mr. Shriver's gambles are misusing a sizable portion of our Nation's budget and the people who need help just simply are not getting it. We need performances rather than promises.

The misuse of the poverty funds has been a topic of much discussion in the committees of this body and on the floor itself. During hearings by the Education and Labor Subcommittee on the war on poverty program, charges were made against the excess wages paid to poverty program employees. Mr. Shriver answered these charges with some interesting but hardly comparable facts. He reported that the United States has 4,789 people making more than \$15,000 in the space program, and only 71 people in this wage bracket at poverty headquarters. Quite a difference? Not to anyone who knows of the immensity of our space program.

Of the 1,072 people at poverty headquarters, Mr. Shriver proudly boasts that only 71 are making more than \$15,000. But what about those outside of headquarters, who make \$10,000 or more a year supposedly administering the OEO programs in the field?

I do not question the advisability of having trained, experienced Government employees administering the program here in Washington. However, I do object to the politically appointed chiefs, the office directors in a small and forgotten office somewhere in a corner of a city or State, who receive ridiculously high wages for doing the work that the poor themselves in many cases could do and thereby diminish the amounts available to help those people who are supposedly the reason for this program.

On June 30 of this year on the floor of this body, the remarks of my friend and colleague, Congressman FRELINGHUYSEN of New Jersey, informed us of the excessive wages paid to some instructors in the Head Start program. Jobs

paying \$8 to \$9.20 per hour for a 25-hour week are totally out of line with what most teachers get in America and seem to be a poor way to fight poverty. These funds could be used far better to supplement the normal teacher's already far too low wages.

Examples of the poverty program's waste and poor judgment have come up in my own State of North Dakota. An Indian reservation in my district was allotted \$53,189 from the community action program. The money was to be made available to their duly elected tribal council. I have here quotes from some of the letters that the chairman of the Tribal Council has sent me concerning the ridiculous developments in this program. I quote the elected tribal chairman from a letter dated June 19, 1965:

I am writing asking for help. And this one time I will need your help, and I am also writing to Senator MILTON R. YOUNG. I need you both. We do have a poverty program in action on our reservation. But your program director is a no good person.

And what I want is to stop this program for a time until an investigation is made because there are a lot of things Mr. X has done, things which he is not authorized to do.

Mr. X has abolished the community garden program, which was very good for our people. Community garden project was approved by officials in Washington and funds were to be used on garden project only. Grand total \$9,246. And now Mr. X has abolished this garden project and is not using these funds on other jobs where our people could have benefitted from them.

The tribal chairman goes on to explain where the money for the garden project went, and lists several expenditures, such as paying a non-Indian to cut hay, pay for Mr. X's telephone bill, hiring three men to plant five trees in 1 week, and so on. Then the letter goes on to say:

And Mr. X is sitting back there in town in his law office and drawing \$10,000 a year from this poverty program. Mr. X should have his office on the reservation, but he has refused to do it because he says, "I have a lot of business in my office every day," which is true. Because I, as chairman, used to have a little to say about our poverty program. But now I don't have one thing to say. I used to go in almost every day to see Mr. X but was unable to see him because he was busy with other business.

He does come to Tribal office about 4 times a month and gets a check for \$750 for doing nothing for us Indians. We only have one Indian person working under the program.

As the tribal chairman explained, the program director is also a lawyer in a nearby city. Thus he divides his time between two jobs. This seems to be the pattern all the way up the ladder in the OEO agency.

So you see, the people who themselves should be the recipients of this type of program are cognizant of the waste of money, the extravagance, and the poor management of the poverty program.

This advice and comments from the poor themselves—from the people the poverty program should be aiding—should guide our decision on this legislation more than anything else. Let us iron out the wrinkled spots in the poverty program with the aid and advice

of the poor themselves. Let us use their comments and help so they can help themselves out of poverty with the aid of a strong, proven program that has no waste—that gives the poor effective help without giving some Government-paid executive something for nothing.

Certainly if we are sincere about this program, no thinking person would object to a 10-percent limit on the amount spent for administrative purposes.

We must not allow the misuse of the poverty program. We must allow it to grow and prove itself before we take the chance of pouring any more money into a bucket that is too full of holes already. Let us give the bucket time to get its holes patched up. Let us establish firm guidelines to make this program more effective and then implement it with our tax dollars.

Mr. Chairman, we must give serious consideration to the way the program is going before we continue headlong with a wastefully expensive program that renders ineffective our tax dollars needed in fighting this poverty war.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FRELINGHUYSEN

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN: On page 5, after line 3, insert:

"EXERCISE OF GOVERNOR'S DISAPPROVAL

"SEC. 9. Section 209 of such Act is further amended by inserting at the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

"(e) In exercising his power of disapproval as provided in subsection (c) the Governor may disapprove of a particular project or activity that forms a part of a comprehensive community action program or plan without disapproving such program or plan in its entirety."

And renumber the sections which follow accordingly.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order against the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California reserves a point of order.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, my amendment is very simple. It would provide, in the exercise of a veto by a Governor, the right of that Governor to veto part of a broad plan or program.

The advisability for writing specific language into the existing legislation arose out an incident with respect to the Governor of New York and the program which was to be made available in New York City. Members will recall that late in June Governor Rockefeller wrote a letter to Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, saying he found it impossible to endorse the allocation of some \$5,642,687 of funds to New York City. He had certain objections with respect to the duplication of services which he saw would result from use of these funds. He also referred to the potential for these centers developing into political clubhouses.

In answer to this letter of Governor Rockefeller, Mr. Shriver wrote a letter indicating that, in his opinion, under the present law a Governor does not have a power to disapprove individual elements of a single grant.

As I have indicated, the money to be made available, and which has since been made available, to New York City, was a very considerable amount, \$5½ million.

It seems quite obvious to me—and I hope entirely noncontroversial—that we should make it possible to exercise disapproval over what might be a relatively small portion of a big program. Thus, an item veto would let the city or governmental unit or agency seeking money to receive the balance of the funds. It would be most unwise if the existing language in the act should be interpreted as it was interpreted by Mr. Shriver last month. Such an interpretation would make it impossible for a Governor to exercise what I have already described as an admittedly crude power to influence the types of programs to the set up in his State.

The gentleman from Indiana, in his discussion of the veto power, indicated the advisability of trying to provide Governors with an effective voice, of trying to bring experience at the State level to bear on the program to be financed at the Federal level.

This amendment, allowing a more refined use of the Governor's veto, would allow a Governor to exercise his power on an individual basis instead of either accepting everything—the bad apple included with all the good ones—or having all the funds taken from an area which was seeking the Federal money.

I trust that my amendment is reasonably clear and that it will be accepted.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield to the gentlewoman from Oregon.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. If I understand it correctly, this amounts to a line veto. Would it still be subject to a review by the Director of the economic opportunity program?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. My amendment does nothing with respect to the language in the committee bill which gives the Director of the OEO the opportunity to review any veto by a Governor.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. So the Director would still have the opportunity to review the Governor's veto?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The answer to that question is "Yes."

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. All you are asking for is a line veto within that veto?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. That is exactly right, I would say to the gentleman.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my reservation of a point of order.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close now.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The CLERK. Page 5, line 4:

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS;
FEDERAL SHARE

SEC. 9. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year ending June 30,

1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and each of the two succeeding fiscal years,".

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER TRAINING

SEC. 10. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended—

(1) by striking out "From the sums appropriated to carry out this title" in section 213(a) and inserting in lieu thereof "From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218"; and

(2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following new section 218:

"TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

"SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine."

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

SEC. 11. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof, and by redesignating part D as part C and section 221 as section 220.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. QUIE

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to H.R. 8283 offered by Mr. QUIE: Page 6, strike out lines 11 through 14, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

"SEC. 11. (a) Part C of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"PART C—PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS

"Purpose

"SEC. 219. It is the purpose of this part to provide a comprehensive preschool program for children of low-income families.

"Grants to States

"SEC. 220. (a) From the sums appropriated to carry out this title, the Director shall make grants to States which have State programs approved by him under this section.

"(b) Grants under subsection (a) may be used, in accordance with regulations of the Director, to—

"(1) assist in the establishment of a preschool program to prepare children from low-income families to successfully undertake the regular elementary school program, and may include incidental health, remedial, and developmental services; and

"(2) assist in meeting the costs incurred by local educational agencies in carrying on such programs.

"State plans

"SEC. 221. (a) The Director shall approve, for purposes of this part, of a plan of a State which—

"(1) provides for administration thereof by the State educational agency;

"(2) provides that such agency will make such reports to the Director, in such form and containing such information, as may reasonably be necessary to enable the Director to perform his duties under this part and will keep such records and afford such access

thereto as the Director finds necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

"(b) The Director shall not finally disapprove of any State plan submitted under this part or any modification thereof, without first affording the State educational agency reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

"Allotments

"SEC. 222. (a) (1) From the sums allocated for grants to States under section 220 for any fiscal year, the Director shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 2 per centum thereof, as he may determine, and shall allot such amount among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands, according to their respective needs, for assistance under this part. From the remainder of such sums the Director shall allot to each State an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount of such remainder as the product of—

"(A) the population aged 3 through 6 (both inclusive) of the State, and

"(B) the State's allotment ratio (as determined under paragraph (2)),

bears to the sum of the corresponding products for all the States.

"(2) The "allotment ratio" for any State shall be 100 per centum less the product of (A) 50 per centum, and (B) the quotient obtained by dividing the income per child aged 3 through 6 (both inclusive) for the State by the income per child aged 3 through 6 (both inclusive) for the United States, except that the allotment ratio shall in no case be less than 33½ per centum or more than 66½ per centum. The allotment ratios shall be promulgated by the Director between July 1 and August 31 of each even-numbered year beginning with the calendar year 1966, on the basis of the average of the incomes per child aged 3 through 6 (both inclusive) for the States and for the United States for the three most recent consecutive years for which satisfactory data are available from the Department of Commerce. Each such promulgation shall be conclusive for each of the two fiscal years in the period ending July 1 next preceding such promulgation.

"(b) The portion of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for a fiscal year which the Director determines will not be required, for the period such allotment is available, for carrying out the State plan (if any) approved under this part shall be available for reallocation from time to time, on such dates during such period as the Director may fix, to other States in proportion to the original allotments to such States under subsection (a) for such year, but with such proportionate amount for any of such other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum which the Director estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such period of carrying out its State plan approved under this part; and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallocated among the States whose proportionate amounts are not so reduced. Any amount reallocated to a State under this subsection during a year shall be deemed part of its allotment under subsection (a) for such year.

"Payments

"SEC. 223. (a) From a State's allotment available for the purpose, the Federal share of expenditures, under its State plan, for the purposes set forth in section 220(b) shall be paid to such State. Such payments shall be made in advance on the basis of estimates by the Director; and may be made in such installments as the Director may determine, after making appropriate adjustments to take account of previously made overpayments or underpayments; except that no such payments shall be made for any fiscal year unless the Director finds that the

amount available for expenditures for pre-school programs and services from State sources for such year will be not less than the amount expended for such purposes from such sources during the preceding fiscal year.

"(B) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, the Federal share for each State shall be 90 per centum. For the succeeding fiscal year the Federal share for any State shall be 50 per centum.

"Operations of State plans; hearings and judicial review

"SEC. 224. (a) Whenever the Director, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State educational agency administering a State plan approved under this part, finds that—

"(1) the State plan has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of section 221, or

"(2) in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provision, the Director shall notify such State agency that no further payments will be made to the State under this part (or in his discretion, that further payments to the State will be limited to programs under or portions of the State plan not affected by such failure), until he is satisfied that there will no longer be any failure to comply. Until he is so satisfied, no further payments may be made to such State under this part (or payments shall be limited to programs under or portions of the State plan not affected by such failure).

"(b) A State educational agency dissatisfied with a final action of the Director under section 221 or subsection (a) of this section may appeal to the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which the State is located, by filing a petition with such court within sixty days after such final action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Director, or any officer designated by him for that purpose. The Director thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code. Upon the filing of such petition, the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Director or to set it aside, in whole or in part, temporarily or permanently, but until the filing of the record, the Director may modify or set aside his order. The findings of the Director as to the facts, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive, but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Director to take further evidence and the Director may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall file in the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence. The judgment of the court affirming or setting aside, in whole or in part, any action of the Director shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code. The commencement of proceedings under this subsection shall not, unless so specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of the Director's action.

"Miscellaneous

"SEC. 225. For purposes of this part—

"(1) the term "State educational agency" means the State board of education or other agency or officer primarily responsible for the State supervision of public elementary and secondary schools, or, if different, the agency or officer primarily responsible for supervision of pre-school programs in public schools, whichever may be designated by the Governor or by State law, or, if there is no

such agency or officer, an agency or officer designated by the Governor or by State law;

"(2) the term "local educational agency" means a board of education or other legally constituted local school authority having administrative control and direction of public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or political subdivision in a State, except that if there is a separate board or other legally constituted local authority having administrative control and direction of pre-school programs in public schools, it means such other board or authority."

"(b) Part D of title II of such Act is amended by striking out 'Sec. 221' and inserting in lieu thereof 'Sec. 226.'"

Mr. POWELL (interrupting the reading of the amendment). Mr. Chairman, with the permission of the gentleman from Minnesota, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed in the RECORD in full.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I agree.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(Mr. QUIE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is to set up by statute provision for preschool programs. We have a Project Head Start operating in the summer. We do not know how far it is going to go; whether there is going to be any preschool program this coming year or to what extent there will be any such program. The desire for preschool education is evidenced by the fact that whereas the Office of Economic Opportunity expected 100,000 young people to take part, better than 500,000 are taking part in this program. A one-shot deal I do not believe is sufficient.

I think if we are going to reach the people who are poverty stricken, who one generation after another find themselves in the same straits, we need to help them when they are young. Studies that have been made, as I have mentioned before, indicated that age 3 is the time when they need to be reached for social and cultural improvement.

The proposed amendment would provide preschool programs to be set up for children of low-income families. The money would be allocated to the States based on the population of children ages 3 to 6 within the State, using the same allotment ratio that we have in the National Defense Education Act.

The amount of title II money that the Director could allocate for this would be at his discretion. He has allocated money for Project Head Start, and he would have authority to allocate the amount that he wanted. It should be allocated, however, through the State education agency and the State educational agency then would coordinate the programs with the local school districts. The grants to the States then would be made after a State plan was submitted to the Director.

The program, I believe, would be of tremendous importance in reaching the hard core of the poverty stricken. I attended yesterday morning a session of the White House Conference on Educa-

tion on preschool education and some experts in the field who have been studying it for a good period of time were in attendance; also there were individuals from various parts of the educational sphere who were there as well. To a person they agreed that more needed to be done for preschool education; that the young people who were attending the first grade, if they came from a culturally and socially deprived environment, were incapable of assimilating what was being taught them at the first-grade level; that if they were not able to assimilate at that level they were going to fall further behind each year rather than catching up with the children who come from middle-class families.

It is true that every socially and culturally deprived child does not come from a low-income family, but they predominate in that area. Studies that were presented, and the position papers indicated that this was true. It was found in some cases that parents have no influence on their children after age 3. Anybody who has been brought up in a family where they had good family relations finds that hard to understand. But one can visit parts of the country, in the very severely affected areas of the cities especially, where they can see that in existence.

There is really nothing in the law today that sets up a program for preschool children. In the elementary and secondary school bill that was passed there was really only just passing reference to it, and that was all.

Mr. Chairman, in the bill here we have been told that projects of this nature could be set up under title II. We saw project Head Start begin. Project Head Start, with all the people who are working in it—and it takes a tremendous number to handle the 500,000-plus students—there are very few of the individuals who will be instructors and who will have any training in working with socially and culturally deprived children. If we undertake a one-shot deal like that without well-qualified individuals, Head Start may end up with a bad name like so many of the rest of the OEO programs.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Minnesota is the ranking member of the ad hoc Subcommittee of the War on Poverty, of which I am chairman. The subcommittee held extensive hearings and the gentleman never raised this lengthy amendment of 8 pages before. I knew nothing about it whatsoever.

I therefore ask that the amendment be defeated, and I move that the House do now close debate on this amendment.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] that debate now close on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred fifty-one Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my motion.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this bill before us do close, and all amendments thereto, at 5 o'clock.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, will the chairman of the committee also include in this motion that the bill be considered as read and open for amendment at any place?

Mr. POWELL. I would be happy to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, has the bill yet been read in its entirety and, if not, is such a motion in order?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman's request is to dispense with further reading of the bill and that all debate close at 5 o'clock.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HALL. Did the gentleman from New York make such motion before he made the request?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York accepted the modification to his request suggested by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] and has now put it to the Committee.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, would the Chair restate the motion, please?

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is that the bill be considered as read and open to amendment at any point and that all debate on the bill and amendments thereto close at 5 o'clock.

Is there objection?

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, further reserving the right to object, would the gentleman be willing to submit as a proviso to his unanimous-consent request that all amendments currently pending at the desk—that for all amendments currently pending at the desk the person offering that amendment be allowed 5 minutes to present his case?

Mr. POWELL. As long as we conclude all debate and all amendments by 5 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, may I ask the chairman is it my understanding—and I address myself to the distinguished Chairman of the Committee—that his motion that the bill be open to amendment applies only to those portions of the bill which the Committee has not yet covered? Is my understanding correct?

The CHAIRMAN. That is the understanding of the Chair.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, further reserving the right to object, if it is in order, I would hope that the Chairman of the Committee might further clarify his reply to me of a few moments ago and state whether or not he would be willing to say that he personally is willing to allow recognition of those who have amendments at the desk at this time on a priority basis.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will be recognized for 5 minutes as long as there is time.

Mr. GOODELL. Are we going to be proceeding to a situation where only those who are now standing will have time?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I want to get this plug in. There are a lot of us on this floor interested in passing the bill but we have difficulty in getting recognition. This is a most important bill and to cut off debate at 2 hours, when you have 10 more pages, I think is unfair, just because you have the votes. I want to vote for this but if you close off debate, I am going to vote against it and I think I will have reason to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, a few minutes ago in the Committee of the Whole, there were 38 Members standing, seeking recognition on a very important amendment. At that time there was objection to the request to limit debate, then upon motion being made to limit debate, it was limited to 15 minutes which provided approximately 30 seconds for each Member standing and seeking recognition.

Mr. Chairman, it occurs to me that this is a travesty upon the legislative processes and procedures of the House of Representatives and I am constrained to object.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending amendment. As much as any amendment that has been offered, this symbolizes the approach that we on our side of the aisle feel should be taken in this war on poverty. Many of us on our side have believed for many years in what now is called the Head Start program. We believe, as in the eloquent words of the gentleman from Georgia last year, we must prevent the child of poverty from becoming the father of poverty. In a degree the Head Start program, the pre-school program—is able to do this, to help the child get on the track early in school so he can respond to the existing facilities and personnel to help him.

But what are we doing in this poverty program? In the first place, there is nothing in the legislation that guarantees any money will go for the Head Start program. It is all in the discretion of the Poverty Director.

He can put whatever money he wants to in the program. Or he can deprive the program, if he wishes.

In the second place, the present program is set up by the Poverty Director acting directly with the local communities. He can set it up with a local private agency if he wishes and in some instances this has been done. He does not have to get permission of the local school authority. But given all this, we feel if there is one area that the States have been active and where they have the primary responsibility, and in our debates generally, this has been so stated, it is in the field of education. Even those on the Democratic side of the aisle have at least said that they believe the States should retain primary responsibility in the field of education. We have said the States should retain this authority in education. Why do we not insist that the Head Start program be run through the States and through experienced educators—the people who have the talent and who have the experience to do this? After they have done it in the local school systems a little while, I think we can anticipate that they will make this a regular practice and be putting it on as part of their regular curriculum and see to it that these children from deprived families are given attention and put on the track early in the school system.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BELL. I want to compliment the gentleman in the well for his position on this amendment as well as the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE]. I want to say I believe it is administratively sound and it pins the program down more specifically. There is and there was information time and time again during the hearings of a direct connection between the father and the mother who are living in poverty and the child who is living in poverty and then eventually becoming a dropout because he had not had that pre-education period of training so that the child could be able to get along and associate with other children in the public schools.

Mr. GOODELL. I thank the gentleman for his comments. What the Quie amendment does is to say that the poverty Director shall allocate how much money he thinks ought to go into the Head Start program nationally. When he allocates that total amount, it will be divided among the States and go into the State education departments under the program that the poverty Director feels is adequate in the Head Start programs operating in all those States. It is very similar if not identical to the way most of our Federal-State programs are operating today.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PERKINS. I can appreciate the sincerity of the gentleman, but does the gentleman not feel that this is the wrong place to start dissecting this legislation? Furthermore, under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that we recently passed, the States can expend funds for preschool programs. But there is no guarantee in that legislation that it will reach the areas in which it is needed. Furthermore, in certain States the law does not permit the expenditure of funds for children below 5 years. This will necessitate a change in State law and delay the program. This legislation on the other hand will reach all the areas in the country. The amendment will hamstring immediate inauguration of preschool programs and should be defeated.

Mr. GOODELL. I know of no States that cannot set up preschool programs. The gentleman refers to age requirements for entry in the school system itself. That is quite a different thing.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

During the course of debate on this measure we have heard many criticisms; some are directed against the program itself, others are directed against the manner in which the program is being administered.

Mr. Chairman, it is not my purpose to question the sincerity of our colleagues who have uttered such criticisms, nor is it my purpose to deny categorically that the war on poverty has experienced any of the usual "growing pains" common to programs of this nature and scope.

Rather, I should like to address the program's opponents and proponents alike and emphasize its tremendous social impact and far-reaching significance in very State of the Union. The war on poverty has worked, and is continuing to work in my own State of Hawaii. And there is no valid reason why it cannot be made to work in every other State.

The war on poverty program in Hawaii is being administered under the able leadership of former Congressman Thomas P. Gill. One of the practical approaches he has instituted is to carry the program to the people who need the help but who, for one reason or another, will not come to the program. This certainly is a new, dramatic, and far-reaching concept.

Mr. Gill is instituting, in a soft-sell fashion, an approach to the problem of the poor which departs from some accepted ideas on social service. He says that, for one thing, the people who must be reached will not come to the program—the program must go to them.

This drive to reach people who really are in need also leans heavily on self-participation. Under imaginative leadership, the Hawaii office is organizing community councils with half the members professionals and half the members actual beneficiaries. The membership of these councils assures getting disadvantaged children in school and jobs and

older persons in programs which will help them to improve their own economic status.

This concept of self-help leans more to the practical approach, rather than that of the professional do-gooder. As stated by Mr. Gill:

There is too great a misconception that we are handing out money—giving something for nothing. That's a mistake because what we are doing is putting professionals to work helping people better their own economic status.

Mr. Gill's staff has been urging agencies involved in the program to move rapidly and with imagination. Mr. Gill has admitted that the demand for movement, more rapid than usual, has had a shock effect on some agencies involved with his office. But, on the whole, he is well satisfied that the program is moving forward rapidly towards the desired objectives. Again, I quote him:

We started from scratch on something entirely new and we now have 17 funded projects involving close to \$3 million during the coming fiscal year. We will have 14 more projects approved shortly. It's a big job, but I think it is moving well.

Mr. Chairman, I have presented some of the highlights of the program in Hawaii to show what able, imaginative, and sincere leadership at the State level can do in accomplishing the legislative objectives of the war on poverty.

If we have faith in the future of our great Nation, let us express our faith in our fellow men, that they who are involved in this great program will carry out its intent to the best of their ability, and bring about a measure of success. Let us pass the committee bill without crippling amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS
TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

*Cooperative association—Prohibition of
loans to assist manufacturing*

SEC. 12. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following proviso: "Provided, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance".

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

I shall not take all the time, but since we were cut off in the debate, to keep the record straight, in response to the comments made by my distinguished friend from Kentucky [Mr. PERKINS], I believe his comments point up the real problem of those of us who believe in preschool and early school programs.

Under the Education Act we enacted this year it is possible to get preschool programs. These can come about under the Head Start program.

Mr. PERKINS. In some States by law they prevent the expenditure of funds for that purpose.

Mr. GOODELL. I will yield to the gentleman a little later.

We have the poverty program, under which it is also possible to have the Head Start program.

Under this poverty program, however, there is no relationship to the States and no relationship necessarily to local educators. They can do it with whatever resources they believe the most effective.

This is a classic example of the way the Federal Government should not operate. If the Head Start program and the preschool and early school training programs are good ideas, as I deeply believe, as the gentleman knows, this should be one program coordinated and handled nationally. It should utilize the experience and knowledge and background of all of our wonderful educators all over the country in our educational system.

The way to do that is not through direct grants from a poverty czar in Washington. We should do it the other way, through the State plan the gentleman from Minnesota offered. It would work quite effectively. I do not understand why the gentleman objects to doing it that way.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I merely wish to straighten out one point, which the chairman brought up.

This is of less importance now, since the amendment has been defeated.

I did present my amendments to the author of the bill [Mr. GIBBONS] who was handling the bill during general debate, so that he could see it for all the 3 days of debate.

Also, as the gentleman in the well and others in this body know, I have been striving to get into legislation for a long period of time a program for preschool education. I tried to do it in the poverty bill last year. I tried to do it in a more effective way with respect to elementary and secondary schools, when that bill was considered.

The facts are before us, for us to see. This is an area of education being neglected. There is an insufficient amount of research and study going into it. We do not have enough qualified teachers. There are very few qualified teachers to teach the culturally and socially deprived children aged 3 to 6.

We have had more experience with the mentally retarded children. A child who is culturally and socially deprived is just as handicapped as a mentally retarded child. Unless that child is reached by a knowledgeable teacher, he will be lost for his lifetime.

I believe it is a crime when recoverable children are lost in this way. Just to have a goodhearted person work with him is not sufficient. People working with culturally and socially deprived children must be knowledgeable. We have seen this with respect to the mentally retarded children. When goodhearted mothers were taking care of mentally retarded children, they were happy, but the children did not progress very far

compared to those who had the help of well-qualified teachers.

One of the most heartening things a person can see is a class of mentally retarded children where the teacher is knowledgeable. There we see the results which have occurred from the instruction of the teacher. It is one of the most amazing things and one of the most heartwarming things a person can see.

We know that in the slums and the rural depressed areas there are children who are culturally and socially deprived who could be recovered with the use of a small amount of money, under the kind of program which I proposed in my amendment that was defeated. I say that we are missing our best bet to stop poverty and to finally get an end to poverty when we ignore preschool children.

Mr. GOODELL. The gentleman makes an excellent point.

It is frustrating for those of us who develop what we consider to be good ideas in our committee—and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUINN] and I worked on this, as I indicated yesterday, as long ago as 3 years before the administration adopted it—to see that a good idea has to be overlapped, contradicted, and put into so many different programs, which compound the difficulties of administration, with the end result of wasting human resources. We know there is a great shortage of professional or experienced or qualified personnel to help the less fortunate in our midst, their time and their energies are precious assets or, if you will, precious resources. They should not be wasted as they are, all too often, under the present program.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, the headstart program, per se, is proof of the pudding. The purpose of the preschool program in the Economic Opportunity Act is to reach the culturally deprived youngster.

Mr. GOODELL. I understand that. The gentleman knows full well I understand that.

Mr. PERKINS. Otherwise he will not be reached, if we channel this program through State agencies, because there are a few State statutes which were enacted many years ago which will not permit the expenditure of funds within the States for children attending school if the children are under 5 or 6 years of age.

I will agree that we should assume some responsibility in seeing that permanent preschool programs are established for the disadvantaged youngsters in America, and I will join with my colleague in the Committee on Education and Labor to see that this problem is thoroughly considered by the committee at an early date. In view of the great record of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in reaching the areas that need preschool programs the most, I feel that we will bring to a halt the effectiveness of the program by the adoption of the amendment, the local school people by and large are administering the head-

start program, and creating the climate and sentiment that will make all the States feel the necessity for programs of this type. The amendment should be defeated.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

(Mr. TENZER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 8283, a bill to expand the Nation's war against poverty and provide adequate funds to extend the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 for an additional year.

The amendments and the appropriation recommended by the House Committee on Education and Labor does not escalate the economic opportunity program. It does provide funds to keep the program operating at the level originally contemplated by Congress when it passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. During the past fiscal year, we have witnessed the organization of the Office of Economic Opportunity under capable direction and the mobilization of local talent to implement programs to combat poverty at the local level.

As Members of this distinguished body, we have a responsibility to represent all Americans including those who have no organized lobby in the Halls of Congress—the poor and underprivileged people of America. This legislation does not provide for a Government handout program but represents a sincere attempt to help the underprivileged to help themselves. It represents a new and challenging venture bringing about a partnership between our local, State, and Federal Governments, and for all Americans who want to give a helping hand to those less fortunate. I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 8283.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY
EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

SEC. 13. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED
AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

"SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children."

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SICKLES

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to H.R. 8283 offered by Mr. SICKLES: Page 7, after line 16, insert the following:

"CONTINUATION OF INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO
DAIRY FARMERS

"SEC. 14. Section 331(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "January 31, 1965" and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1967."

And renumber the sections which follow accordingly.

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, section 331 of the Economic Opportunity Act, unless extended, will terminate on June 30, 1965. This section authorizes indemnity payments to be made to dairy farmers who, through no fault of their own, have had their milk barred from commercial markets because the milk contained minute residues of pesticides that were approved for use by the Federal Government at the time of their use. It is imperative that the Congress not let this pesticide indemnity law die on June 30 but act immediately to extend it to June 30, 1967. There is an even greater need for this law this year than there was during the past year since the full effects of the use of certain pesticides, which were approved by the Federal Government when they were used, will only begin to be felt by dairy farmers not only in Maryland but in other States across the Nation. Even though the Department of Agriculture has canceled the registration of heptachlor for use on alfalfa and the registration of dieldrin for use on alfalfa and clover, it is highly possible that incidents of contamination may still occur since these chemicals remain in the soil for a number of years. This means that there could be a carryover of residues in the soil which is large enough to contaminate the feed grown there and thereby be transmitted into the milk. Moreover, there are a number of pesticides which are still registered and recommended for use by the Federal Government which could result in excessive residue in milk and subsequent seizure of that milk.

Less than \$300,000 has been paid out to about 175 dairy farmers. Although there have not been a large number of dairy farmers involved in this problem, it is only equitable that as long as it is possible for only one dairy farmer to be forced to dump his milk because of the presence of minute traces of pesticides which are now or ever have been recommended for use by the Federal Government, it is essential that the indemnity payment program be in effect. It is grossly unfair that any dairy farmer be penalized simply because he followed the recommendations of a Federal agency. In view of these facts section 331 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 should be amended so as to be extended through June 30, 1967.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that this amendment, which comes from our good friend from Maryland, is not germane.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman offering the amendment desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, this is an attempt to extend the Economic Opportunity Act in another direction, which I think was actually an oversight by our committee. I must confess it was partly my fault, because I had put in the bill to provide for the extension of this part of the poverty bill, but it was not done in the committee and it was merely my purpose here to do this. I am distressed that the chairman of the committee has raised the point of order.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. SICKLES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LAIRD. I would like to point out that this language is currently in the present law and is part of the poverty program as now in existence. This is section 331(c)(1) of the present Economic Opportunity Act. It has been carried in the law for the last 12 months. It is a part of the poverty program as we know the poverty program now.

Mr. SICKLES. I thank the gentleman for his comments. I think what really happened is, because the Office of Economic Opportunity was not concerned with the administering of this portion of the act that it was merely a legislative oversight, and it was not included. I would appreciate it if the gentleman from New York would consider withdrawing his point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York desire to be heard?

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, this law expired on June 30. It is not part of the law now.

Mr. SICKLES. The whole law expired.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. ROONEY of New York). The gentleman offers an amendment at page 7 after line 16 with regard to the continuation of indemnity payments to dairy farmers. The gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] raised a point of order against the germaneness of this proffered amendment. It would appear to the Chair that this bill does not have anything to do with this particular subject with regard to indemnity payments to dairy farmers. Therefore, the Chair is constrained to rule that the amendment is subject to the gentleman's point of order and the point of order is sustained.

(Mr. MATHIAS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Chairman, I support this amendment, and feel that it is entirely justified. This amendment would extend indemnity payments to dairy farmers whose milk has been removed from the market because of contamination by pesticides which the Agriculture Department previously approved for use. The chemicals in question are primarily heptachlor and dieldrin, compounds which the Agriculture Department actually recommended until 1964, when the Food and Drug Administration ruled that they were unsafe. Indemnity payments to affected dairy farmers were then authorized under last year's act until January 31, 1965.

Under that provision, \$103,443 was paid to 24 producers in my congressional district alone.

Recent tests by the University of Maryland and others have revealed that, rather than disappearing, residues of these harmful chemicals have remained in the ground and will contaminate new feed grains crops. It is only just, therefore, that these indemnity payments be continued.

I have introduced a bill to extend payments until June 30, 1967, and support this amendment, which would have the same effect.

(Mr. QUIE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, it is unfortunate that the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee has seen fit to object to an amendment which would continue a program which was a part of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This provided for an indemnity to dairy farmers whose milk was rejected because of tests showing unacceptable levels of pesticide residue. Since the Congress saw fit to provide for indemnity to dairy farmers who suffered losses prior to June 30, 1965, it seems only just that the dairy farmers who have suffered identical losses after June 30, 1965, be indemnified on the same basis. The only opportunity now for equivalent treatment of all dairy farmers would be for the other body to include this amendment when they consider legislation.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 7, line 17:

"AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

"SEC. 14. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: 'Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title' and (2) by striking out of the last sentence the following: 'for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.'"

"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION"

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GUBSER

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GUBSER: On page 8, after line 2, insert:

"LIMITATION OF USE OF MEMBERS OF ARMED FORCES

"SEC. 15. Section 602(e) of such Act is amended by striking the semicolon at the end thereof and inserting:

" 'Provided, however, That the Director is not authorized to utilize, with or without compensation, members of the Armed Forces on active duty.'"

And renumber the sections which follow accordingly.

(Mr. GUBSER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, when the Economic Opportunity Act was passed some 9 months ago, section 106(e) was included which allowed the employees of other departments, including the military departments, to be loaned to the Office of Economic Opportunity on a reimbursable basis. Though perhaps some case could have been made that that section was properly within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Armed Services, no one raised the point because at that time it was not very significant. At that time the war in Vietnam had not enlarged to the present extent and we were not faced with the possibility of committing some 75,000 to perhaps 100,000 American men to that conflict. We were not faced with the possibility of having to call up our Reserves or of increasing our draft calls and asking fam-

ily men to leave civilian life to fight in Vietnam.

Circumstances have changed. I admit that only 12 officers in the military services are currently employed by the Job Corps. But, Mr. Chairman, there is a war on in Vietnam and these 12, small though the number may be, mean simply that 12 more civilians have to disrupt their everyday lives in order to fight that war in Vietnam while 12 career military people, are working for the Job Corps. I cannot believe that going out and replacing 12 people is going seriously to jeopardize the war on poverty. I am sure that Mr. Shriver who now has this program in operation will be able to replace his military people. Under the present circumstances in Vietnam he should be required to do so.

It will not hurt the program, but it would carry out what I think this House should do on a very basic principle, which is this: In time of war—and let us face it, that is what this is—do we have the right to take career military people and place them in a civilian agency of the Government and then ask civilians to take their place on the field of battle?

I hope Members can support this amendment because it will not hurt the Job Corps.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that any person with a reasonable amount of intelligence would realize that the armed services is not made up of all gun-bearing and fire-spitting men, but that it is made up of all kinds of citizens who serve in the armed services, statisticians, scientists, bookkeepers, teachers, all types of persons.

Mr. Chairman, this is a war on another kind of enemy, a war on poverty, in which the best men and the best possible brains in the country fit into the best slot that can fight in this war are to be enlisted.

Mr. Chairman, I would hate to think that of 1 million or more men in the armed services of the United States, we cannot take 10 or 12 without impairing the defenses of this Nation.

I would hate to think any person in this House would try to represent that we are weakening the defense of America by taking those men best equipped to give their services to this program which is just as vital a war as the war being fought in Vietnam.

I would hate also to think that because of a war, as he calls it in Vietnam, we have reached the end of our resources and we have to eliminate our civil and domestic programs to prosecute a localized eruption in Vietnam.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. Not at this time I am trying to get across to the gentleman that I do not believe we have become so bankrupt in this Nation of ours that we have to stop the use of any person within it for the services that are required of the people in the war on poverty because of his fear that we will not be equipped to do that which we must anywhere in the world.

Mr. Chairman, I do not like particularly the inference that 12 men have to break up their routine of living to take the place of the 12 men that are being used in the OEO organization.

I do not mind his little bit of playing with words for consumption back home. Send it back home, but do not feed it to us.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. PERKINS. I thank the gentleman for that statement. However, in reality, we are strengthening the defenses of this country rather than weakening them by providing for the benefits to be derived under this program. As a result hundreds of thousands will receive basic education and training that will enable them to serve their country in many ways.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of personal privilege.

The CHAIRMAN. I must advise the distinguished gentleman from California that one cannot rise to a point of personal privilege in the Committee of the Whole.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 8, line 3:

"VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS

"SEC. 15. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designation '(C)' and inserting in lieu thereof 'in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.'

"(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(d)(1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

"(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949."

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. QUIE

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. QUIE: Page 8, after line 2, insert the following:

"DIRECTOR—QUALIFICATION FOR HOLDING OFFICE

"SEC. 15. Section 601(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by in-

serting after the second sentence thereof the following new sentence: 'The Director shall hold no other office or employment under the Federal Government.'

And renumber the following sections accordingly.

(Mr. QUIE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, what this amendment does is to require that the Director shall hold no other office or employment under the Federal Government. That means the present Director will have to choose whether he will remain as Director of the Peace Corps or Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This is an amendment that is very simply understood and I do not think I have to spend much time on it. I know of no other Federal agency which has a Director who also heads another Federal agency. In some areas of Government we have seen fit to prohibit this being done. With all the capabilities of Sargent Shriver, and they have been spelled out many times, it is humanly impossible for a person to be at two places at the same time. If we look at the chaos in many parts of the program in the Office of Economic Opportunity, I would say the first thing we should start with, if we want to correct the situation, is to have a full time Director. I think that is of paramount importance.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. What it comes down to is not a question of ability, integrity, attitude, or approach of any individual. Either you are going to have an all-out, full-time war on poverty or you are not going to.

In this instance, many of us feel that the war on poverty is very important. We have documented many things that have been going on, such as waste of human resources, money, and time, that should be going to help people who are unfortunate in their circumstances. We feel the Peace Corps has great problems that demand full time and attention.

I commend the gentleman for offering the amendment. I believe this is a decision we should make in the Congress. Both of these jobs should have full-time directors.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I too should like to commend the gentleman. We should remember the words of our majority leader when earlier today he described Mr. Shriver as one of the finest administrators this Government has. He pointed out that Mr. Shriver proved himself as Director of the Peace Corps. Yet the majority leader himself pointed to one of the present weaknesses of the OEO program when he said they have problems with administration. He then went on to say, "Give the Honorable Sargent Shriver a chance."

The only way we can give Mr. Shriver a chance is to allow him to prove his administrative ability by worrying more

about the OEO. He should take on as a full-time responsibility his job as Director of the poverty program, or as a fulltime responsibility his job as Director of the Peace Corps. Especially when one of these two programs is admittedly in trouble, and the majority leader admitted it was in a certain amount of trouble, it is unwise to ask far more than we should ask of one individual.

Mr. QUIE. I listened to the gentleman from Maryland yesterday and I read his remarks today to see if he could convince me not to offer this amendment. I must say to the gentleman he has not convinced me at all.

I still believe that a year from now, when the Congress will again debate this program, we will be presented with a better record by the OEO if there is a full-time Director handling the program this coming year.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. I would like to ask the gentleman to reconsider his amendment as being one that is very dangerous to us at this very critical time. We are, in fact, engaged in an all out war on poverty and as it has been often observed, and I think with a great deal of truth, that the generals conceive and execute great battles, but it is the sergeants who win the war.

Mr. QUIE. The program of the Office of Economic Opportunity does not put this country in an all out war on poverty. Before this program was ever begun, this country was spending about \$100 billion a year through Federal, State and local and private sources. We have been having a war on poverty for a long time and I think it is going to be quite a period of time again before we rewrite the Bible to show that there will not be any more poverty.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SCHEUER. Does not the fact that we have been spending this \$100 billion a year without eliminating poverty and its patterns—alienation, hopelessness, and despair—indicate that something is wrong with what we have been doing up to now; that we have not reached the root causes of poverty; that we have not made a dent on the problem? Does that not show us that we have to experiment thoughtfully but boldly to devise new methods, new tools, new techniques, and new approaches to the perplexing and infinitely complicated problems of poverty to meet this perplexing national problem in a more effective way.

Mr. QUIE. I would say that we have done some good in the past. Let me cite some figures. In 1950, 30 percent of the people in America were in poverty, using the same bench mark that the OEO uses today. In 1960 poverty had gone down to 21 percent. This shows that we must have been conducting ourselves, between the period 1950 and 1960, in such a way that we were doing more to eliminate poverty than we have done under this program. If these programs of OEO continue as at present, there will be plenty of war but little actually on poverty.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. SICKLES] rise?

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. I shall not take up too much time because I think the issues are rather clear and were discussed at length on yesterday.

It has been stressed, again and again, today that there is no question about the qualifications, education and background of the present director. It seems to me therefore, certainly, nobody is complaining about the director. This amendment is in reality a slap at the President and the President's prerogative to determine who he is going to use to perform the duties of the various offices under his responsibility. Of course, the ultimate responsibility is with the President of the United States. He cannot delegate that responsibility.

But this amendment would not be effective even if it were to be adopted. It would not affect the incumbent director, Sargent Shriver, at all. We dwelled on that point at length yesterday. The incumbent now in office cannot be removed by this legislative device. This amendment could only be prospective and operative with respect to the future. So long as the current situation exists. So long as Sargent Shriver is happy to wear two hats and so long as the President of the United States is happy with his doing so, nothing will change.

If my colleagues will recall, I read into the RECORD yesterday a letter from the Attorney General where the Attorney General said that this amendment could not be effective immediately and in which he said:

"The only constitutional way in which the Congress can bring about removal of an executive officer without abolishing his office is by way of impeachment, a process which involves a trial by the Senate and conviction by two-thirds of the Senators present."

So that even if we adopted this amendment, it could not be effective and could only affect the future.

Mr. Chairman, everybody has been praising the present incumbent of this office and how well he has been doing his job. I do not think anybody in this House really believes that the Office of Economic Opportunity is in a shambles. I do not think anybody is really concerned because they could not find a telephone book or because a particular letter was not answered. This does not get to the heart of the problem. This is a new agency and they are trying their best to do a job. The agency and the director of that agency need help. They do not need a lot of carping.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest that this kind of amendment would not solve any problems and it is not offered for that purpose.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I will only take 30 seconds. I think the gentleman's argument may well be true. This amendment may not have a direct effect on the present incumbent. I think, however, if the amendment is passed, it will make un-

mistakably clear what the Congress feels should be done. It is within the power of the present director and the power of the President to recognize this feeling of the Congress as expressed in this amendment, and if they do so we feel you would have a better program because you would have a fulltime director of both the Peace Corps and the poverty program.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ROUDEBUSH

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROUDEBUSH: Page 8, after line 2, insert the following:

"JOB CORPS—FURNISHING OF HEALTH SERVICES

"Sec. 6. Section 602(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by changing the semicolon that follows the word 'thereof' to a period and adding the following sentence: 'Notwithstanding this or any other provision of law, no Job Corps enrollee shall be given a physical examination, hospitalized, or otherwise given medical treatment in any Veterans' Administration hospital or facility;'"

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I believe this amendment to be an excellent one.

I might say that actually there are three amendments exactly the same at the Clerk's desk, the other two being offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ADAIR], and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRAY], but they were kind enough to yield to me to offer this amendment.

This is actually a simple amendment. I might say it is not designed for home consumption. It is nonpartisan, and I believe it deserves the support of every Member of this body today.

The amendment is directed to section 602(d), which defines the authority of the Director. I believe Members are all familiar with the furor which was created by the hospitalization of Job Corps personnel in Veterans' Administration hospitals. This amendment merely would remove the authority of the Director to send Job Corps personnel to the Veterans' Administration hospitals.

According to the Veterans' Administration figures, which I have currently, 14 Job Corps men have been hospitalized for a total of 168 days. Treatments and examinations totaling 2,241 have been given. At the Indianapolis Veterans Hospital we had seven Job Corps men receiving hospitalization with veterans on the waiting list.

In order to summarize my remarks, I will say that the recent closure of VA hospitals plus the fact that the war clouds hang heavily over the Near East certainly puts a tremendous burden on our existing hospital system. We need every bed for our war veterans. It is not right for a war veteran to have to take his place in line behind a Job Corps man.

I hope that this amendment will receive the bipartisan support of this body.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, this just simply is not

so. There is no terrific strain on the veterans hospitals as a result of the five Job Corps men who are in them now. That is all there are. In fact, there have been only 14 since the program has been in existence.

If that represents a terrific overloading of the veterans hospitals, in which we have so many beds, then some of us are not well informed.

I wish to say that I investigated this matter after I saw the gentleman's remarks in the RECORD the other day on this particular subject. I learned at that time that there were only 5 Job Corps men presently in the hospitals, and only 14 had been in the hospitals since the inception of this program.

The Veterans' Administration controls whether or not a Job Corps man will be admitted to the hospital. The Veterans' Administration can reject any Job Corps man as to admittance to a hospital. They are only put in the hospitals when there are vacancies.

This involves the same type of hospital the President thought it wise to close down because of insufficient use. This merely helps to get a better utilization of the hospitals, which there was some talk about closing down.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I thank the gentleman for his observation. As I say, I am not trying to play politics with this amendment.

In answer to the gentleman's statement, I wish to say that seven Job Corps men have been hospitalized at our Veterans' Administration facility in Indianapolis. This information was given to me by the manager there. At the same time that these Job Corps men were entered into the veterans hospital at Indianapolis, there was a lengthy waiting list for the VA hospital at Indianapolis.

I believe the gentleman will agree that they did take a veterans bed, under those circumstances.

Mr. GIBBONS. The Veterans' Administration can control this. They have the power to refuse to admit any of these people and to send them to another more convenient hospital or to a nongovernmental hospital.

It is my information—and I have checked with the Job Corps and checked with the Veterans' Administration—that the only time a Job Corps man is put into these hospitals is when there is a vacancy and it involves only a utilization of space.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. I should like to ask the author of the amendment, if he knows, how many of the gentlemen who have been treated in veterans hospitals are in fact veterans; and, if he knows, how many of the people in the age brackets eligible for this program are veterans; and whether he would propose that his amendment exclude a person without regard to whether or not he is in fact a veteran.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield to me, I will be very happy to respond.

Mr. GIBBONS. I will very briefly.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Certainly this amendment would not exclude men eligible by reason of military service.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. But your amendment reads while he is a member of the Job Corps he would be prohibited from it.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. No. The amendment reads thusly, and I did not explain it thoroughly, but I have a copy here.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further. The gentleman used his 5 minutes. All I can say is there are five people presently in Veterans' Administration hospitals, and I do not think they are overburdening those hospitals. The Veterans' Administration can refuse to admit them any time they want to.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, earlier this year many Members of this House came before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and stated vehemently that they thought the closing of certain veterans hospitals, as proposed by the President, ought not to take place. The record of the hearings is replete with statements made by Members of this body pointing out in instance after instance how we needed every bed for veterans that we now had available. Subsequently the President, on reviewing his decision to close these hospitals along with other veterans facilities, appointed a commission which made a study of this matter. That commission, after diligent study and investigation recommended to the President that about half of those proposed for closing should remain open. The President and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs have followed this recommendation. The reason for this action is that we need every bed we have for veterans of the Nation's combats.

Now, there are in the United States at this time we are told, thousands of veterans awaiting entrance to veterans hospitals. Support of this amendment simply says we believe hospitals constructed and operated for the use of veterans should be used for veterans. There are other facilities which are available for Jobs Corps applicants or enrollees. They can go to Public Health Service hospitals. They can go to military installations.

I would urge the members of the committee strongly to support this proposal to preserve, as many of you have urged heretofore, veterans hospitals for veterans purposes.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ADAIR. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. While not bearing directly on this amendment, does not the gentleman think perhaps the time has come to give greater attention to the unification and to cease the overlap between veterans hospitals, military hospitals, and Public Health Service hospitals so that we have the opportunity to and can do a better job of Government service in these areas?

Mr. ADAIR. I would say to the gentleman this is a question which has been before the Congress and specifically the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House for some time. The committee answered the gentleman's question in the negative and I concur in that conclusion. We have felt it was highly desirable that a system of hospitals solely for the use of veterans be maintained. There is a point of view in the country that we should submerge our veterans hospitalization program in other broader Federal but not exclusively veterans programs. However, those who have studied it as members of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs have felt otherwise and are convinced that we should preserve and strengthen our veterans hospitalization program.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ADAIR. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MORSE. Do I understand from the gentleman that Veterans' Administration hospitals have been made available to people who are not eligible for admission to those hospitals?

Mr. ADAIR. Not eligible as veterans.

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Mr. ADAIR. Eligible as members of the Job Corps under an administrative regulation; not under the law.

Mr. MORSE. What authority in law is there for admission of these people?

Mr. ADAIR. There is no statutory authority for such admission. It is only a matter of regulation.

Mr. MORSE. Would it not follow that that regulation is inconsistent and contrary to the laws enacted by this Congress?

Mr. ADAIR. I think it is inconsistent with the statutes we have enacted. I will say to the gentleman in all frankness that I do not believe it is contrary to any laws that we have enacted. I think it is out of character with the laws and the whole approach that we have taken toward the question of Veterans' hospitals.

Mr. MORSE. I quite agree with the gentleman, and as one who has had some responsibility for administration of Veterans' Administration hospitals I would urge the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ROUDEBUSH].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ROUDEBUSH) there were—ayes 43, noes 71.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Chairman, on that I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. ROUDEBUSH and Mr. GIBBONS.

The Committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 61, noes 113.

So the amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GUBSER

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GUBSER: On page 8, after line 2, insert the following:

"ADMINISTRATION—REIMBURSEMENT FOR SERVICES OF MILITARY DEPARTMENTS

"SEC. 15. Section 602(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ', but where under this paragraph or any other law the Director utilizes the services of members of the Armed Forces, the military department concerned will be reimbursed for the entire cost to such department of making such services available to the Director, including, but not limited to, the cost of providing medical care and retirement benefits for the members of the Armed Forces concerned.'"

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that one of the most basic and the most fundamental rights that distinguish a free people under a free government is the right to dissent and the right to disagree. And, so I hope that as I offer this amendment that the revulsion which some seem to feel at a Member's right to exercise his American right to disagree will not be labeled as a lack of good faith and that my motivation will not be challenged.

The House has made its decision that military personnel can be used for the Job Corps, and as a person who believes in the democratic process, I accept that decision. I reluctantly say the House has agreed we are so bankrupt for talent that out of 180 million people we cannot find 12 individuals to do the job that 12 military people are presently doing. I have more faith in the American people than to say those 12 can only be gotten from the military departments. But the House has made its decision.

Now, we come to a matter of accounting and how the Defense Department should be reimbursed for the use of these military people. At the present time, Mr. Chairman, the principle of military retirement is under very serious attack. As a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I know a good deal about that subject. I am interested in seeing to it that military retirement is preserved and not done away with. There is danger it will be done away with or seriously minimized.

In a memorandum from one of the counsels of the Committee on Armed Services with respect to the manner of reimbursement to the Defense Department for military personnel used by the Job Corps, it is stated:

It is significant that no reimbursement is made for such compensation items as were identified by Secretary McNamara as being part of the cost of the military payroll. For example, no effort is made to reimburse to the Department for retirement benefits, medicare and so forth.

When Secretary McNamara testified before the Committee on Armed Services on the military pay bill, he went through each of these so-called fringe benefits and ascribed a dollar value to them. So it is possible to determine how much should be charged to the Jobs Corps for use of military personnel, for the fringe benefits that continue to accrue to the

officer in the form of medicare, retirement credit, and other fringe benefits.

All this amendment will do is to require that the Job Corps reimburse the Defense Department for the total compensation cost to the Department of Defense for the use of that person. It is a fair amendment, it is no more than good, honest, and fair accounting procedure. It is something we should adopt.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close now.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 16. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking "fourteen" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "twenty".

AFFIDAVITS

SEC. 17. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WILLIAMS

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WILLIAMS: On page 9, strike out lines 12, 13, and 14.

[Mr. WILLIAMS addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WILLIAMS) there were—ayes 54, noes 77.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers, Mr. WILLIAMS and Mr. GIBBONS.

The Committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 79, noes 113.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 9, line 15:

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 18. (a) (1) The first sentence of section 131 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$825,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(b) (1) The first sentence of section 220 of such Act (as so redesignated by section 11 of this Act) is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$680,000,000 for the

fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(c) (1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'.

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$70,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(d) (1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'.

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(e) (1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'.

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606 (a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GURNEY

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to H.R. 8283, offered by Mr. GURNEY: On page 9, line 23, strike out "\$825,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$412,500,000".

(Mr. GURNEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, now we come to the meat of the bill, and that is the money part of it. Actually, of course, I suppose the proponents of the bill would say that the amendment proposes to cut the authorization for the youth programs in half. And I suppose when the proponents of the bill rise in opposition to the amendment it will be said that our side is seeking to cut the bill by one-half. Well, that is one way of putting it. And yet I would prefer to put it this way. Actually, what we propose to do on the Republican side is to carry on these youth programs at the same level of spending as they were carried on in the first year of this program. That is exactly what we propose to do—the sum of \$412,500,000, indeed a large sum—and conduct the program at the level of last year's spending.

We do this not out of opposition to the war against poverty and certainly not out of opposition to the youth programs. We actually favor the continuation of the

programs at the same level of spending as last year. But we do indeed feel that with a new, experimental, untried program of administration we ought to continue it at the same level of spending and give it a chance to succeed at that level.

As a matter of fact, I think it is worth while pointing out that even cutting it in half, at \$412 million, it is \$46 million in excess of what was spent last year by this program. So, if you want to look at it one way it really is not cutting it at all, much less in half.

We talk about this being a new program, and indeed it is. I would like to turn for a moment to the hearings themselves and point this out to you. The major part of the youth program, as you know, is in the Job Corps. Here is what the testimony said; here is what the statement said submitted by the poverty war people, if you will listen to it for a moment.

Speaking of the Job Corps, they said:

The task confronting the Job Corps on October 8, 1964, was difficult.

It had no national or regional staffs, no teachers, counselors, programs, materials, camps, equipment or, for that matter, even any applicants for what it hoped to offer. It had an appropriation, an idea and goals. And with those, it had to establish a widely dispersed, residential, educational and job-training system—a system without parallel in American education.

As a matter of fact, when the committee had its hearings just a few short weeks ago, indeed all these fears that were expressed at the outset of the program were shown in the evidence adduced at the hearings to have been realized. The program did indeed get off to a bad start.

We have plowed the ground of St. Petersburg a number of times, and I do not intend to go over that again. It is an example of the Job Corps in action, at least the women's division part of it. But I think it is well to point out that down in St. Petersburg in Florida, my home State, in this operation you have 122 staff members which oversee a total, at least as I get the report, of 237 Job Corps people, a ratio of better than 1 to 2.

I know there are some people in the House who attended a university in Massachusetts they call Harvard. It is the oldest and wealthiest in the country. And, at that particular place you have a faculty ratio of about 1 to 6. The Job Corps is doing a pretty good job with this 1-to-2 ratio.

Mr. Chairman, it is estimated that the cost of the program runs some \$6,000 to \$7,000 a year per enrollee in the particular Job Corps project in St. Petersburg, Fla. This has been brought out.

I believe it has been pointed out with good emphasis that, certainly, while the aims of the particular Job Corps project at St. Petersburg—and I think that is true of others too—may be very well, certainly an extravagant expenditure of this sort makes little sense in this program.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I think the committee ought to be aware of the fact that even the administration has not asked for \$825 million in title I. All they are going to ask of the Committee on Appropriations in fiscal year 1966 is for \$535 million.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I shall support the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GURNEY].

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

(Mr. FARNUM asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Chairman and my colleagues, in these long days of debate I have seen evolve a familiar pattern, one factor of which is concerned with people who on one hand stand up and say we are for it and on the other hand offer crippling amendments that are going to hamstring the administrator. If unsuccessful in that, they try to reduce funds so they can keep the program from accomplishing its purpose.

Mr. Chairman, I am interested in all programs designed to help people help themselves but I am particularly interested in this one because we once before had a Job Corps—a program similar to this in that it was designed to help young people.

I was interested enough to go back into the files of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to read the debates that preceded passage and that took place when the extension of that program was under consideration.

Before this honorable body, on March 29, 1933, a Member declared:

Only a few thousand boys, seeking adventure and freedom from home and civil restraints, will volunteer.

But, Mr. Chairman, 300,000 did volunteer.

The scene now moves to May 11, 1937, and the debate again took a turn familiar to us in 1965. One Member said:

The proportionate cost will not be reduced as the number of men is reduced. There will be too many political leeches hanging on. It is setting the Government up in business. Get the Government out of business, cut down Government expenses, and reduce political jobs.

If something equally familiar is needed it came later that day in a statement saying the Job Corps of that day was just making work for people of the kind that would serve no useful purpose.

Again, echoing what was yet to be heard in far-off 1965, on May 11, 1937, there was talk of spending America into exhaustion. One honorable Member of this body warned:

The condition of the Government bond market indicates that we are fast getting to the end of our rope and that we must economize. It costs more money to send a boy to a CCC camp than it would to send him to college.

Mr. Chairman, these were not constructive things to say then, as history has proven. And they are not conducive today to the efforts to conquer a problem that we have long had with us, as future history will attest.

Mr. Chairman, was it not ridiculous to say that it would cost more money to send a boy to the CCC camps than it would to send him to college? Is it not equally unbecoming to advance such an argument in 1965, when the money under discussion relates to only a small part of the whole situation?

Mr. Chairman, I have heard comments as to whether programs of the Job Corps type are going to be helpful. And in 1937 Members heard precisely the same kind of comments, coupled to dire predictions.

May I ask my distinguished colleagues to listen carefully here, because I have a story to tell. It is quite brief and concerns a 17-year-old boy who in the depths of the depression got out of high school. He had nothing to do and no place to go and the cause of his poverty was simple: There was not enough available to feed the farm family of 10 of which he was the oldest.

His Government offered him an opportunity to help himself by letting him go to a Civilian Conservation Corps camp. In the CCC he found many kinds of opportunity. He found opportunity to extend his formal education. He learned to cook for his camp and keep books and to appreciate the value of orderliness. He learned also possibly the most important lesson of all, how to live with and get along with other people. In the process he learned that humility that is necessary for lasting achievement through coming to have confidence in his fellows.

I could go on and on in telling you of benefits that came to that 17-year-old youngster. Time is not available so I will skip to the scene when it came time to leave the CCC.

Mr. Chairman, that youngster was able to put CCC-learned skills to work to the end that he became immediately a producing member of the community. He was not only able to work effectively at gainful employment but he found himself temperamentally inclined to serve with and work with people.

All this I know from personal experience, for this is not a fiction story. This is a true story about what that boy was able to do because of the skills he gained in the CCC—the Job Corps of the 1930's.

There were still rough times ahead, but he never again knew black despair. For with all the other CCC-taught lessons he learned the technique of looking about him when he thought his situation was bad. Always he found those worst off than himself—people in need of, and deserving of, whatever aid he could give.

Because of the CCC, the Job Corps of its day, I repeat, that boy gained the initiative to try to make something of himself. He increasingly widened his field of employment, his field of help for others. In time that boy was honored with election to the office of auditor general for his native State of Michigan. And then he was selected by his neighbors to serve in Congress, where today he asks you to give to others the advantages that the Congress of the 1930's granted him.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure you now know, I am that boy. I know what happened

to him can happen to others. I pray that this honorable body take advantage of the great opportunity to practice Americanism that lies before it.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I had hoped that this afternoon we would be spared further belated episodes in the much-belabored St. Petersburg story. Yet, we have been treated to a seemingly unending flow of the same pious, sanctimonious protestations of virtuous affection for the poverty program—marred only by a sorrowful reluctance to give it minimum funding to breathe life and forward thrust into its constituent elements. Their ambivalent attitude can be summed up in the couplet:

Mother, may I go and swim?
Oh, yes, my darling daughter;
Hang your clothes on yonder limb
But don't go near the water.

We have heard allegations that it costs more to send a youngster to the Job Corps than it does to Harvard. When we consider the contribution that endowment funds make to the cost of a college education that is not paid for by the student, the tuition fee covers only a fraction of what society pays to send a kid through Harvard. Society has made an enormous investment in that child before he goes to Harvard.

I want to inform my colleagues on the other side of the House that the young people in the Job Corps and in the Neighborhood Youth Corps have not enjoyed the education, care, and concern necessary to prepare them for college. Society has failed them by failing to make this investment.

Indeed, society has not provided for these youth any meaningful participation in the educational process. That is why they are high school dropouts. That is why they need our help today.

Under this crippling amendment you would not be operating the program as it operated last year. Last year's operation was for only 9 months. This year it is for 12 months. Last year it went from zero to 100 percent of the current level of operations. What we want to do is to maintain the current level not return to an average of last year's operation only midway in the buildup from zero to the current level of programs cut already by one-third this year, with 12 months instead of only 9 months to function. We do not want to cripple the program. This amendment and others scheduled to follow would cut 20,000 young people from the Job Corps, it would cut 100,000 young people from the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

It would deprive 17,000 illiterate adults of the benefits of learning reading and writing skills that would help to make them productive citizens, not only to get and hold jobs but also to become good informed citizens able to participate intelligently in the political life of our Nation.

It would cut 275 individual community action projects.

It would deny 175,000 communities that now have community action programs pending from any participation

whatsoever in the community action program.

I say to my colleagues, if they have ever seen one of these programs in action—if they have ever seen these sub-professionals functioning, the ex-truck-driver, the ex-ditchdigger and the ex-house painters, the married women with children who know what life is all about—if they could see those people—motivated, dedicated, concerned, having had expert help to learn how to help their neighbors; going back to their neighborhoods to the side streets and back alleys to help those neighbors and motivate and stimulate and inspire them, they would come away with the same feeling I have—that maybe it is not appropriate to cut this program, but to enhance it and increase the level of operations.

We have repeatedly heard that only 3 percent of the poverty-stricken peoples of our country have felt the uplifting touch of the poverty program. Is that not a modest proposal? Only another 6 percent are even being treated indirectly.

Of the one family out of every four rural families that is poverty stricken, we are helping only one-tenth of 1 percent with rural loans. Shall we further reduce that program? Is it not a sufficiently modest proposal?

Of 2½ million teenage unemployed dropouts who desperately need the help offered by the neighborhood youth corps, Job Corps, and work study programs, only 16 percent of them are involved. Shall we further gut that program? Is it not sufficiently modest as compared to the need?

Four hundred and fifty thousand children desperately need help under the Head Start program this summer before going through the schoolhouse doors this September to participate in the educational process meaningfully and proudly. The program holds out no hope for them. Shall we enlarge this number?

Mr. Chairman, we cannot afford not to continue to wage this war in full battle dress. We cannot afford not to spend \$1,895 billion in the coming year, with a great deal more to be required in the coming years finally to win the war. It is estimated that it will be necessary to spend a sum equivalent to two current defense budgets to raise those 35 million people now in poverty from their subsistence standard of living.

We will be making a hard-headed investment in the future when we continue adequately to fund the current level of programs of the Economic Opportunity Act. We can spend \$4,200 once now to send a boy to the Job Corps or we may spend \$4,100 every year for many years to keep this boy in a penal institution because he did not have anything else to do but get into trouble.

We can spend \$1,500 today for job training for a father whose children are living on welfare or spend \$2,500 year in and year out just to keep that family barely afloat in our economy.

We can spend \$500 to provide a summertime job for a teenager to enable him to continue his schooling and thus have a chance to earn a decent living. Or we can spend approximately \$100,000 to

maintain him and his family on relief for the rest of their lives and lose another \$13,000 in taxes which this individual would have payed had he been a wage earner.

The economic loss to this country caused by such unemployment is staggering. It has been estimated that national unemployment is costing us \$30 to \$40 billion each year in unused goods and services.

We can stop this yearly drain and make life worth living for millions of people by continuing the war on poverty. We have taken a first step, but only a first step. We have a long way to go.

Mr. Speaker, we are really choosing what kind of America we want to pass on to our children and grandchildren. One choice is an America in which 15 million children will grow up without adequate food, clothing, shelter, or education.

An America in which welfare rolls will continue to grow and the long-term unemployed will forever give up the hope of being gainfully employed.

An America in which 2 million teenagers will be out of school and unable to find jobs.

An America in which crime and delinquency among these teenagers will become a chronic, endemic, insoluble national issue.

An America in which one-third of the young men will continue to be rejected as unfit for entry into the U.S. Army because they will not have the education or health to pass the minimum standards.

Do we want to vote for this kind of America, or will we vote for job training for young men who never learned vocational skills in school, for remedial education to help young Americans complete high school, for special work-study programs to help the unemployed learn new trades, and for community projects to employ out-of-work teenagers on civic improvements.

Mr. Speaker, this is the choice now before us. At stake is the quality of American life tomorrow.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, just let me complete my thought, if I may, because I think it is one that really goes to the meat and the heart of the bill we are considering.

No one disputes the arguments made by the gentleman who just left the well of the House and the gentleman who preceded him, so far as all of us having a deep compassion for the resolving of this question of poverty. That is not what we are arguing about on this side of the aisle. What we are arguing about really are numbers. Numbers are cited again and again. It is said there are X numbers in this program and there are X numbers in that program and unless the total authorization is provided, it will not be that many of X numbers.

Well, that is probably true. But this is not what we are arguing on this side.

What we are saying is this, simply taking X numbers out of a hat and saying you are going to do the job for them does not get the job done.

What we are saying is, let us take a few less numbers and do a good job for those few less numbers. This is the point I am trying to make so desperately here.

If I can refer to St. Petersburg once again and let us leave Harvard out of the argument.

The St. Petersburg Times is a great newspaper in the State of Florida and one which is almost always on the side of the administration and is certainly eminently fair to it. That paper wrote an editorial as well as several other articles on this project in St. Petersburg. I will simply read a sentence from the editorial. It is as follows:

The shortcomings of the center as administered to date are serious.

This is the point that we are making over here.

Although I am on the committee, I did not serve on the subcommittee that held the hearings. But I have looked through the hearings. If any of you look through the hearings, you will be startled by the fact that most of the 700 or 800 pages are filled by stuff put in by the poverty war headquarters—self-serving kind of documents. Very little of the hearings is taken up by testimony or hard questioning of people who run these centers and other people who have looked into this and have found shortcomings.

All we are saying on this side is—Why in Heaven's name do we not as a House of Representatives have the courage to do the job I think we should be doing?

We have a joint committee on investigation of the Congress, but it seems to me what we ought to be doing much more of is taking a long, hard look at some of these programs and, instead of spending 6 days and giving this thing a lick and a promise approach here, that we should spend 6 weeks and all of the 6 weeks looking into the program and really finding out what makes them tick and what does not make them tick and then come to the floor of the House with something that we can honestly sell to the House of Representatives, to the entire Congress, and to the people of the Nation.

This is the point we are trying to make on this side of the aisle. We believe if we can keep the spending at the level of last year the administrators running this poverty program can get it under control and a better job will be done.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I repeat what I said at the end of the comments of the gentleman from Florida, when he had the floor; that is, the Office of Economic Opportunity is not asking for \$825 million in title I. All they will go to the Committee on Appropriations for is \$535 million.

The total amount of money appropriated last year has not yet been spent. They have committed funds, but those funds have not all been spent. Next year they will be able to spend for the programs being operated—not only

the \$412.5 million the gentleman from Florida would have us authorize under the amendment but also what has not been spent but was appropriated and obligated in the past fiscal year.

All we say in that the OEO should go slow enough to be certain of their work. We have seen them jump into the programs and make mistakes all over the place.

Members have brought up St. Petersburg. We could talk of Tongue Point and many other places where newspaper accounts of scandalous problems exist.

Let us have them use the money prudently as was done under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Under the Manpower Development and Training Act the Department of Labor did not go ahead as fast as some thought possible, when the program was first enacted by the Congress. They moved much more slowly. People were not able to assimilate the program as quickly as some believed possible. Because the MDTA moved slowly and was sure of the ground, we are now able to pass extensions of the Manpower Development and Training Act with support from both sides of the aisle.

If we continue to have these completely controversial programs, with some really outlandish costs, with things happening in communities where the people want to get rid of the program, it will be to the detriment of all. We should support the amendment of Mr. GURNEY.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(By unanimous consent, Mrs. GREEN of Oregon was granted permission to proceed for an additional 5 minutes.)

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment which has just been offered, and to any other amendments which may be offered to cut the funds in this war on poverty program.

I believe some of the criticisms we have heard during the past 3 days are justified, and I disagree with those people who pretend that everything is going superbly well. This is not true.

I am also aware that surely the people downtown know that all of the programs in the war on poverty are not working out as they had hoped, and surely they are just as much concerned as we are, because if the problems which Members have pointed out in the past few days are not resolved, surely the entire program will be placed in jeopardy within a year or two.

I should like to bring to the attention of the House some figures, which I believe are relevant to the debate today. I asked the House Committee on Armed Services and the Library of Congress for some figures with respect to other programs.

They have advised me that they have compiled data showing that over \$6 billion in projects have been canceled over the past 10 years. Many times these involve experiments which have not worked, which have failed. However, some of the expertise which was gained from these experiments has given them information so that then they can move

ahead and can have a program which is indeed successful.

Let me give some examples. This also is true in the Space Administration.

There was the Dyna-Soar space plane. I am told it is pronounced like "dinosaur," and it is just as dead. Over \$400 million was spent on this program. No prototype was built and it was killed in 1963.

There was the XB-70, the controversial mach 3, long-range supersonic bomber designed to replace the B-52's. That involved more than \$1.5 billion, and was spent with two flyable planes emerging. The program was junked 2 years ago. This alone is almost as much as we are asking for the war on poverty program this year.

There was the Skybolt missile. I am advised this cost \$440 million before it was canceled in 1963.

There was the mobile Minuteman. This was a \$100 million plan before it was canceled in 1962.

There was the nuclear-powered aircraft. The Committee on Armed Services figures this cost \$500 million before it was dropped in 1961.

There was no prototype available. The Snark intercontinental guided missile—was something like a guided missile airplane bomb. It was operational for about a year and then phased out quickly in 1962. The price tag on that was \$675 million. And the Vanguard, which was a missile that kept blowing up on the launching pad. It was rated to have cost several hundred million dollars. The hope was to put America's first satellite in orbit, but this was finally accomplished, I am told by the Jupiter C.

Those of you who want to cut this program today but are willing to spend \$20 or \$40 billion on the race to the moon on a crash basis, are you sure, are you absolutely sure, that every single part of that program is going to be successful and that it is going to work and that every experiment in it is justified—that it is going to be worth the money, the effort? And that it will, indeed, be the spectacular success of the 20th century? And you who are willing to spend billions of dollars on highways, on defense, are you unwilling to spend less than \$2 billion on one-fifth of our population which today is mired down in poverty and ignorance and oftentimes illness? Is not the war on poverty of equal concern to this democracy? What about "This Other America"—that Michael Harrington wrote about so eloquently and so persuasively?

Some of the programs are new and untried, and I certainly admit it. Some have already succeeded and admirably well. Others show great promise. Some have serious problems, as several colleagues have pointed out. They do have serious problems and need immediate attention, and I hope they are receiving that attention downtown. But it seems to me that the needs in this country are too great, too important, and too critical for us to do anything other than to try to do our very best to correct them.

Now, I am not deliriously happy over some of the reports from the Job Corps centers; and I am very concerned about

a question which was raised by the gentleman from Iowa earlier this afternoon about negotiated contracts with big corporations on a cost-plus-a-fixed-fee basis. I hope attention will be given to that problem downtown and here in Congress. And I'm not satisfied with the rationalization used to defend this procedure.

And I am not enthusiastic about sending troublesome and troubled kids from Portland, Oreg., to St. Petersburg, Fla., and sending troubled kids from St. Petersburg, Fla., and Georgia up to Portland, Oreg. I think there are some economies that could be made and which should be made in this program. And I do not like it a little bit when I or my office get cocky answers from cocky people downtown—who are so sure they know all the answers.

Furthermore, I would like to see more of the lessons learned from the CCC program applied to this. I would like to see some of the military discipline and more real work incorporated in the Job Corps program in this country at the present time. But outside of modifications in the present program I do not have an alternative and I have not heard better alternatives in these last 3 days. Sure we have the alternative of letting these kids stand on the street corners. We do have the alternative of putting the troublesome ones in barracks or labor camps or putting them in domiciliary institutions with no rehabilitative programs and 10 or 20 years from now they will be there and they will still be wards of society and we will still be paying for their keep.

We complain today about the junkyards bordering our highways and we willingly zone our communities so as to exclude these junkyards and dumps and slightly nuisances. But these young people, these dropouts from our schools, these unemployed and unemployable, are in effect junked and tossed on the human scrap heap. And we had better do our best to salvage as many of them as we can. I have heard about failures at Tongue Point in Oregon. Certainly we have heard about St. Petersburg, Fla., and other places. But did we ever really expect that we could salvage every one of these people who have known nothing but failure all their lives? We are not talking about "your" children. We are not talking about the well educated and highly motivated and well adjusted children. We are not talking about the most affluent section of our society. We are talking about children many of whom, through no wish of their own, were born into families which did not care. Many times they were children who were not wanted. They were youngsters who were exposed to indifference and neglect, yes, and brutality from the time they were very young. They were children in whose homes, if you want to call them that, children who come from houses where they were never exposed to the great moral and spiritual values we talk about in such self-righteous terms on the floor of this House.

I can recommend alternatives for the 4-year olds—and the war on poverty

does—the war on poverty does this in the Head Start program; and I must say to the gentleman from Minnesota that I supported his amendment, and I wish that this whole program paid more attention to 3- and 4-year olds when I think we could do something about them instead of when they are 18, 19, and 20 and their pattern has been set. I thought that was a good amendment and I hope more consideration will be given to it in calmer moments. Better programs must be designed for the disadvantaged first graders and third graders—so they would not be applicants for the Job Corps—or the detention home—or the penal institutions when they are 17 or 18 or 20. So I could offer attractives for this age youngster.

And I can suggest an investment in kids in the same way that we are willing to invest in dams and reclamation projects, on a cost-benefit ratio; and those benefits can be measured and proven and should have been recognized by this Congress many, many years ago.

I can suggest an investment by society when that unwanted, uncared-for child is 5 or 6 years of age. But I cannot suggest better alternative programs for the 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old kid who is unemployed and on the street corner and whom James B. Conant has described as social dynamite, ready to explode at any moment.

Let me say that I completely reject the philosophy which says we can afford \$20 billion or \$40 billion on a race to the moon, but we cannot afford to provide adequate educational opportunities on this planet to make life here on earth enriched and meaningful to our own children.

I reject the philosophy which says we must spend hundreds of millions to again break through sound with a still faster supersonic airliner—otherwise our national prestige will be hurt—but we cannot afford the money to help break through the walls of prejudice, indifference, neglect, and opposition so that decent opportunities will become available to every child, to every young boy and girl, regardless of race, creed, color, or sex.

Finally, let me close by quoting a statement made some time ago by one whom we all mourned only last week, Governor Stevenson, Ambassador Stevenson. He said this:

I doubt that any society in history has faced so great a moral challenge as ours, nor needed more desperately to draw on the deepest sources of courage and responsibility. Ours is the first human community in which resources are so abundant that almost no policies lie beyond our capacity for purely physical reasons. What we decide to do, we can do. The inhibitions of poverty, lack of resources, lack of capital, lack of power—do not hold us back.

And so I say we must not be held back today by cutting the dollar appropriations that are in this bill, but rather that we move ahead by improving and building on what we have started.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

(Mr. PICKLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, I hope that the House will not adopt any amendment that materially reduces Job Corps funds that are worthwhile and needed funds.

I would first address myself, Mr. Chairman, to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] in response to statement which I believe he made earlier this afternoon, in that portion of the debate that concerned itself with the Governor's veto. I think he referred to some of the Neighborhood Youth Corps projects in Texas and he said he understood, or quoted some authority, that our Governor had vetoed them because the projects were biracial.

I would like to say to the gentleman that this is not the case. I do not wish to be impolite, but the gentleman from California just does not know what he is talking about in this instance.

Mr. Chairman, let me read to the members of the Committee a statement released by the Governor of our State in connection with the projects in south Texas, and I read it at this point:

Governor Connally today disapproved the Neighborhood Youth Corps grant of \$381,480 to the Texas Farmers Union which had been previously approved by the U.S. Labor Department.

The Texas Farmers Union had proposed to operate an NYC program in 33 small school districts in eight South Central Texas counties, employing some 790 students part time. The application was approved in Washington on April 12, but, under provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act, must also be approved by the Governor.

At the Governor's request, the Texas Education Agency on April 26 and 27 contacted the 33 school districts involved in the TFU application. Of the 33 contacted, only 2 stated they wanted to enter the Texas Farmers Union program. The others stated that they preferred to work through the Texas Education Agency, or that they would prepare an application themselves for participation.

I fully agree with the objectives of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program and want to assure these schools and students of my desire to make this work experience available to them. I have therefore already requested the Commissioner of Education, Dr. J. W. Edgar, to immediately send field consultants from his agency to the schools concerned to confer with the school superintendents and assist them in preparation of individual applications for summer programs for their students should they desire to apply.

The Governor said:

In regard to his disapproval, the Governor made the following comments in his letter to Neighborhood Youth Corps National Director Jack Howard:

I cannot approve of school districts entering into third-party contracts with quasi-political organizations for work-training programs. School districts are structured by statutes to provide a legal basis to promote educational programs requiring administra-

tive, supervisory, and instructional personnel. I do not believe this responsibility can be delegated successfully to a third party who has no legal responsibility for discharging such duties. I further believe that students who participate in work-training programs generally should be employees of the school district only and that the payments they receive should come from the school district.

In reference to his statement that the Texas Farmers Union was a quasi-political organization, the Governor noted that the application of the Texas Farmers Union states that "the Texas Farmers Union is a general farm organization which has as its regular activity the organization of Texas farmers for the purpose of obtaining certain legislative goals."

The Governor also noted that the administrative costs of such a third-party arrangement are unusually high. The application proposed that the Farmers Union would employ a director of the project to be paid \$15,000 per year, a deputy director to be paid \$5,800 per year, and secretarial help at \$4,200 per year.

Additional reasons for disapproval cited in the Governor's letter to Howard include: First, the application proposed that the sponsor should have the full authority to discontinue the enrollee's participation or to reassign the enrollee to another school when his performance was unsatisfactory; second, the project does not provide any real assistance from the sponsor to the schools in the supervision and administration of the program.

The original application for the program by the Farmers Union was made December 28, 1964, and was under consideration in Washington for almost 4 months. The application called for the project to run from January 4, 1965, to June 30, 1965. As approved in Washington, the project was extended through the summer to September 3, 1965.

The Governor's office noted that since approval has come so late in the school year, the summer program was the only feasible program now available and that this program will still be available through individual applications made by the school districts with TEA assistance.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would say to the gentleman from California that the impression was left, though I am sure it was not intentional, that our Governor was a segregationist or a racist and that he had not made progress in this field. Just the opposite is true.

Mr. Chairman, it was my privilege to work with the Governor many years ago in the old NYA program. I was a part of that program. He was a part of that State program. Together we, and at that time working with the same organization that our President set up when he was State Director of the National Youth Administration, traveled our State. We set up NYA projects that were worthwhile and even then they were biracial.

Mr. Chairman, the Governor of Texas, John Connally, has appointed to our State offices Negro citizens, appointed them to the highest State offices in the

power of his command to do so. He has done this for Latins.

Mr. Chairman, we enjoy in Texas I believe the most healthy, desirable race relations of any State in the Union, including California.

I just hope, if the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] has some authority for his statement, I would welcome it. If he has not, I ask that he look into the matter and see that the RECORD is corrected in that respect.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PICKLE. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I am happy to say to the gentleman from Texas that of course I meant no reflection upon the Governor of Texas as an individual in any manner. And, if there was any such intimation, I certainly withdraw it.

May I say to the gentleman from Texas that this information was given to me on the basis of reports made by these particular districts, and I shall attempt to verify this information, which was to the effect that in these districts there were no biracial programs. If this information is wrong, I think the record speaks for itself, and I am happy to have it corrected.

Mr. PICKLE. I thank the gentleman from California very much.

Mr. Chairman, the big majority of our NYC programs are biracial. I have 3 or 4 of them in my district, and I know that for a fact, and this has been approved and encouraged by our Governor.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a few words about the Job Corps. I have listened to debate for some 2 or 3 days, and I would like to say this from experience. I have a Job Corps Center in my district, the Gary Job Corps Training Center, which is located 30 miles from the capital of my State, Austin. Today we have 1,500 enrollees in that project. If we can maintain our scheduled participation, we hope to have 2,500 to 3,000 by September. This is a project sponsored by the Texas Education Agency, and it was made available and possible because the Governor of our State cut through redtape and asked the permission of our attorney general and our legislature to set up this agency as an agent of the State.

Mr. Chairman, we have the full force of the Texas Education Agency behind us. It is a going, healthy, and I dare say it is the largest and most successful Job Corps program in the United States today, bar none.

Mr. Chairman, I have been to this project at least 6 to 10 times myself, and I have talked to hundreds of kids. We do have a very successful project now going on at San Marcos, Tex. And speaking of the races, Mr. Chairman, we have this kind of biracial participation at that project.

The Anglos are 52, Negroes 36, Latins approximately 12. I have looked in these boys' eyes and believe me they appreciate the fact they are given a second or even third chance to make good, to make something out of themselves.

Let me tell you about another project we have instituted in San Marcos. We

have organized an Opportunity, Inc., program. This is a concern of some 30 to 35 top businessmen of Texas, representing the biggest firms we have, including Southwestern Bell, Humble Oil, Fredrick Airconditioning, Texas Instruments, Brown & Root, and others. They have agreed, at the request of our Governor, to set up this program so that we can coordinate the planning and later the placement. These top men operate at absolute cost. We do not go through a private agency like a lot of the other Job Corps. They outline the shops, they plan the training, they recommend the best and most practical equipment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

By unanimous consent (at the request of Mr. PICKLE) he was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, these men have said that these boys are worth saving. They have said to the boys, "If you finish this course, we will hire every one of you." That is without equivocation and they will do it. These are the biggest men, if you want to say our most successful businessmen, the most successful business firms of our State. They are not being onlooker, they are participants in this program.

I say to you if you get your business people organized to cooperate on that basis, you could have a better project and these boys would have the assurance if they do good they will graduate and have a job.

This is a most worthwhile program. I have been there, I know, I have seen, I have looked into their eyes and I ask you not to cut these funds. It is one of the most promising programs we have going in America today.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this section and all amendments thereto close now.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw that motion.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the motion is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I offered that motion because about 150 Members of the House have asked me when we are going to stop talking about this thing and vote. We have spoken on this bill now for 3 days. If we can reach some kind of an agreement as to when we are going to vote, I think most of the Members of the House would appreciate it, if we know how many amendments we have up there at the desk and who will present them.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, speaking from the viewpoint of those on the committee, and I recognize there are those who are not on the committee who have amendments, I have 5 amendments here and I plan to take about 10 seconds apiece on them.

I want to offer them for the RECORD. I think they are amendments that follow in order and once one is defeated, obviously not much time will have to be taken up with the others.

The gentlemen from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] I believe has three amendments and I believe the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] has one amendment.

We agreed from the beginning that we want to offer these amendments and take as little time as possible just to explain the amendment and then to sit down. I do think at least the members of the committee on this side should have a chance to offer their amendments.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, as I understand the situation, the members of the committee had anticipated and had more or less made an informal arrangement that we would try to get through at 5 o'clock. It is a little after 5 o'clock now. I requested the gentleman from Florida to withdraw his motion because I do want to see these amendments properly disposed of. But could we not get an agreement as to a reasonable length of time?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. What are we going to do tomorrow? What are we going to do tomorrow? We are spending 3 days on a billion dollar bill—is that smart?

Mr. ALBERT. I will say to the gentleman from Missouri, I will try to get him some time.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. All I am trying to do is to try to legislate in a reasonable way and in a reasonable order. Why, on a bill of this importance we ought to have a whole week. But we always cut things off at the last minute so nobody can talk. So there is no debate on vital parts of the bill. I do not subscribe to that and I am not going to join in any coalition to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GURNEY].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] rise?

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on section 18 and all amendments close thereto at 5:20 p.m.

[Mr. QUIE addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I offer a preferential motion.

The Clerk will report the preferential motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. JONES of Missouri moves that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken out.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I realize this bill is going to be passed here today regardless. We have seen during the last 2 days here voting to remove from the present law an anti-Communist oath and nobody on either side would admit or take sponsorship of removing that from it. We were told there was no debate in the committee and that there was nothing in the hearings showing why it should be deleted.

But here they march down the line like a bunch of lambs going to slaughter—people I know are against Communists and who would be in favor of leaving that in this bill.

You have here involved a bill that some of us know little about. I know very little about it. I came here and I have been on the floor of the House pretty regularly. I have had some experience with this program. I think I know some of the things that can be improved about it and I have tried to offer some amendments that I think would improve it.

The members of the committee on both sides have monopolized all the time. The people who are trying to help in this program by making constructive suggestions are not given any consideration at all.

I am announcing this now, because I know we will not have time when the time is limited. You will vote in just a short time.

Some of you should be ashamed of trying to call yourselves legislators, when you are not willing to say here on this floor and are not willing to debate the issues, and are not willing to stand up for what you know is right.

I am talking to you from my heart. Your conscience is going to hurt you later on. You know it. I know it.

We have a duty to perform here, and some of us today are not performing that duty, because we feel bound to go down the line. I do not belong to any group like that. I at least have charge of my own vote. I have charge of my soul and of my conscience. I can go to sleep tonight and know that I have tried to do something to help improve this program. But in my opinion, a majority is not interested in improving the program.

I will ask the Chairman of the subcommittee right now: Can you name for me [Mr. GIBBONS] the man who was responsible for taking the anti-Communist oath out of this bill? Can you do it? I will yield to you to give me the name of the person who did that.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. JONES, I introduced the bill, and I will accept the responsibility for it. And I despise anyone who impugns my honesty, my integrity, or my patriotism.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I am not impugning your motives. I am trying to find out who was responsible for that, because I do not believe a majority of the people here are in favor of doing that. A lot of people went down that aisle today. I have talked to some of them and they said, "We did not know what we were voting for." They said, "We were with the committee."

Well, I am not with the committee.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the preferential motion.

Mr. Chairman, I had not intended to speak on this bill, but I cannot help but understand English. The gentleman was impugning the motives of every single Member who voted for that amendment.

I knew what the amendment was, and I did not walk down the aisle like a sheep. I walked down because I wanted to vote that way.

What is the gentleman doing, standing up to say that everybody who disagrees with him is a sheep or lamb? Or, if you agree with him, are you a goat? Or what would you be?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I did not impugn the motives of any Member who knew what he was doing, but I have talked to Members of the House who admitted they did not know what they were voting for when they walked down that aisle.

Mr. HAYS. You wanted Mr. GIBBONS to name somebody. Why do you do not name the Members with whom you talked?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I do not name them. He did not name who was responsible for that.

Mr. HAYS. You do not name them. Well, I do not want to impugn your motives. I know what the rules are here.

I say that the people who are voting on this bill know what it is all about.

As for staying here, if it is necessary, I will stay here tomorrow and I am sure the gentleman will stay here, because the Interparliamentary Union is not meeting and he does not have anywhere to go.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the preferential motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES].

The preferential motion was rejected.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this section and all pending amendments and amendments thereto, for this section only, cease at 5:30 p.m.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Florida how many committee amendments are pending. I have an amendment which I consider very important, and I have circulated this amendment around to the Members of the House. You have adopted the procedure of reading the bill in toto. In a case like that any latter part of the bill would not be subject to amendment or debate. How many committee amendments are there?

Mr. GIBBONS. There are no committee amendments to it.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this section and all amendments thereto cease at 5:30.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Florida yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I will be glad to yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The gentleman from Florida could have had at least one amendment out of the way if the Chair had recognized a Member who wanted to offer an amendment and if we had not gotten into the last colloquy which consumed nearly 10 minutes. You could have had at least two or three other

people recognized and those amendments taken care of. I respectfully say and suggest, if you want to proceed and get things done and have the least amount of irritation, that the gentleman withdraw his motion and let the Chair recognize people who have bona fide amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GERALD R. FORD) there were—ayes 143, noes 89.

So the motion was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BELL

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to H.R. 8283, offered by Mr. Bell: On page 10, line 10, strike out "\$680,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$340,000,000".

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Will the Chair announce who has time in the 10 minutes we have for the discussion of four or five or six amendments?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has not the slightest idea who have amendments.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Does not the Chair have a list of who has time?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not have a list.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. May I ask, is it not the usual procedure that such a list is available when time is limited?

The CHAIRMAN. Not necessarily.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. It has always been the custom, as far as I recall, that a list has been read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman realizes that the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL] has 5 minutes.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am amazed at the change in procedure that has taken place in this instance.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I shall try to be brief. This amendment actually, as you know, is a very simple one. It cuts the amount back to \$340 million from \$680 million in the present bill.

There have been many problems, as you know, with the community action program. It has meant constant trouble to us. I think we should also consider that almost 75 percent of the funds budgeted for adult basic education, for example, this year, were not used. These funds carry over to next year. Then why do we need to double the fund?

I know there has been, as I have said before, a considerable amount of trouble with this program. I think that before we double this amount we ought to stop, look and listen. I recall that somebody made a comment about the amount of money we are spending on other things. We must remember that we are spending today \$32 billion a year on other programs to fight poverty. This with the money to be spent in this bill is a considerable amount of money to be spending. I think we should give our-

selves more time to work out the bugs in the programs that are giving us trouble before we double the expenditures. Let us be sure that the baby can crawl before we try to make him run.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I think we ought to take some time to explain the remaining amendments that are going to be offered on our side after the amendment of the gentleman from California which is to reduce the funds in title II to the amount that is in the present law. The same type of amendments will be offered in the remaining titles, which have as their purpose to hold the authorization to present levels.

I might add, for instance, that all the OEO is going to ask for title V is \$150 million, and we are doubling that.

In title III all OEO is going to ask for is \$55 million rather than the \$70 million in this bill.

The remaining amendments are going to transfer the portions of this act that are being administered by other departments of the Government.

There are portions of this act presently being administered by other departments of the Government. We think we should not have duplications of the activities in the OEO. For instance, we already have the higher education bill coming to the House which will transfer the work-study program to Health, Education, and Welfare. The work training program, called the Neighborhood Youth Corps, should be in the Labor Department which is handling it now.

The same with the rural poverty program. That should be transferred to the Department of Agriculture and handled by the FHA without OEO influence.

These are the amendments we are going to offer.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I think this is a very unfortunate parliamentary situation we are in because of the unfairness to those who are not members of the committee and who have not had a chance to debate these amendments that are at the desk. I obviously am going to have no chance to explain my five amendments when they are offered, so I take this opportunity to mention them quickly. I shall offer amendments to hold the work experience title V expenditures at the present level; the administration's VISTA title VI at the present level; amendments to transfer the adult education program to HEW, as well as the work experience program for unemployed fathers to HEW, and to transfer small business loans to the SBA.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, perhaps this should be in the form of a parliamentary inquiry, but I think these amendments to which the minority members of the Education and Labor

Committee have just referred should be offered after the time has elapsed so that those who are not members of the committee can have the remaining minutes in which to offer their amendments.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I have at the desk is an important one. It is the amendment which I explained earlier in the day. It will call for limiting expenditures for running the program to not more than 10 percent of the total fund appropriated. This will maximize the benefits to the needy and will remove any possibility of wasteful amounts being spent on the administrative level.

I think it is understandable and I hope it will be adopted.

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, just a little less than a year ago we were here in a similar situation initiating a bold new program to attack what one of the earlier philosophers of our days, Euripides said breeds evil. It was he who said that poverty is a disease; it teaches men evil.

At the time about 9 months ago many of the same charges flaunted today and almost all the same fears expressed today were being expressed at that time.

I must say as the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN] has stated in her most eloquent address to the committee a few minutes ago, that I have been concerned about some of the disappointments in this program and some of the mistakes that have been made.

But, Mr. Chairman, I think we ought to understand that we will continue to make mistakes because we have human beings engaged in the program and as long as we are dealing with the human element we are going to continue to make mistakes.

But, Mr. Chairman, let us not make the mistake of turning our backs upon the great new program that we launched a year ago to remove from the scenes of this country, not poverty in money, but poverty in soul and spirit, poverty in mind, poverty that deprives citizens of participating in the full benefits of citizenship, a disease that prevents them from discharging their responsibilities of full citizenship.

Mr. Chairman, it was just a few days ago that this House with the enthusiastic approval of a large number of the opponents of this bill again moved to secure the voting franchise to thousands of Americans, who for one reason or another had been denied that right.

Now, all we are doing here today is to continue in motion a program designed to provide those citizens with the opportunity to learn how to discharge that voting responsibility intelligently, to discharge it for the benefit of a great country that is destined to lead toward a hoped-for freedom throughout the world.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a time to quibble over mistakes. As the gentle-

man from Pennsylvania so appropriately asked, with whom are we dealing? What class of citizens is this program designed to reach? What is it we are trying to cure? Of course, we are going to continue to make mistakes. We have people engaged in this program who know nothing but evil, who have no reason to understand or appreciate the educational and cultural horizons that are being lifted for them.

Let us not for one moment reject the notion that we cannot here marshal the resources, of this great country financially, scientifically, legislatively, morally, and educationally, and lift these horizons for deprived American citizens, preparing them for full citizenship responsibilities and let them too join in our efforts to secure universal freedom.

This bill ought to be passed without further quibbling. The Members sent here to represent constituencies where the disease of poverty and its resulting evil is eating into the core of those constituent societies ought to be ashamed not to stand up and say, Yes, I am willing to give more because more is needed.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Chairman, in establishing the poverty program Congress created new dreams, new hopes, and the opportunity for a new future for hundreds of thousands of Americans. It should be our objective to insure that these aspirations can be realized.

Accordingly, I intend to vote for the authorization of additional funds for the acceleration of the work of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Where are the people who need the assistance provided by this act? Certainly New York City is one area where poverty is prevalent. In New York, the victims of poverty are of all ages. Some of them are abandoned, unwanted or uncared for children. Many of these underprivileged children accept their condition as normal, for they have known no other existence. Some are teenagers who dropped out of school, were not able to find work, and are now roaming the streets, destined for serious trouble.

In New York City 247,000 people are unemployed; 77,000 of them are school dropouts.

Many of those who need the assistance provided by this bill are the parents of school dropouts. They, too, are unable to find employment.

Other adults, although employed intermittently, can maintain themselves and their families on a subsistence level.

Finally there are the aged; those in their sixties and seventies who cannot find work because of their age or whose health makes work impossible. In all, approximately 1.5 million persons in New York City are classified as living in poverty and one-half million of these are receiving welfare payments.

Most of New York's poor live in 16 so-called islands of poverty which comprise 30 percent of the city's population. Seventy-five percent of the people in

these areas are nonwhites. The unemployment rate is 40 percent higher than in the rest of New York.

I speak of New York because the district I represent is there. The problem however, is not limited to New York. Increasingly, we are becoming a nation of huge urban complexes. As these centers evolve, the prevalence of urban poverty, and all of its contingent problems, increase immeasurably.

The need to act has been great and will become even greater.

I am proud to say that I was one of the 228 Congressmen whose vote made possible the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act.

This legislation set into motion a massive campaign against poverty. I am not unaware of some of the problems which have arisen in formulating the programs under the act and in its administration. Much of this is inevitable in any crash program. But I think we should look at this rather affirmatively—we should look at the good that these programs are doing for human beings rather than condemning the entire noble effort because it falls short of immediate perfection.

Again, let me turn to the area I know most about—New York City.

Today in New York, many teenagers whose only sense of accomplishment had been winning street fights are now being taught to believe in themselves, to believe that the constructive application of their ability is worthwhile and a promising goal. Through the Jobs Corps they are participating in educational, work training, and physical improvement programs.

Eight thousand five hundred others in the 16 to 21 age group are going to have some jobs this year because of an \$8,041,750 neighborhood grants. These young people will be working full or part time in varying capacities such as cleaning up parks, serving as orderlies in hospitals, sorting books in libraries, helping teachers in summer schools, and lending a hand in recreation centers.

Thus, through the Neighborhood Youth Corps, young people are enabled to stay in school, and also to have the feeling of dignity which comes with gainful employment in the summer months.

Many New Yorkers who thought that an advanced degree was economically impossible for them are continuing their education through college work-study programs.

In the spring, 21 grants, totaling \$317,000, were made available through this project, and during this summer, 20 grants, totaling \$595,662, are being used to help New York City students work their way through college.

Were it not for Project Head Start, many of the city's youngsters could never dream of college. Behind this program is \$4,772,874 which provides financing for communities to organize and operate preschool child development centers. These are designed to create an environment which will bring poor children to their full potential by improving their health and physical abilities, in developing their self-confidence, increasing their ability to relate to others, and building their verbal and conceptual skills.

In the city, 59 separate agencies and welfare groups will offer services at 228 centers in school buildings and settlement houses in support of the Head Start program. A typical center will serve 30 to 60 children, per teacher for every 15. There will also be dietary aids and others who perform specific tasks in helping the children embark in healthier and happier lives.

Not only the city's poverty-affected youth are being afforded opportunities for hope but adults also are being given direct assistance through programs provided through the Economic Opportunity Act.

Two work experience projects financed by grants totaling \$1,500,500 provide help to needy persons, particularly unemployed parents with dependent children. These people gain constructive work experience and training. They also attend basic literacy classes, are given vocational instruction, and derive benefits from a wide range of social services.

What is probably the single most important source of assistance to New York City's poor have been the community action programs.

These projects are aimed primarily at the 16 islands of poverty in the city.

As part of this extensive effort, which involves both public and private non-profit agencies, 5,000 more people will be hired to help other poor people. A system to provide family-type ties between New York City residents and recent migrants from Puerto Rico is currently being evolved. Other community action projects are now helping to ease tensions and develop economic improvement in the Negro slums.

These, then, are a few examples of how the EOA has come to the aid of impoverished New Yorkers.

The work done so far is only a beginning in the long and hard war against poverty. We must assure that it will be continued, and where necessary, expanded. We must do this so that those who are poverty stricken today may soon reach the proud position of being able to declare, "I don't need help any longer, because I now can stand on my own two feet."

That, Mr. Chairman, is why I strongly support this bill. That is why I will vote again for an investment in the future of hundreds of thousands of deserving underprivileged Americans.

Mr. Chairman, one final point should be made, and that relates to the question of the Governor's veto. Last year when speaking about the poverty bill on the floor of this House, I indicated that I had grave doubts about the advisability of giving Governors the extensive veto powers that the present Economic Opportunity Act now gives them. I suggested that a middle ground be struck. The current bill accomplishes just that. It is true that a Governor should be willing and able to participate in all programs which involve Federal assistance to the people of his State. Section 8 of the bill before us today enables all Governors to continue full participation in the Federal assistance programs which relate to the poverty stricken persons of their State. Section 8 of the bill continues to permit and moreover fully en-

courages the Governor of a State to review all poverty grant applications or plans under part B of title I and title II of the act as they affect his State. He is still permitted to disapprove of any such plan or proposal before the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity is authorized to approve any such plan or award any grant. I do not agree with those here who suggest that section 8 as reported by the committee permits the Federal Poverty Administrator to ignore the comments of the State Governors. The Administrator is not bound by those views but it would be the height of folly for him to fail to give careful consideration to them. Mr. Chairman, I, therefore, support the bill as reported out in this respect.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 8283 to authorize funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity. Although it is only in its infancy, the war on poverty promises to root out the fundamental causes of poverty and deprivation in this Nation.

I am particularly encouraged by the progress being made in my own district under the Project Head Start program. This phase of the war on poverty permits local community groups to plan and execute their own programs to help disadvantaged children of preschool age prepare for school. This project is being carried out in my district by the Latin American Civic Association. I think it is an excellent example of how a group of citizens with a common background and need can work together to fight one of the basic causes of poverty in their own community.

Such local planning, cooperation, and dedication is essential to the success of the antipoverty program, and it is imperative that we continue to emphasize the need for this type of local participation and leadership.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I most earnestly urge and hope that this House will speedily approve this measure before us, H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Amendments Act of 1965.

Through the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 this Congress and this country, less than a year ago, declared war upon the poverty of millions of citizens in a nation of abundance. The measure before us now is designed to carry on and expand the programs that were then initiated for the successful conduct of the war.

To those who entertain serious and sincere criticisms and skepticisms about various features of the overall operation of this great antipoverty program, let us give earnest and conscientious attention but let us also timely remind them that in every great war some weaknesses are bound to develop and even some battles may be lost. However that may be, in this crusade for the poor and despairing among us, let us willingly accept wholesome improvements of majority will and, above all, let us get on with the war.

I very deeply believe the consensus here in this body is that this national mission, basically to help the poor and the deprived to help themselves, is truly the most noble experiment and objective in which this Nation has ever engaged.

Embodied in this experiment and mission is the first real projection in our history of purposeful cooperative action on all governmental and private organizational levels, to help our poorer families reach for self-independence, to take young people off the street corners and train them for steady employment and encourage the uncertain to remain in classrooms until they earn their diplomas.

Mr. Chairman, the original legislation initiated projects and programs to inspire our communities to create appropriate measures to eliminate the evil roots of poverty at the local level; to enlarge opportunities for our youth to obtain the basic education, skills, and experience they must have to take a proper place in our society and become responsible parents in the future; to provide a better base for the revitalization of poorer areas in our great metropolitan cities by expanding small business activities; to assist destitute rural families in achieving improved living standards through the extension of capital grants and loans; to project selective plans to benefit undereducated adults and migratory agricultural workers; to motivate more States to utilize public assistance as a means to help families help themselves; to throw off the discouragements of poverty and to recruit and train volunteers to carry out the war on poverty.

Mr. Chairman, I think it would be commonly agreed here that an objective assessment of the programs and projects, as a whole, initiated by the original legislation appear now to have been very soundly conceived and that they have been faithfully and efficiently carried on.

Our business then today is to remedy and repair weaknesses that can be demonstrated and provide for the continuation and expansion of this war to eliminate deprivation and dependency in this great Nation. At this point, Mr. Chairman, it may be well and in order to remind ourselves that the American taxpayers are still making great sacrifices of life and resources for the promotion of peace, progress, and prosperity throughout an uncertain world. Let us then, in accord with our duty and tradition, demonstrate our legislative concern for our own people, which is our primary responsibility, and especially for those of the less fortunate among us by promptly approving this historic legislation.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to rise in support of H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, and to urge its passage without the crippling amendments that are being offered by our Republican critics.

The war on poverty, less than a year old, has been well begun. We rightly boast of our affluent society and yet we have permitted one-fifth of our people—some 35 million—to live in poverty and on the outskirts of hope. The thrilling new war on poverty has given them for the first time a chance to escape from their plight and share in the promise of this Nation.

It is captious and unreasonable to expect that pioneer programs of such magnitude and complexity could be carried out without any difficulties or failures.

I submit that the record of the past 11 months since the enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act justifies pride and confidence in its wisdom and effectiveness. The war against this deep-rooted domestic enemy cannot be won overnight, but the important thing is that at last it has been undertaken. Now that the organizational setup has been completed, the program will proceed with increasing effectiveness, provided that no drastic revisions of the operating provisions are written here today. It is ironic that the critics of the past year's achievements would deny us a large enough arsenal of weapons to win this war that demands the mobilization of all our resources. The crippling amendments offered by opponents of H.R. 8283 would prevent us from moving forward this most worthwhile campaign to save lives.

In his message on poverty in March 1964, the President stated:

We are fully aware that this program will not eliminate all the poverty in America in a few months or a few years. Poverty is deeply rooted and its causes are many. But this program will show the way to new opportunities for millions of our fellow citizens. It will provide a lever with which we can begin to open the door to our prosperity for those who have been kept outside. It will also give us the chance to test our weapons, to try our energy and ideas and imagination for the many battles yet to come. As conditions change, and as experience illuminates our difficulties, we will be prepared to modify our strategy.

Those words hold true today. The Nation can afford no longer the demoralizing and dehumanizing effects of poverty. I urge that we build upon the experience of the past year and proceed with the great unfinished task of eliminating the causes of poverty in America. The distressed, the hungry, and the hopeless of this Nation look to us today to give them a chance to help themselves through the antipoverty programs. Let us not fail them.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Chairman, several revelations have been made during this debate concerning the virtual impossibility of getting any information from the princes who control the various subprograms set up under the predecessor to this bill. When any inquiry is made by letter concerning any particular project or application, the letter is still unanswered after weeks and months have elapsed. When the inquiry is by telephone, the person desired is either out of the building, or is on another telephone. The nice secretary who gives this information, sweetly promises to have the call returned at once. The call is not returned, and after several such attempts, and some days have passed, one finally loses patience and demands attention, but then receives only inconclusive and unsatisfactory answers to the questions posed. With the scores of high-salaried bureaucrats and their hundreds of expensive consultants and advisers, as revealed thus far in this debate, it does seem that better service could be rendered to applicants, and to Members of Congress who are trying to get information for their constituents.

I had a recent case which I believe

relevant to this debate, and which I will outline for you at this time.

On April 30 of this year, there went out from the Department of Labor, over the signature of its Secretary, a letter to the principal of C. L. Simon High School, at Cushing, Tex., inviting the participation of his school in a program called athletes in temporary employment as agricultural manpower, called A TEAM for short.

The school promptly replied, naming one of its teachers, Norwood E. Golden, as school team coordinator, as requested in the Labor Secretary's letter, and expressing a desire to have a group of its students participate in the project, as outlined in the Secretary's letter, promising summer employment, together with proper housing and meals and good pay, together with a good salary for the team coordinator.

May 15 came the reply from the Department of Agriculture, Office of the Secretary, signed by the project Coordinator, Mr. Fornos, advising the school that a local representative would contact the school to assist in forming the A TEAM at the school. Also sent to the school was a pamphlet stating that the members of the A TEAM would be provided housing and transportation, and that there would be no maximum on the wages received, but in no case would the pay be less than \$1.15 to \$1.40 per hour.

Under these conditions, Mr. Golden had no difficulty in recruiting the necessary number of boys for the team. He and the boys were promised a trip to California, and that the program was to begin June 7. Mr. Golden abandoned his plans for different summer employment; the boys, and there were 34 of them in this team, invested in necessary clothes, most of it on credit to be paid for out of their promised earnings; some of them turned down other employment on account of the glamorous promises made them in the Department's literature. Mr. Golden made financial commitments on the basis of the program's promises; the boys and their parents accepted the Department's promises as true, partly, at least, because of their confidence in Norwood Golden.

Came June 7; the team received no instructions about where to report, and could get no information as to the cause. After some days, Mr. Golden called Mr. Fornos' office, and thereafter a number of such calls, all at his own expense, to no avail.

Finally, the summer almost half gone, on June 28, he wrote to me, stating his difficulty, and soliciting my aid. On June 30, upon receipt of the letter, I forwarded same to the Secretary of Labor with a letter from myself, seeking an explanation and relief for the Cushing A TEAM.

Some days later, having no reply to my letter, I began trying to communicate by telephone. After 2 or 3 days of not having my calls returned, I told the secretary who was answering the telephone that I knew it was not her fault, and then explained to her my thoughts about the situation. This resulted in my talking with Mr. Fornos, but I could get no satisfactory answer as to why such promises

were made to the Cushing A TEAM and its coordinator, nor could I get an explanation why the school was being ignored, and being kept on the hook, when it was obvious that there would be nothing for the team.

I asked why something had not been provided, according to promises, and was told that this was a team composed of Negro boys—which I already knew—and that there were a number of teams of white boys that wanted jobs, too. I did not deem this to be a satisfactory reply, because I do not believe the inquiries from the Negro team should be ignored, merely because it was a Negro team.

In truth, I believe it more reprehensible to make promises to the Negro boys than to white boys and their coordinators. The white boys would be less apt to be misled by the puffing and bloated promises made to them, and less apt to swallow such bait hook, line and sinker. I do not mean by this that I condone false and misleading promises from the Federal Government to anyone, but do believe there are degrees of such evil.

At any rate, during our conversation, I told Mr. Fornos if he was not going to provide anything for this A TEAM the Department had promoted, that he ought to write Mr. Golden and let him know, rather than keeping them dangling from the hook all summer. He promised to do so, and to send me a copy of his letter. That was approximately 3 weeks ago; I have not yet received such letter, and can only assume it has not been written.

The American people are paying, and paying dearly, for better service than this. Their inquiries should not be ignored. Assuming that this is not an isolated case, and I must so assume because I know of similar others, it is long past due that attention be given thereto, rather than permitting it to become progressively worse, by appropriating additional moneys for some more of the same.

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Chairman, yesterday my colleague from the Second District of Ohio, whose district contains part of Cincinnati as does mine, attacked the war on poverty. His claim was that the program does not attack the basic problem, that of hunger; that the program is not using the correct means to arrive at the goal of ending poverty; that the structure which is set up is failing to work; that more power should be given to the States to deal with the problems of poverty; and that more power should be given to the Governors of the States than would be permitted by the amended bill. He supports much of his statement by relying on the newspaper accounts of comments by Juvenile Court Judge Benjamin Schwartz, of Cincinnati, who was one of the original members of the Community Action Commission in Cincinnati which seeks to implement the fight against poverty in the Cincinnati area. Unhappily, the remarks made by my colleague about Judge Schwartz have been printed for the whole Nation to read, even though they are incomplete, inaccurate, and, as the judge himself protested in public letters, entirely distort his meaning.

In the opening paragraph of the public letter of Judge Schwartz of July 15,

which was widely printed in the press, and which condemns the newspaper interpretation relied upon by my colleague to build his case, Judge Schwartz said:

Unfortunately my recent comments in a newspaper regarding the war on poverty and the Community Action Commission were misconstrued by those reporting them in such a way that misunderstandings and errant opinions were the result. In this letter I would like to make emphatic the fact that this court has never disagreed with the philosophy and goals of the war on poverty because we have fought long and hard ourselves for many years to alleviate the misery of the poor.

Further, he praised some portions of the program:

We recognize that such programs as "Project Head Start" and the emphasis on education and jobs are excellent and can be a large step forward.

About the problems of hunger in Cincinnati he said:

This court has seen only too graphically the procession of the results of hunger and need. The hostility and delinquent behavior of youngsters and the despair of parents demonstrates time after time the old truism that "hunger is the mother of crime and revolution" so we are firm in our belief that hunger and the other basic needs must be alleviated before many of the other programs of the war on poverty can succeed.

This is the core problem of Mr. Schwartz' difficulties with poverty. Hunger to him is at the base of many of the cases he handles in his court; and he says that much could be solved by an increase in State payments:

The general relief program is basically a State responsibility, but with the shortage of funds, scarce and underpaid staff minimum needs of the less fortunate are still left unmet in many ways. This is why over 8,000 children in our schools were found to be without lunch, and after all efforts had failed with agencies and schools, we were ultimately forced to take this problem to dedicated citizens within the community, who have helped so often before, to obtain temporary assistance until a more permanent solution was found later on after the "countryside had been aroused." The entry of the food stamp program of the Welfare Department of Hamilton County has helped locally in some respects, raising the percentage of the minimum needs being met from 70 percent to approximately 80 percent, but obviously this is still not sufficient, and many of the youngsters and their families are still "slipping through the cracks" of the community structure.

There is the rub, Mr. Chairman. The very core of the criticism of the general poverty program is essentially a problem caused by the Governor of the State of Ohio, who has invoked an austerity program upon the poor of the State. Disregarding this, my colleague uses a misstatement of Judge Schwartz' criticisms to serve as the basis for his criticism of a Federal Government program. Why does my colleague not attack the program which is the core problem for Judge Schwartz? Why does he not raise his voice in criticism of the Governor of Ohio? He is a member of the Governor's party, and should have some influence. I have looked in vain in my files for a criticism by my colleague against the Governor. Can it really be that he does not understand the im-

plication of Judge Schwartz' criticisms—that at bottom it is the fault of the Governor of Ohio?

It is true, of course, that Judge Schwartz criticizes some portions of the Federal Government war on poverty—we all criticize it with a view to improving it. But what my colleague does not mention about the resignation of Judge Schwartz from the Community Action Commission is that he attended only the first meeting of that body and sent a delegate thereafter. It is unfortunate that my colleague's case should be built on attendance of the judge at one meeting. What do the other prominent persons from Cincinnati think about the resignation?

Dr. Campbell C. Crockett, dean of the University of Cincinnati Graduate School, commented:

It is unfortunate that the judge didn't choose to work out within CAC the problems that are the crucial ones. It's pretty easy to stand outside, criticize, and then resign, and I regret that we will not have his resources to work with.

Dr. Thomas J. Hailstones, dean of the college of business administration at Xavier University, commented:

I don't see why, if he has some good ideas, the judge doesn't attend our meetings more frequently and express them. There is a substantial difference of opinion between the feelings of the judge and the rest of the commission. The only way for us to whip poverty is for all to work together, pool our ideas, and tackle problems with cooperation and vigor.

Mr. Stanley G. McKie, president of the Cincinnati Board of Education said that he was "disappointed that Judge Schwartz offered his resignation. I think the Judge might help more by staying on. I would hope he would reconsider."

Another point should be considered about the speech of my colleague. For years he and the members of his party, at the local, State, and National level, have been complaining about the Federal power grab, using this myth to carry on a sterile, political monolog with the voters. Now we are using a program device which will assure decentralization of decisionmaking, assuring to the local people the opportunity to make local decisions, administering what are Federal funds with the greatest amount of local freedom. We of the majority party want this program of local responsibility to work. It will not be stopped by Congressmen who, now that they have the kind of program structure they have been calling for all these years, do not know what to do with it and refuse to assist in any way. It will not be stopped by persons who come out for the war against poverty only when they know it will be carried on and will be successful. It will not be stopped by persons who have never before spoken about the issue, who have not challenged the leadership of their State, local, and Federal party groups when in fact they have prevented any kind of war against poverty when they were in power. No, Mr. Chairman, happily for these United States, the people are more intelligent, and are led more ably, than my colleague knows, and they will support our efforts.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Chairman, I will support H.R. 8283.

It is too soon to make a meaningful assessment of the impact and administration of the poverty program. To be sure we have been alarmed by excessive political involvement in some cities, by the haste with which some programs have been undertaken, by unfortunate experiences where applicants have not been adequately screened. Nevertheless, it can be said that important strides have been made.

In the Fifth Massachusetts District, which I am honored to represent, two institutions of higher education are now participating in the college work-study program: The Lowell Neighborhood Youth Corps is performing vital community tasks never undertaken before. The large Head Start program in Lawrence shows hopeful signs of bringing underprivileged youngsters to a level where they can compete effectively with other children when they begin school in the fall. Seven other Fifth District communities are also conducting Head Start programs.

There is no doubt that there is ferment in many communities around the country. Perhaps this was the predictable result of an effort to change the traditional patterns of social and economic organization which have, in some instances, prevented Americans from progressing as far as their character and ability will take them. This fact makes it imperative that the Office of Economic Opportunity permit local communities to do the job themselves. It should never interject itself into the decision-making process at the local level.

As I said, I think that it is too early for a meaningful assessment of the program. But I think that the Congress will be remiss in its duty if it does not conduct a thorough study of the program early in 1966. By that time, we will have enough data on which to base an inquiry. The Office of Economic Opportunity, like all agencies, should be held to a strict accounting of its use of funds and the standards of achievement should be set high. The results of such a study should be given great weight in determining the necessity or wisdom of additional legislation at that time.

If we fail to provide diligent oversight over this program we will not be living up to our responsibility to see that Federal money is spent wisely, nor will we be serving the cause of the unfortunate Americans for whom this program is conducted.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Chairman, last Sunday I spent 3 hours at the Job Corps center at Camp Kilmer in my district. This was my third visit to the center and I have been consistently impressed with what I have seen. The 1,000 young men between 16 and 21 years of age are a cross-section of the Nation. They come from Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Kansas, Pennsylvania; in fact, they are from every corner of the country. They are getting the counseling, the morale-building, and the other help they need under a program run by one of our largest industries. Along with some wonderful men from Rutgers University,

representatives of Federal Electric of I.T. & T. with tremendous experience in job training are doing an excellent job with the trainees.

This particular project has attracted national attention from the start. The top people in the AFL-CIO in educational and economic opportunity work have visited the camp and have indicated that they like what they see. The president of the National Hotel & Restaurant Workers has stated that they will need 150,000 men to work in cooking and baking. They have made some suggestions and they generally have endorsed the program.

There is also a tremendous shortage of men to serve the motorist in gas stations and doing automotive repairs that do not require the training of an automobile mechanic. Private industry has donated over \$100,000 in machinery and equipment so the young men may be trained and become employed.

The National Boy Scout headquarters are in the area and four Explorer Scout troops are being organized. A 4-H program is being started with the help of the Cornell Dairy Farm and the Farmer's Cooperative Association of New Brunswick. Through this program the young men will have vegetable and flower gardens and will be trained to do landscaping.

Many of our early fears concerning discipline and the behavior of the young men have faded away. Actually, the communities have embraced these young men so that they are enjoying social advantages they never had before. Many of our good people are simply showing some love, a commodity which many of the young men have never received.

I spoke to instructors whom I know who took employment here on leaves of absence from their regular jobs and they tell me that there is a ray of hope and of light. These young men have grown and they have a new social outlook. They now realize that they can become good citizens and that there is a place in society for them. Our people in all walks of life are interested in them. This is a hard job and is one which requires dedication and patience. If we pursue it, it will be well worth our while.

Yesterday as I listened to some of the opponents of this bill talk, I was made to feel that it was a crime to be poor. I have checked out what I am about to tell you; namely, that many in the group of enrollees are good, healthy, normal, intelligent young men and that they will profit greatly from this program. They are moral and they are industrious. Unfortunately, many come from impoverished backgrounds where they could never dream of the equal opportunity we hope to give them when they complete their training course. It is no crime to be poor; it is a crime to refuse help to those who need it when we ourselves live in a state of accelerating affluence.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, it is a matter of record that I voted against the so-called Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. I would like to add—for that same record—that I did so with reluctance, and with the hope that my reservations about the efficacy of this historic effort to

eliminate poverty in our land would prove to be ill-founded, because I fully recognized the laudable ambitions of those who supported the passage of that act and the need—an urgent need, I might add—for innovation and improvement in the then-existing programs for cooperative Federal, State and local attacks on the causes of self-perpetuating poverty.

What might be called the preamble to the 1964 act—by which I refer to section 2, thereof—sets forth a lofty goal, and one with the appropriateness of which there can be no dispute:

It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

We have heard, here, these past 3 days, many echoes of those challenging words. But that same section goes on to say—in its final sentence:

It is the purpose of this act to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy.

Have we succeeded?

As those of us who served in the last Congress can testify, last year's act was passed in a spirit of urgency, if not of haste, and those of us who sought to submit or to support amendments designed to improve or to clarify the hastily and loosely drawn product of the committee's enthusiasm—which action we felt was required of us as responsible legislators—or those of us subsequently felt compelled to vote against that bill on final passage because we were still so troubled by so many of its provisions, were wrongly charged at a later date as being either woefully blind to the fact of the existence of poverty in America, or wilfully callous to the plight of those who suffered from the blight of being poor.

However, it is apparent that even the most ardent supporters of last year's bill feared, at least in some degree, that certain of our questions concerning the wisdom and workability of the various programs set up thereunder had validity. This is borne out, for instance, by reference to the first sentence of the first paragraph of the report accompanying this year's bill, wherein the committee majority states that the 1-year authorization granted in connection with the 1964 act was "a control technique developed by the Congress in order to require a close check and reevaluation of this new program."

Congress, in its wisdom, having approved of this declaration of war on poverty—which approval was evidently thereafter ratified by the electorate—I am perfectly willing to abide by that decision.

I am equally willing, Mr. Chairman, to vote the necessary funds to carry on that war as well as to escalate it, where such escalation is indicated as being required on the basis of such combat experience as we have now had.

However, the pertinent question, here, as I see it, is whether or not we have yet acquired, at the level of action, a sufficient experience with this program in

all its various aspects to financially escalate it to twice the current level, as recommended in H.R. 8283. In my judgment, we have not.

Another pertinent question revolves around our continuing responsibility as legislators to "reevaluate"—for that is the word used by the committee majority in its report—a program which, of necessity, is experimental in nature. Have we carried out that responsibility? In my judgment, again, the answer has to be we have not.

Let me refer, again, to the committee report. In the second paragraph on page 1 of the report, it stated that certain "on-the-spot field investigations" were undertaken by an ad hoc subcommittee of the full committee. This was evidently in addition to the 6 partial days of hearings held by that special subcommittee here in Washington. But, the report then sets forth this admission:

A more complete investigation was not possible because of the very heavy congressional legislative schedule during the early part of the 89th Congress.

And it is added:

It was not possible to completely judge some of the programs of this great new approach to the elimination of poverty because the program is only in its initial stages of operation.

And, Mr. Chairman, with respect to those 6 or so days of formal hearings here in Washington, the chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] stated at the outset, and this appears on page 3 of the hearings:

These hearings will be brief. There will be no filibusters allowed. We will rigidly adhere to the 5-minute rule. Witnesses will be cut to a minimum list. We intend to pass this bill out by the 1st of May.

A quick run-through of the hearings will indicate, to anyone who is willing to look, that the hearings were, indeed, brief and the list of witnesses was, indeed, cut to a minimum.

Thus we have before us, now, as so many of my friends on this side of the aisle have been attempting to point out, a woefully inadequate lack of basic information on which to justify, either to ourselves, or to the taxpayers of America, or even to the poor, themselves, who must depend upon us to make this experiment bear fruit, a virtual doubling of the funds with which to carry on this war.

As for myself, I am convinced that there has been far too much emphasis on fast action in and by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and too little emphasis on skilled and sensitive planning, as well as—in Chairman POWELL's own words—too many "giant fiestas of political patronage" at the local or community level, and too much political infighting and duplication of effort as well as overlapping of goals.

Some of this is understandable. Perhaps, in view of the experimental nature and the very magnitude of the effort, some of this is even excusable. But will we—can we—help to eradicate such unfortunate aspects of our experience with the program so far by bailing in twice the amount of funds as are now in use? I do not see how.

We share a common burden of responsibility to those of our fellow citizens who are poor—but we have an equal responsibility, for which we must answer to all whom we represent, for legislating in a manner befitting a deliberative body—something this particular Congress all too often seems to be not—and of applying to the problem we face and to the decision we must make as much commonsense as we can muster, in order that we can truly serve the constructive purposes this program offers.

In conclusion, then, Mr. Chairman, unless this bill can be held at a reasonable and appropriate level of authorization under existing circumstances, I shall feel constrained to vote against it.

I shall do so, in essence, because I believe it unwise to fire the second barrel of what has up to now been a rather tragic kind of shotgun blast at poverty, until we are sure that our first shot has found at least some portion of the target.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Chairman, on March 8, 1965, I addressed the House with regard to a serious problem which confronted our State with regard to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I pointed out that our State was most interested in erasing the causes of poverty in this Nation. I pointed out that our State had established within the office of the Governor a division of economic opportunity staffed with competent professional personnel, to coordinate and assist in this program. Such cooperation, it was felt, could bring the full resources of our State and its agencies to bear on these problems.

In spite of this cooperation and intent, the State cabinet felt compelled to pass a resolution in which they noted that projects under the Economic Opportunity Act, which were subject to the approval of the Governor, had been negotiated directly by the Washington Office of Economic Opportunity and other Federal agencies having delegated responsibilities under the act. I considered this to be a breach of the intent of the program and urged at that time that this matter be cleared up. We have not seen much improvement.

I would further point out that we have seen some rather serious problems develop with regard to this program. Poverty is a relative matter, and it is my opinion that the millions we are spending are not really getting to the heart of the matter. Of course, there have been successes in the program, but there have been some notable cases of bungling.

I voted for this program last year and said at that time that I would review my decision and expected that we would see some substantial strides in administration and accomplishment if I were to vote to continue this particular attack on poverty. I would point out that the Office of Economic Opportunity is not the only Federal program that seeks to help the poverty stricken, for in our agriculture, area development, education, and health programs we are attempting to seek out the causes of poverty and eliminate them.

I feel quite strongly that this program

has not met the basic needs and that it should be revamped and that more cooperation should and must be shown to State governments like Florida, where progressive people can cooperate and work for the very ends for which this program was established.

Mr. Chairman, the House last year authorized \$947.5 million for the Office of Economic Opportunity and its program for combating poverty in this country. This year H.R. 8283 is requesting an authorization of \$1.895 billion, about double that which was authorized in the last fiscal year. It seems to me that this program has not progressed to the point where it can efficiently be doubled in 1 year and achieve the maximum amount of efforts toward the combating of poverty without an unusual amount of waste and duplication and inefficient use of tax dollars.

I am also somewhat disappointed, Mr. Chairman, that the Office has not made further advantages of the Job Corps training which, in my opinion, can be one of the greatest services to this country in teaching young men and women skills that are so needed. I feel that this is where the heart of the program should be and that not enough effort and emphasis is being placed in this particular field.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Chairman, the House will undoubtedly approve H.R. 8283, doubling the appropriation for the administration's war-on-poverty program, thus bringing its spending authority to \$1.9 billion. Unfortunately, H.R. 8283 also proposes to abolish the Governor's veto power over the community action programs.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized appropriations for the poverty program for 1 year. This 1-year appropriation was authorized to insure the operational record of the program's first year would be carefully reviewed, administrative procedures reevaluated, and the effectiveness of the program in accomplishing legislative objectives carefully appraised.

However, after a cursory and, in my opinion, inadequate consideration of only one of the 10 programs of the poverty war, the House Education and Labor Committee abruptly terminated hearings on the program, though many witnesses remained to be heard, and reported this bill to double appropriations for the program.

In practice, the poverty program has been beset with administrative difficulties, by controversy among local governments and existing service agencies, by charges that highhanded bureaucratic methods have completely bypassed local agencies and administrations. These charges and difficulties should be investigated. Congress should have full and adequate information as to how these difficulties can be resolved with the existing war-on-poverty strategy.

Furthermore, I take issue with the proposal to abolish the Governors' veto power over community action programs. Already those programs sponsored by an institution of higher education are exempt from the approval of the Governors.

The Governors' veto power is to assure that programs are coordinated with the array of local-State-Federal programs administered by State agencies. Not only should this power be maintained, it should be extended.

Certainly, local bickering, political boondoggling, and administrative difficulties, do not tell the whole story of the poverty program. Despite its experimental nature and its short duration, the poverty program has garnered the interest and assistance of well-meaning citizens who are aware of some of the problems of low-income families and who wish to help alleviate some of these problems. In my district in Kansas local response has resulted in a number of headstart programs successfully underway this summer, four of our colleges are assisting college students from low-income families under the college work-study program. In western Kansas, programs to assist migrant farmworkers and their children continue.

As the record of the poverty program now stands, confused, inadequately evaluated, rampant with administrative delay and controversy, instead of escalating the poverty war to twice its present size by doubling appropriations authorizations with this bill, Congress should know where this money is to be spent and how the shortcomings of the program are to be eliminated. We cannot ignore the problems and difficulties inherent in the poverty program as it now operates. We cannot simply pump twice as much money into the program and expect these difficulties to resolve themselves. It is the responsibility of Congress to investigate these difficulties and take necessary legislative action if we expect this Economic Opportunity Act to in any measure achieve its noble objectives.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I have heard it argued by opponents of this bill that the achievements of last year's act cannot yet be ascertained. But, the facts are that the economic opportunity program has already relieved many sections of our country where aid was badly needed. Although a total appraisal is not possible, the evidence thus far dramatically indicates the real worth of the economic opportunity program.

In the 1 year since its creation the economic opportunity program has made available to Miami, Fla., nearly \$4 million, which has been effectively used to increase employment, particularly that of young people, to aid students, to provide for adult education and increased educational opportunities for migrant workers, and to develop community welfare programs.

Much of the credit for the effective utilization of funds in Miami must go to the Economic Opportunity Program, Inc., of Dade County. This nonprofit organization, established by community leaders, has developed a system of program priorities and has coordinated the activities of the various groups that receive aid. It has also worked to disseminate in Dade County information about the poverty program.

In the area of employment, the Miami Youth Opportunity Center of the Florida State Employment Service announced

recently that 25 percent of the 12,000 Dade County high school graduates have already secured permanent jobs. The State employment service has helped by administering tests and selecting students with skills in various areas.

The Youth Opportunity Center has sent letters to employers in the area in an effort to spearhead a drive to hire young people. A welcome addition to the services performed by these two organizations is that of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, established under the OEO. It provides jobs for youngsters in families with incomes under \$3,000.

The adult education programs—as well as work-study plans at local colleges—which enable students to complete their education by providing them with part-time jobs, help to uplift the educational level of Dade County.

Despite the overall success of the program in the Miami area, one large sector of the population there has not fully shared in all the benefits of the program. These are the Cuban refugees who have entered the United States in their effort to flee the plague of Castro communism. Since 1961, almost 200,000 of them have entered the United States through Miami with almost half that number residing there at present. While we welcome these individuals, their presence has placed an extraordinary burden on the social, educational, and welfare agencies of Dade County.

Mr. Chairman, I thank my esteemed friend and colleague, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS], for offering the amendment cosponsored by me and my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], which permits young Cuban refugees to participate in the Job Corps and neighborhood youth program. In addition, I thank the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL], for his assistance in allowing this amendment to come to the floor of the House of Representatives for a favorable vote.

It is readily apparent that the war on poverty has had a successful start in Miami. Clearly, then, the bill now under consideration will strengthen last year's legislation and should be enacted.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.

Though only a short 10 months old, and not without its share of the normal administrative difficulties in getting started, the economic opportunity program has already proved that it has the potential of becoming a valuable and effective tool in mobilizing the Nation's human and financial resources to attack the basic causes of poverty and high unemployment among America's 30 million disadvantaged citizens.

As one of the original congressional sponsor of President Johnson's war on poverty, I am confident that we will all be the beneficiaries of this promising new approach to solving the tragic paradox of extreme poverty in the midst of an all-time record high prosperity for most Americans.

In addition to the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps which offer

basic education and job training for young people who are both out of school and out of work, the war on poverty includes a work-training program to keep teenagers from dropping out of high school, a work-study program to help needy college students continue their education, a comprehensive community action program to assist local groups in antipoverty projects tailored to special community needs, and the VISTA program, the domestic version of the world famous Peace Corps, composed of highly qualified volunteers who serve in areas of intense urban or rural poverty.

The antipoverty program represents a national commitment to the elimination of deprivation and dependency in the United States. It has been rare in peacetime that so many agencies, public and private, Federal, State, and local, have joined together with such singleminded purpose. Certainly, never before in our peacetime history has such a large and complex program gotten underway so successfully and in such a short period of time.

This program is not directed just at the symptoms of poverty, but rather at its causes. It is a program which seeks not merely to ameliorate and alleviate, but to prevent and rehabilitate. It seeks not to support the poor or make them dependent upon the generosity of others. It seeks instead to provide them with hope, with training, and, in short, with a chance to help themselves.

Understandably, the war on poverty places great emphasis on the young, and on education and job training. There is provision, of course, for a great variety of other services, other aids, designed to help people lift themselves from poverty. In fact, the range of services and types of assistance that are possible under this program and available to the poor are, in a very real sense, limited only by the ingenuity of those designing local programs for the poor.

With the tremendous support this program has received so far from all parts of the country, I am confident we will meet the solemn commitment undertaken last year to eliminate want, deprivation, and need, in this, the richest Nation on earth.

Already we can point to major accomplishments: 10,000 youths currently in training for employment in 48 Job Corps centers, with more than 50 new centers soon to be opened; 275,000 young students given part-time employment allowing them to remain in school; 37,000 illiterate adults being trained in 40 States; 550,000 preschool youngsters getting Head Start training this summer; and 87,000 family heads with 270,000 dependents receiving intensive training and guidance that will eventually enable them to become self-supporting and get off welfare rolls.

The legislation before the House today provides authorization for approximately \$1.9 billion to expand the war on poverty and increase the effectiveness of its programs.

Administration officials have indicated that these new funds will be sufficient to support the following program levels for the fiscal year 1966: Job Corps, 80,000;

community action, 1,100 grants to some 700 communities; VISTA, 5,000 volunteers; Neighborhood Youth Corps, 300,000 teenagers in 500 communities, plus an additional 100,000 during the summer of 1966; college work-study, about 145,000 students in 1,300 colleges; adult basic education, 70,000 trainees in 50 States and 4 territories; work experience, 224,000 participants also in 50 States and 4 territories; and rural loans, \$36.8 million for 22,000 individual loans and \$8.2 million for 400 co-op loans.

Mr. Chairman, these figures represent the first real concerted nationwide attack ever made against the root causes of human poverty and high unemployment in America.

In this affluent society of ours, we have a serious obligation to support this unique and extremely promising effort to assure all our citizens of the opportunity to earn their rightful share of the material blessings this Nation has in such rich abundance.

Therefore, I strongly urge the Members of the House to express their confidence in the President by voting in favor of the passage of H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Chairman, even the strongest supporter of H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1963, would be among the first to agree that the war on poverty has had a very painful beginning in its first year.

No one can seriously deny that many of the criticisms directed against the program in the past several days are quite meritorious.

Perhaps it is true that too much attention has been paid to planning and not enough to program operation.

It is certainly correct that standards or yardsticks to evaluate whether the various programs are a success or a failure are woefully inadequate.

It would surely be reasonable to place a stronger emphasis on the goal of increasing the proportion of expenditures that directly benefit the poor, as opposed to the initially high costs of administration. There is no reason why salaries provided to workers in the war on poverty should be higher than those for individuals doing substantially the same work in other fields. In addition, the evidence indicates that those administering programs ought to take greater care not to spend money for items that in the past have been made available without charge or at lower prices.

Moreover, it is reasonable to request administrative officials of OEO to show greater awareness that efforts to oversell or overpublicize the program may do irreparable psychological injury to those who are deserving and yet must be turned away in direct denial of the promises made to them in publicity.

We must recognize that out in the field there have been some controversies among Governors and mayors and even among the poor themselves. But by the same token we should recognize there are amendments contained in H.R. 8283 which will minimize these conflicts in the future and that many of these difficulties will ease themselves out over the

coming months through the simple fact of experience in cooperation.

Nevertheless, none of us who believe in the basic underlying purposes of the poverty program want to see the community action program dominated by selfish persons whose sole objective is to use the programs for personal advantage.

It is, therefore, most important that precedents be established to guarantee that the poor be included and have a voice in the formulation and enactment of policy. It is equally important that the word "consultation" among all groups be made meaningful through policy directives.

Governing boards should not be composed entirely of those who do not live in the impoverished areas affected. Local neighborhood advisory groups must have some voice not only in the formation of policy but in the direction of program.

Moreover, community action programs should not be left entirely in the hands of social workers. Trained social workers serving as advisers may be helpful if they are not permitted to dominate the program, but the point that there exists in many cities a gigantic social welfare machine is well taken.

In the ensuing year there must be new emphasis on methods that are creative enough or militant enough to really help the poor and deliver a knockout blow to those who are always ready to criticize but never ready to provide constructive or positive assistance.

Yet the scene is not totally bleak. In fact, we have been making startling progress in the past half year or more.

As Representative of the Fourth Missouri District which contains seven rural counties. I have discussed the rural program with several ministers and school officials. I have been assured that while the program may not be perfectly organized at the moment, it will become efficiently operative and effective within the coming year.

Those of us who are fair enough to frankly admit the earlier shortcomings of the program, supported the recent investigations which will serve to strengthen the program in the future. Those weaknesses were fully ventilated.

Now, let us look at the other side of the coin, or, if you please, the plus side of the ledger. The program seems to be soundly conceived. I have confidence that the administration in the months ahead will be handled well and faithfully carried out. The Office of Economic Opportunity is now in the process of establishing a system of seven regional offices. After these develop and expand, many of the current difficulties will surely disappear. No one will be able to say the existence of these offices will mean a less significant role by the State agencies.

The most eloquent argument for the continuance of the war on poverty is to appraise its record of accomplishment in the 9 short months since its establishment.

Despite the fact that the OEO had to be organized from scratch, and despite the President's decision to postpone projects until after the November election, by the end of fiscal year 1965 programs under the umbrella of the OEO had di-

rectly reached out to 1,167,000 persons and had indirectly benefited another 1,943,000 individuals. By the time all the funds allocated for fiscal year 1965 are actually expended the total number of persons directly and indirectly affected will swell from 3,110,000 to 5,872,000.

Such a record of accomplishment in a 9-month period is almost unparalleled in the history of the Federal Government. Let us look at some meaningful statistics: 10,000 persons are now receiving training in the Job Corps; 265,000 persons are already as of this date participating in the Neighborhood Youth Corps; 35,000 older persons previously unable to complete their schooling are now a part of the adult basic education program; 88,000 persons are enrolled in the work-experience program, and another 85,000 students in the work-study program are able for the first time to earn money while pursuing their education.

Under the rural loan program 11,000 persons have been assisted to break the credit barrier in agriculturally impoverished areas of the country.

This bill will permit expansion of these programs to affect twice as many persons.

It is estimated that this authorization will be sufficient to provide 1,100 community action grants in 700 communities; adult basic education programs affecting 70,000 undereducated adults; work experience for 224,000 participants; training in the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps for 480,000 enrollees; and rural poverty loans to 22,100 individuals and to 410 sponsoring organizations.

Progress has definitely been made in the special programs to combat poverty in rural areas. Although the program in our congressional district in west-central Missouri is just beginning to function, I am optimistic that it will soon become well established and prove out as a workable program. I have confidence that unselfish leadership will come forward and also confidence that the program when it does grow will relieve the poverty of the small farmer. Low-income rural families can and surely will benefit by the grant and loan programs provided by this measure.

We must remember that the poverty program did not become a reality until the bill was signed last August. That first measure had a lofty purpose, to fight toward the ultimate elimination of deprivation and dependency. Everyone knew this would require a monumental effort. It was heralded as an effort to help people help themselves. The program was not one just for the support of the poor which would continue to leave them dependent upon the generosity of others. One of the central themes of the program is that of training to give the poor a chance to help themselves. The provisions for education and training are worthy of the highest praise.

The amendments that we are going to adopt in this present bill will provide for a great variety of aids to help people lift themselves out of their poverty. There are no really built-in limitations upon the range of assistance. It has been appropriately said that under portions of this program progress is limited only by the

ability of those who design the local program for the benefit of the poor. When we all become willing to absorb the criticism directed against the program since last August and turn our faces forward, determined to improve the administration of the program, its potential will become almost unlimited.

This measure will not be a final solution to all problems of poverty but one would have to be a determined pessimist to insist administration of the program will not become more alert and efficient in the year ahead. Certainly no one can deny this measure will provide the tools to eliminate most deprivation and to move forward in a militant fight for the eradication of poverty.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ICHORD

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ICHORD: On page 10, line 2, add the following after the word "law": "Provided, That none of the sums so appropriated shall be used to remunerate enrollees in a work-training program at a rate of pay higher than the locally prevailing wage for similar services or the statutory minimum wage, whichever is higher".

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROOSEVELT to the amendment offered by Mr. ICHORD: After the words "similar services or the" insert "higher of either the particular State or the United States".

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. ICHORD].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ANDREWS OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota: On page 11, after line 23, insert:

"LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS

"SEC. 19. Such Act is amended to add a new section as follows:

"SEC. 617. Of the funds authorized to be appropriated or otherwise made available under the authority of this Act, not more than 10 per centum shall be expended for the purpose of salaries and the cost of administration."

And renumber the sections which follow accordingly.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. ANDREWS].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] rise?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GOODELL

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOODELL: On page 11, line 7, strike out "\$300,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$150,000,000".

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GOODELL

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOODELL: On page 11, line 19, strike out "\$20,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$10,000,000".

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman from Minnesota rise?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. QUIE

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. QUIE: On page 10, line 20, strike out "\$70,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$35,000,000".

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. QUIE

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. QUIE: On page 11, after line 23, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 19. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

"SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under part C of title I are hereby transferred to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available, in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. QUIE

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. QUIE: On page 11, after line 23, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 19. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF LABOR

"SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under part B of title I are hereby transferred to the Secretary of Labor.

"(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made

available, in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Department of Labor."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. QUIE

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. QUIE: On page 11, after line 23, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 19. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

"SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under title III are hereby transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture.

"(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available, in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Department of Agriculture."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GOODELL

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOODELL: On page 11, after line 23, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 19. (a) Section 501 and section 503 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 are each amended by striking out 'Director' and, inserting in lieu thereof 'Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare'.

"(b) Section 502 of such Act is amended by striking out 'Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable him' and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to utilize funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title'."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GOODELL

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOODELL: On page 11, after line 23, insert the following:

"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 19. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

"SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under title IV are hereby transferred to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

"(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available, in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GOODELL

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer a final unexplained amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GOODELL: On page 11, after line 23, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 19. (a) Section 501 and section 503 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 are each amended by striking out 'Director' and inserting in lieu thereof 'Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.'

"(b) Section 502 of such Act is amended by striking out 'Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable him' and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to utilize funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title'."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. JONES OF MISSOURI

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JONES of Missouri: On page 10, line 2, amend section 18, on page 10, line 2, by substituting a semicolon for the period, and adding the following proviso:

"Provided that no part of such appropriation is authorized to be used in the payment of salaries, wages, or other compensation to any individual which is in excess of the prevailing wage for identical or comparable employment in the community where such services are performed."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. JONES of Missouri) there were—ayes 76, noes 119.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 12, line 1:

"AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUNTEERS

"SEC. 19. (a) Paragraph (2) (A) of section 205(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C. 425(b)(2)(A)) is amended by striking out 'or' before '(iii)' and by inserting before the proviso and after 'Peace Corps Act' the following: ', or (iv) not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.'

"(b) The amendments made by this section shall not apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this Act without the consent of the then obligee institution."

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further amendments, under the rule the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. ROONEY of New York, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, pursuant to House Resolution 431, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule the previous question is ordered. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. QUIE. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. QUIE moves that the bill, H.R. 8283, be recommitted to the Committee on Education and Labor with instructions that the bill be reported back forthwith with the following amendments:

"Beginning with line 19 on page 4, strike out everything down through line 3 on page 5, and renumber the following sections accordingly.

"On page 9, line 23, strike out '\$825,000,000' and insert in lieu thereof '\$412,500,000'.

"On page 10, line 10, strike out '\$680,000,000' and insert in lieu thereof '\$340,000,000'.

"On page 10, line 20, strike out '\$70,000,000' and insert in lieu thereof '\$35,000,000'.

"On page 11, line 7, strike out '\$300,000,000' and insert in lieu thereof '\$150,000,000'.

"On page 11, line 19, strike out '\$20,000,000' and insert in lieu thereof '\$10,000,000'.

Mr. QUIE (interrupting the reading of the motion to recommit). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the motion to recommit be dispensed with. All this is to reinstate the Governor's veto as it is presently in the act and to have the authorization this coming year exactly as the authorization bill for this past year was, \$945 million.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, I support the recommittal motion because I favor the objectives of the poverty program. In my judgment, approval of the recommittal motion will strengthen the program, encourage sounder administration, prevent the waste and duplication of funds and efforts, and help insure more responsible control at the local level.

When I voted last year to originate the

war on poverty, I did so—as I indicated at the time—with some misgivings. I was encouraged to go ahead and to take the risk in the interest of the high purpose of the program by virtue of the fact that the 1-year authorization would enable Congress to evaluate the operation of the Office of Economic Opportunity before committing new funds for a longer period.

Regrettably, Congress has not fully utilized this opportunity to make the kind of study we need if we are to base our decision today on careful analysis of all the facts. What we do know, however, should give us cause for both hope and disappointment—disappointment in the all-too-frequent examples of inept administration, questionable appointment of personnel, overly delayed decisions, poor coordination, and the triumph of youthful but inexperienced idealism over the sounder demands of commonsense; and hope in the unassailably noble objectives of the program, the undeniably worthy commitment of those who are running it, and the frequently promising results already achieved from place to place.

Consequently, Mr. Speaker, like many of our colleagues, I am of mixed mind. The poverty program is too important, too badly needed, to scrap. I have watched the beginnings of the Job Corps program in my own State of New Jersey and I have cooperated in the undertaking of local poverty programs in the congressional district I represent. I am proud of the commitment people are making to help those less fortunate than themselves, and I am deeply pleased to see that those who have never had a real chance before are responding to opportunity with the determination to help themselves.

Yet, at the same time, there is too much evidence of waste and politics and bureaucracy and conflict—all of which threaten the ideals of the poverty program—to give it an unconditional vote of confidence.

The recommittal motion, Mr. Speaker, provides a sound and responsible way of dealing with this difficult situation. By limiting the authorization to the level of funds provided for the program's first year, we can help assure the time and conditions required for more stable administration and more orderly operation. And by continuing the role of the Governors of the 50 States in the poverty program, we can encourage more effective coordination of the program with State and local agencies of government having similar or related responsibilities.

The poverty program does not and cannot exist in a vacuum. It is an integral part of many efforts and numerous activities aimed at eliminating poverty, easing suffering, and creating new opportunity for the economically, socially, and culturally deprived.

The war on poverty is an inspiring ideal and the challenge before us now is to help give this ideal life and strength and impact. The poverty program, in order to justify its existence and be equal to its aim, must be soundly planned and wisely administered as well as vigorously

pursued. Approval of the recommittal motion can bring these objectives closer to fruition.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 178, nays 227, not voting 28, as follows:

[Roll No. 196]

YEAS—178

Abbott	Downing	May
Abernethy	Duncan, Tenn.	Michel
Adair	Dwyer	Minshall
Anderson, Ill.	Edwards, Ala.	Mize
Andrews	Ellsworth	Moore
George W.	Erlenborn	Morton
Andrews	Everett	Mosher
Glenn	Findley	Nelsen
Andrews	Fisher	Passman
N. Dak.	Flynt	Pelly
Ashbrook	Ford, Gerald R.	Pirnie
Ashmore	Fountain	Poage
Ayres	Frelinghuysen	Poff
Baring	Fulton, Pa.	Pool
Bates	Fuqua	Quile
Battin	Gathings	Quillen
Belcher	Gettys	Reld, Ill.
Bell	Goodell	Relfel
Bennett	Griffin	Reinecke
Berry	Gross	Rhodes, Ariz.
Betts	Grover	Rivers, S.C.
Bolton	Gubser	Robison
Bray	Gurney	Rogers, Fla.
Brock	Hagan, Ga.	Rogers, Tex.
Broomfield	Haley	Roudebush
Brown, Ohio	Hall	Satterfield
Broyhill, N.C.	Hansen, Idaho	Schneebeli
Broyhill, Va.	Hardy	Schwelker
Buchanan	Harsha	Selden
Burleson	Harvey, Mich.	Shriver
Burton, Utah	Hébert	Sikes
Byrnes, Wis.	Henderson	Skubitz
Cabell	Herlong	Smith, Calif.
Cahill	Hosmer	Smith, N.Y.
Callaway	Hull	Smith, Va.
Casey	Hutchinson	Springer
Cederberg	Ichord	Stafford
Chamberlain	Jarman	Stanton
Clancy	Johnson, Pa.	Talcott
Clausen	Jonas	Taylor
Don H.	Jones, Mo.	Teague, Calif.
Clawson, Del.	Kelth	Teague, Tex.
Cleveland	King, N.Y.	Thomson, Wis.
Collier	Kornegay	Tuck
Conable	Kunkel	Tunney
Conte	Laird	Tuten
Cooley	Langen	Utt
Corbett	Latta	Walker, Miss.
Cramer	Lennon	Watkins
Cunningham	Lipscomb	Watson
Curtin	Long, La.	Whalley
Curtis	McClory	White, Tex.
Dague	McCulloch	Whitener
Davis, Ga.	McDowell	Whitten
Davis, Wis.	McEwen	Widnall
Derwinski	McMillan	Williams
Devine	MacGregor	Wilson, Bob
Dickinson	Marsh	Wyatt
Dole	Martin, Ala.	Wydler
Dorn	Martin, Nebr.	Younger
Dowdy	Matthews	

NAYS—227

Adams	Brademas	Conyers
Addabbo	Brooks	Corman
Albert	Brown, Calif.	Craley
Anderson	Burke	Culver
Tenn.	Burton, Calif.	Daddario
Annunzio	Byrne, Pa.	Daniels
Aspinall	Callan	Dawson
Baldwin	Cameron	de la Garza
Bandstra	Carey	Delaney
Barrett	Carter	Denton
Beckworth	Celler	Diggs
Bingham	Chelf	Dingell
Boggs	Clark	Donohue
Boland	Clevenger	Dow
Bolling	Cohelan	

Dulski	Karsten	Price
Duncan, Oreg.	Karth	Pucinski
Dyal	Kastenmeier	Purcell
Edmondson	Kee	Race
Edwards, Calif.	Kelly	Randall
Evans, Colo.	King, Calif.	Reld, N.Y.
Fallon	King, Utah	Resnick
Farbstein	Kluczynski	Reuss
Farnsley	Krebs	Rhodes, Pa.
Farnum	Landrum	Rivers, Alaska
Fascell	Leggett	Roberts
Felghan	Lindsay	Rodino
Flno	Long, Md.	Rogers, Colo.
Flood	Love	Ronan
Fogarty	McCarthy	Rooney, N.Y.
Foley	McDade	Rooney, Pa.
Ford	McFall	Roosevelt
William D.	McGrath	Rosenthal
Fraser	McVicker	Rostenkowski
Friedel	Macdonald	Roush
Fulton, Tenn.	Machen	Roybal
Gallagher	Mackay	Ryan
Garmatz	Mackie	St Germain
Gialmo	Madden	St. Onge
Gibbons	Mahon	Saylor
Gilbert	Mathias	Scheuer
Gilligan	Matsunaga	Schisler
Gonzalez	Meeds	Schmidhauser
Grabowski	Miller	Secrest
Gray	Mills	Senner
Green, Oreg.	Minish	Sickles
Green, Pa.	Mink	Slack
Greig	Moeller	Slack
Grider	Monagan	Smith, Iowa
Griffiths	Moorhead	Staggers
Hagen, Calif.	Morgan	Stalbaum
Halpern	Morris	Steed
Hamilton	Morrison	Stephens
Hanley	Morse	Stratton
Hanna	Moss	Stubblefield
Hansen, Iowa	Multer	Sullivan
Hansen, Wash.	Murphy, Ill.	Sweeney
Harris	Murphy, N.Y.	Thompson, N.J.
Hathaway	Murray	Thompson, Tex.
Hawkins	Natcher	Todd
Hays	Nedzi	Trimble
Hechler	Nix	Tupper
Helstoski	O'Brien	Udall
Hicks	O'Hara, Ill.	Van Deerlin
Hollfield	O'Hara, Mich.	Vanik
Holland	O'Konski	Vigorito
Horton	Olsen, Mont.	Vivian
Howard	Olson, Minn.	Walker, N. Mex.
Hungate	O'Neill, Mass.	Watts
Huot	Ottinger	Weitner
Irwin	Patman	Wolff
Jacobs	Patten	Wright
Jennings	Pepper	Yates
Joelson	Perkins	Young
Johnson, Calif.	Philbin	Zablocki
Johnson, Okla.	Pickle	
Jones, Ala.	Powell	

NOT VOTING—28

Arends	Kirwan	Tenzer
Ashley	Maillard	Thomas
Blatnik	Martin, Mass.	Toll
Bonner	O'Neal, Ga.	Ullman
Bow	Pike	Waggoner
Colmer	Redlin	White, Idaho
Evins, Tenn.	Roncallo	Willis
Halleck	Rumsfeld	Wilson, Charles H.
Harvey, Ind.	Scott	
Keogh	Shipley	

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Colmer for, with Mr. Keogh against.

Mr. Waggoner for, with Mr. Kirwan against.

Mr. Roncallo for, with Mr. Evins of Tennessee against.

Mr. O'Neal of Georgia for, with Mr. Thomas against.

Mr. Scott for, with Mr. Charles H. Wilson against.

Mr. Willis for, with Mr. Ashley against.

Mr. Pike for, with Mr. Tenzer against.

Mr. Halleck for, with Mr. Toll against.

Mr. Arends for, with Mr. Shipley against.

Mr. Mailliard for, with Mr. Blatnik against.

Mr. Martin of Massachusetts for, with Mr. Redlin against.

Mr. Harvey of Indiana for, with Mr. White of Idaho against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Bonner with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Ullman with Mr. Rumsfeld.

Mr. HUNGATE changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. CABELL changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 245, nays 158, not voting 30, as follows:

[Roll No. 197]

YEAS—245

Adams	Gilbert	Morris
Addabbo	Gilligan	Morrison
Albert	Gonzalez	Morse
Anderson	Grabowski	Moss
Tenn.	Gray	Multer
Annunzio	Green, Oreg.	Murphy, Ill.
Aspinall	Green, Pa.	Murphy, N.Y.
Baldwin	Greig	Natcher
Bandstra	Grider	Nedzi
Barrett	Griffiths	Nix
Beckworth	Hagen, Calif.	O'Brien
Bingham	Halpern	O'Hara, Ill.
Boggs	Hamilton	O'Hara, Mich.
Boland	Hanley	O'Konski
Bolling	Hanna	Olsen, Mont.
Brademas	Hansen, Iowa	Olson, Minn.
Brooks	Hansen, Wash.	O'Neill, Mass.
Brown, Calif.	Harris	Ottinger
Burke	Hathaway	Patman
Burton, Calif.	Hawkins	Patten
Burton, Utah	Hays	Pepper
Byrne, Pa.	Hechler	Perkins
Cabell	Helstoski	Philbin
Cahill	Henderson	Pickle
Callan	Hicks	Powell
Cameron	Hollfield	Price
Carter	Holland	Pucinski
Celler	Horton	Purcell
Chelf	Howard	Race
Clark	Hull	Randall
Clevenger	Hungate	Reld, N.Y.
Cohelan	Huot	Resnick
Conable	Ichord	Reuss
Conte	Irwin	Rhodes, Pa.
Conyers	Jacobs	Rivers, Alaska
Corbett	Jennings	Roberts
Corman	Joelson	Rodino
Craley	Johnson, Calif.	Rogers, Colo.
Culver	Johnson, Okla.	Ronan
Daddario	Jones, Ala.	Rooney, N.Y.
Daniels	Karsten	Rooney, Pa.
Dawson	Karth	Roosevelt
de la Garza	Kastenmeier	Rosenthal
Delaney	Kee	Rostenkowski
Dent	Kelth	Roush
Denton	Kelly	Roybal
Diggs	King, Calif.	Ryan
Dingell	King, Utah	St Germain
Donohue	Kluczynski	St. Onge
Dow	Kornegay	Saylor
Dulski	Krebs	Scheuer
Duncan, Oreg.	Landrum	Schisler
Dwyer	Leggett	Schmidhauser
Dyal	Lindsay	Secrest
Edmondson	Long, Md.	Senner
Edwards, Calif.	Love	Sickles
Ellsworth	McCarthy	Slack
Evans, Colo.	McDade	Slack
Everett	McDowell	Smith, Iowa
Fallon	McFall	Stafford
Farbstein	McGrath	Staggers
Farnsley	Macdonald	Stalbaum
Farnum	Machen	Steed
Fascell	Mackay	Stephens
Felghan	Mackie	Stratton
Flno	Madden	Stubblefield
Flood	Mahon	Sullivan
Fogarty	Mathias	Sweeney
Foley	Matsunaga	Taylor
Ford	Meeds	Thompson, N.J.
William D.	Miller	Thompson, Tex.
Fraser	Mills	Todd
Friedel	Minish	Trimble
Fulton, Pa.	Mink	Tunney
Fulton, Tenn.	Moeller	Tupper
Gallagher	Monagan	Udall
Garmatz	Moore	Van Deerlin
Gialmo	Moorhead	Vanik
Gibbons	Morgan	Vigorito

Vivian White, Tex.
Walker, N. Mex. Wolff
Watts Wright
Weltner Yates

NAYS—158

Abbitt Dowdy Minshall
Abernethy Downing Mize
Adair Duncan, Tenn. Morton
Anderson, Ill. Edwards, Ala. Mosher
Andrews, Erlenborn Murray
George W. Findley Nelsen
Andrews, Fisher Passman
Glenn Flynt Pelly
Andrews, Ford, Gerald R. Pirnie
N. Dak. Fountain Poage
Ashbrook Frelinghuysen Poff
Ashmore Fuqua Pool
Ayres Gathings Quile
Baring Gettys Quillen
Bates Goodell Reid, Ill.
Battin Griffin Reifel
Belcher Gross Reinecke
Bell Grover Rhodes, Ariz.
Bennett Gubser Rivers, S.C.
Berry Gurney Robison
Betts Hagan, Ga. Rogers, Fla.
Bolton Haley Rogers, Tex.
Bray Hall Roubush
Brock Hansen, Idaho Satterfield
Broomfield Hardy Schneebell
Brown, Ohio Harsha Schweiker
Broyhill, N.C. Harvey, Mich. Selden
Broyhill, Va. Hébert Shriver
Buchanan Herlong Sikes
Burleson Hosmer Skubitz
Byrnes, Wis. Hutchinson Smith, Calif.
Callaway Jarman Smith, N.Y.
Casey Johnson, Pa. Smith, Va.
Cederberg Jonas Springer
Chamberlain Jones, Mo. Stanton
Clancy King, N.Y. Talcott
Clausen, Kunkel Teague, Calif.
Don H. Laird Teague, Tex.
Clawson, Del. Langen Thomson, Wis.
Cleveland Latta Tuck
Collier Lennon Tuten
Cooley Lipscomb Utt
Cramer Long, La. Walker, Miss.
Cunningham McClory Watkins
Curtin McCulloch Watson
Curtis McEwen Whalley
Dague McMillan Whitenier
Davis, Ga. MacGregor Whitten
Davis, Wis. Marsh Widnall
Derwinski Martin, Ala. Williams
Devine Martin, Nebr. Wilson, Bob
Dickinson Matthews Wyatt
Dole May Wylder
Dorn Michel Younger

NOT VOTING—30

Arends Bow Halleck
Ashley Carey Harvey, Ind.
Blatnik Colmer Keogh
Bonner Evins, Tenn. Kirwan

McVicker Rumsfeld Waggonner
Mailliard Scott White, Idaho
Martin, Mass. Shipley Willis
O'Neal, Ga. Tenzer Wilson,
Pike Thomas Charles H.
Redlin Toll
Roncalio Ullman

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Keogh for, with Mr. Colmer against.

Mr. Kirwan for, with Mr. Waggonner against.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee for, with Mr. Roncalio against.

Mr. Thomas for, with Mr. O'Neil of Georgia against.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson for, with Mr. Scott against.

Mr. Tenzer for, with Mr. Halleck against.

Mr. Toll for, with Mr. Arends against.

Mr. Pike for, with Mr. Martin of Massachusetts against.

Mr. Willis for, with Mr. Mailliard against.

Mr. Shipley for, with Mr. Harvey of Indiana against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Ashley with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Carey with Mr. Rumsfeld.

Mr. Blatnik with Mr. McVicker.

Mr. White of Idaho with Mr. Redlin.

Mr. Ullman with Mr. Bonner.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter, tables, and charts, on this bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN OTTO E. PASSMAN ON THE FREDERICK L. HUMPHREY MEMORIAL FUND

(Mr. PASSMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, in April of this year it was brought to the attention of Members of this body by the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, the Honorable WILLIAM COLMER, that a young law enforcement officer by the name of Frederick L. Humphrey had been murdered in cold blood in the city of Hattiesburg, Miss., while performing his duties as a peace officer. He left a wife and young son without any means of support.

Some of us who have had experience in raising funds suggested that it would be desirable to create a memorial fund for the young son of the murdered peace officer. I was selected as secretary of the fund, the Honorable Luther A. Smith, former justice of Mississippi, as treasurer, and the Honorable WILLIAM COLMER, of Mississippi, as coordinator.

The three of us who assumed the responsibility of creating this memorial fund extend our heartfelt thanks to those who have contributed to this worthy cause, and Mrs. Humphrey, the widow of the young peace officer, has asked me to extend her gratitude and appreciation to the contributors. On some subsequent date, when her young son is old enough to realize what has happened, he, too, will be privileged to see the list of contributors and will know that there were those who desired to be helpful to his mother in her hour of great distress. On behalf of the committee, the mother, and the young son, I want to personally thank all contributors for the generous manner in which they responded to our appeal.

I now submit a detailed report on the memorial fund, giving the names and addresses of the individuals and organizations that have contributed:

Contributor	Address	Amount	Contributor	Address	Amount
Otto E. Passman	2108 Rayburn Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	\$100.00	P. W. Schmidt	In care of Postmaster, St. Louis, Mo.	\$30.00
Luther A. Smith	1733 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C.	100.00	Jamie L. Whitten	2413 Rayburn Office Building, Washington, D.C.	25.00
Walter Harnischfeger	4400 West National Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.	50.00	Bob Sikes	2269 Rayburn Office Building, Washington, D.C.	25.00
Anonymous	2111 Rayburn Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	50.00	Spencer M. Thomas	418 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.	25.00
Do	512 Brightseat Rd., Landover, Md.	40.00	Philip Kay	4211 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C.	17.00
John Bell Williams	2370 Rayburn Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	25.00	K. Z. Simpson	Box 8546 (Pine Hill Cemetery), Ensley, Ala.	15.00
Thomas G. Abernethy	2371 Rayburn Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	25.00	Eugene J. Reardon	46 Ancell St., Alexandria, Va.	5.00
Prentiss Walker	409 Cannon Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	25.00	Viola Haney	1299 South McKnight Rd., St. Louis, Mo.	5.00
Martha K. Williams	1111 Army Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.	25.00	Fey Jane Dawson	425 Fourwynd Dr., Creve Coeur, Mo.	5.00
H. R. Gross	2368 Rayburn Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	15.00	H. B. Coker	In care of Postmaster, Demopolis, Ala.	5.00
Thomas W. Sandoz	1536 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.	10.00	Catherine D. Murphy	447 Bluff St., Alton, Ill.	3.00
O. K. Hammons	111 Whelms St., West Monroe, La.	10.00	Russell Patton	447 Woodlawn Estates, Kirkwood, Mo.	2.00
Gary D. Adams	4828 67th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.	10.00	Wayne A. Johnson	501 Dana Lane (Box 1177), Houston, Tex.	2.00
Henry Hadley	Route 1, Box 12, Arkadelphia, Ark.	10.00	W. A. Johnson	Post Office Box 19177, Houston, Tex.	1.00
Pearl Rosenfeld	1204 South 34th St., Birmingham, Ala.	10.00	J. W. Baton	2307 Rayburn Office Bldg.	1.00
Edward L. Yeager	Care of Postmaster, West Blocton, Ala.	10.00	Robert Kuzman	1 Harding Dr., Rye, N.Y.	1.00
C. F. Kleinknecht	10118 Brunett Ave., Silver Spring, Md.	10.00	Mildred M. Cox	1085 South McKnight, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
Ruth E. Addison	1600 South Joyce St., Arlington, Va.	5.00	Maude M. Wylie	424 Summit Ave., Crookston, Minn.	1.00
Iva A. Heath	110 D St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	5.00	Charles E. Webber	213 Broad St., Salem, Va.	100.00
A. Dalton Bryson	No. 9 Fourth St. N.E., Washington, D.C.	5.00	John B. Tomhave	201 Dupont Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.	50.00
Norman W. Sederberg	38 North Idlewild St., Memphis, Tenn.	5.00	Edgar Cordell Powers	3800 North Charles St., Baltimore, Md.	25.00
Mrs. Roy Lockwood	13984 Whitecomb, Detroit, Mich.	5.00	Thomas J. Kelly	1028 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.	25.00
LaVerne M. Andres	19186 Pennington, Detroit, Mich.	3.00	Frank L. Thompson	Drawer 2278, Lakeland, Fla.	25.00
William Ray Sherer	Post Office Box 243, Hamilton, Ala.	2.50	Earl O. Dailey	Box 1369, Balboa, C.Z.	10.00
Ernest T. Sturges	5355 Knollwood, Memphis, Tenn.	2.00	Edward J. Franta	Care of postmaster, Langdon, N. Dak.	10.00
R. H. McClurg	12740 Fenkell Ave., Detroit, Mich.	2.00	Scott S. Leiby	Box 26, Harrisburg, Pa.	10.00
Nathan Cohen	In care of Postmaster, Helena, Ark.	1.00	W. B. Massey	127 Church St., Bonne Terre, Mo.	10.00
W. W. Noble	1731 Wells Station Rd., Memphis, Tenn.	1.00	Scottish Rite bodies,	URASOE, Post Office Box 20, Okinawa	100.00
R. L. McDaris	3879 Central, Memphis, Tenn.	1.00	Okinaawa		
LaVerne M. Andres	19186 Pennington, Detroit, Mich.	1.00	Paul F. Mullin	5843 West Heatherbrae, Phoenix, Ariz.	2.00
Margaret A. Forbes	16831 Fielding St., Detroit, Mich.	1.00	George W. Andrews	2466 Rayburn Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	10.00
George O. Baird, Jr.	424 College St., Shreveport, La.	1.00	Omer W. Clark	7514 Old Chester Rd., Bethesda, Md.	10.00
Junct L. Stallworth	1408 Ardsley Place, Birmingham, Ala.	1.00	Mrs. Fred Briegel	1464 Grandville, Detroit, Mich.	1.00
Mrs. Iris H. Welborn	1138 Mullins St., Memphis, Tenn.	1.00			
William C. Colmer	2307 Rayburn Office Building, Washington, D.C.	50.00			

Contributor	Address	Amount	Contributor	Address	Amount
Roy W. Wells	In care of Langdon Scottish Rite Bodies, Langdon, N. Dak.	\$25.00	J. E. Patterson	117 Sherry Dr., Hammond, La.	\$5.00
Fred W. Clark	Post Office Box 301, Mobile, Ala.	25.00	R. P. French	Post Office Box 112, Opelousas, La.	5.00
A. A. Hedges	Box 2645, Juncan, Alaska	25.00	L. T. Germany	Post Office Drawer 130, Jena, La.	5.00
Joo W. Seacrest	926 P St., Lincoln, Nebr.	20.00	Capt. H. C. Brote	Military Rd., Covington, La.	2.00
Dee A. Strickland	2016 Island Dr., Monroe, La.	10.00	Mary K. Thompson	Care of Postmaster, Oak Grove, La.	2.00
Mrs. Dansby A. Council	833 North 21st St., Fort Smith, Ark.	10.00	Miss Jonesville	Care of Postmaster, Jonesville, La.	1.00
Claude Harrison	Loop Rd., Monroe, La.	10.00	G. Gilbert Miller	2912 West Leigh St., Richmond, Va.	213.72
H. C. Shipman	230 East Elmwood, Shreveport, La.	10.00	O. C. Fisher	Room 2407, Rayburn Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	50.00
Rose Smith Heyer	Rosehue, Box 725, Covington, La.	5.00	Harry M. Margolin	Post Office Box 567, Yankton, S.D.	50.00
W. S. Peck, Jr.	In care of Postmaster, Sicily Island, La.	5.00	Speedy O. Long	Room 1627, Longworth Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	10.00
George E. Rogers	314 Shady Oaks Dr., West Monroe, La.	5.00	Edna G. Weaver	Care of Postmaster, Lacombe, La.	10.00
L. T. McKinney	301 Laurclann Dr., Dayton, Ohio	5.00	Lorelle H. Gaugh	6910 Rolando Knolls, La Mesa, Calif.	5.00
Mary G. Rice	21091 Mahon Ave., Southfield, Mich.	5.00	Mrs. Mary Gholsen	218 North 42d St., Belleville, Ill.	38.00
R. W. Baird	Box 1813, New Orleans, La.	5.00	Mrs. Grace Fortune	Care of postmaster, Alton, Ill.	5.00
L. U. Fourmy	1100 Speed Ave., Monroe, La.	2.00	J. J. Nichols	5506D Forest Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.	5.00
Mrs. C. E. Wadley	512 Eason Pl., Monroe, La.	2.00	Mrs. Lois F. Petersen	Care of postmaster, Alton, Ill.	5.00
J. D. Lindsey	Care of Postmaster, Bernice, La.	100.00	Dr. Charles W. Robinson	5952 Bancroft, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00
Edwin Grafton	Post Office Box 1715, Helena, Mont.	25.00	Mrs. Lucille Neudling	232 Clearpoint, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00
Bert Roberts	6915 33d St. N.W., Washington, D.C.	25.00	Rose Turner	Care of postmaster, Ferguson, Mo.	3.00
John M. Stewart	1616 North Edgewood, Arlington, Va.	25.00	Belton Y. Glover	Care of postmaster, Olney, Ill.	2.00
Brig. Gen. A. Moross	119 Pembroke St., Brooklyn, N.Y.	25.00	W. C. Heidenreich	Care of postmaster, St. Louis, Mo.	2.00
A. E. Harris	1023 Forrest St., Gadsden, Ala.	10.00	Leslie Hoffman	1015 Jackson, St. Charles, Mo.	2.00
A. O. Buckingham	630 Mississippi Ave., Bogalusa, La.	5.00	Jim H. Wachter	221 Deane Ct., St. Louis, Mo.	2.00
W. M. Elliott	Care of Postmaster, Grayson, La.	5.00	Mildred J. Schoonover	Care of postmaster, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
D. Peter Laguens, Jr.	333 St. Charles Ave., New Orleans, La.	5.00	Edward E. Tharp	Care of postmaster, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
James R. Williams	Post Office Box 4566, Monroe, La.	5.00	James M. Hay	119 Karem Rd., Waco, Tex.	50.00
E. L. Boyles	Care of Oriental Consistory, Yankton, S. Dak.	200.00	Joc D. Waggoner, Jr.	Room 1237 Longworth Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.	10.00
Roy L. James	3424 Porter St. N.W., Washington, D.C.	200.00	Mrs. Charlie L. Chapple	3314 Huges St., Lincoln AFB, Nebr.	5.00
Sidney L. Powell	Box 877, Newport News, Va.	50.00	Mrs. Albert Davis	Post Office Box 481, Port Neches, Tex.	5.00
J. R. Dewey	Post Office Box 285, Danville, Va.	50.00	Mrs. Mary C. Nesbit	4613 DeRussey Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.	5.00
Frank Davison	1214 North 25th, Boise, Idaho	25.00	J. C. Whichard	Post Office Box 1181, Norfolk, Va.	100.00
Mrs. James H. Ware	Route 1, Box 239, Opelousas, La.	25.00	William H. Colonna (33d)	Box 877, Newport News, Va.	31.00
Capitol Broadcasting Co.	Post Office Box 9583, Raleigh, N.C.	25.00	Marion T. Lipp	Care of Franklin Sun, Winnsboro, La.	5.00
Ralph Loe	Post Office Box 671, Tallulah, La.	20.00	Mrs. Sam Basile	Care of Postmaster, Mandeville, La.	5.00
Lincoln G. Kelly	608 Walker Bank, Salt Lake City, Utah	20.00	John McKee (33d)	717 Merc. Cont. Bldg., Dallas, Tex.	100.00
C. E. Gwinn	Post Office Box 371, Jena, La.	20.00	J. B. Andrews (33d)	Post Office Box 2468, Roanoke, Va.	50.00
M. James Stevens	2300 Beach Dr., Mississippi City, Miss.	15.00	Harry O. Schroeder (33d)	110 Clarke Pl., Frederick, Md.	25.00
Robert Y. Wood, Jr.	Post Office Box 1335, Natchez, Miss.	10.00	Charles P. Rosenberger	Post Office Box 2236, Tulsa, Okla.	20.00
Do	do	10.00	Scottish Rite Bodies	Post Office Box 521, Lynchburg, Va.	50.00
M. L. Womack	In care of Postmaster, Jonesville, La.	10.00	Do	301 West Missouri Avenue, El Paso, Tex.	50.00
J. O. Cagle	In care of Pearl River Electric, Columbia, Miss.	10.00	C. E. Fitzgerald (33d)	Post Office Box 1274, Mobile, Ala.	38.00
Mrs. M. R. Briney	Box 118, Jonesboro, La.	10.00	Henry C. Clausen (33d)	234 Van Ness, San Francisco, Calif.	100.00
A. F. Walvoord	403 East Mulberry, San Antonio, Tex.	10.00	Total		3,546.22
B. F. Bauman	Route 1, Columbia, La.	5.00			
Mrs. E. L. Edmonds	228 Allen Ave., Jonesboro, La.	5.00			
S. E. Rhodes	In care of Postmaster, Covington, La.	5.00			
Scottish Rite Bodies	1229 Polk Ave., Houston, Tex.	100.00			
Scottish Rite Bodies, Alexandria, Va.	4201 Fairfax Dr., Arlington, Va.	50.00			
John T. Weaver	5614 Woodlawn Pl., New Orleans, La.	5.00			
Thomas L. Jackson	Care of Postmaster, Sicily Island, La.	5.00			
Miss Velva Joiner	602 East Park, Hammond, La.	5.00			

Faithfully submitted,

OTTO E. PASSMAN,
Member of Congress.

MEMORIAL FOR THE DEAD OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR

(Mr. O'HARA of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am authorized by my friend of many years and my fellow member of Columbia Camp in Chicago, Sam Black, the commander in chief of the United Spanish War Veterans, to invite all my colleagues in the House to attend the dedication services on Saturday of the first monument erected in the National Capital in memory of the dead of the Spanish American War. As a special treat on that occasion, one of our colleagues whom I regard as one of the last great orators of America, the gentleman from South Carolina, WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN, will be one of the speakers.

The ceremonies will be held on the south side of Memorial Avenue, the National Capital Park area, at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon. I hope all my colleagues will be present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I yield to the distinguished and beloved majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. I believe that every Member of the House who is serving in this year 1965 is elated that we still have among us one of the most courageous of that group of men who, much

more than a half century ago, carried the colors for the United States in what is known as the Spanish American War. I refer, of course, to the distinguished, articulate, and lovable gentleman from Illinois who is addressing the House.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I might say to our majority leader that his State, Oklahoma, is deep in the affection of the veterans of the Spanish American War. One of the past commanders is chief of the United Spanish War Veterans, a fine comrade and a great leader, whose patriotic influence long has been felt and long will continue to be felt, is from Oklahoma. And our Spanish War veterans never have had a better friend in this Chamber than the distinguished majority leader. We all have a great love for Oklahoma.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IS CRITICAL PROBLEM

(Mr. FUQUA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, it is a difficult problem to excite the American people to the problem which our continued deficit in our balance of payments which foreign nations is having on our Nation.

I appreciate the strong appeal of the President in this regard and his deter-

mination that this problem will be solved. We must never forget that the ability of this Nation to succeed in its difficult and demanding role as leader of the free world—that all the political, diplomatic and military resources at our command—depend upon a strong and stable American economy and a sound dollar. The dollar is the most widely used international currency. It is the strength and soundness of the American dollar that serves as the foundation of the entire free-world monetary system.

Since 1949 this Nation has suffered a balance-of-payments deficit in every year except 1957. I would point out that we have made some progress, but in spite of this progress, our deficit last year totaled over \$3 billion.

This year the cycle has been reversed, and we are reportedly making progress. However, a few months of surplus is meaningless in the overall context of this problem, for it must be solved.

One measure that would help, I believe, would be early passage of a bill which I have introduced, asking that France make repayment of the billions she owes this Nation in wartime debts. One of the reasons for our problem has been the foolhardy course of the French Government, demanding gold to deplete our stocks, completely disregarding the damage this course does to an old ally that gave its all to free France from Nazi rule.

I emphasize as strongly as I know how to this body, that this problem must be

Mrs. John W. Nields, a board member of the settlement house and president of the cooperative, said that the delays were at least understandable. "This is the first time this kind of coordination has been tried," she said, "and every step has been pioneering and had to be hashed out with our people, city people, Federal people."

Officials who worked on the Goddard co-op factory said there were delay-causing basic changes in the West Side plan itself, as proposals moved from the housing and redevelopment board to Federal housing agencies and to the planning commission and board of estimate. At first, the co-op was to relocate families on the site and demolish structures; then the city's new relocation department and the real estate department took on the job. Land appraisals and carrying charges were changed. And each change meant meetings and conferences for months.

"It took us 6 months at the housing and redevelopment board to solve the problem of how to pay our architect," said one source who wished to be anonymous on the day of celebration. The architect demanded payment for working drawings and specifications; the co-op corporation could not use the money deposited by prospective buyers until regulations were changed.

Experiences like this, however, were recently described by Herbert Evans, chairman of the housing and redevelopment board as one reason it is looking more closely at the finances of potential community group sponsors.

He said "adequate working capital" would be required in the future, and also more professional management of projects such as Goddard Tower. Complicating the plans for Goddard and several of the other neighborhood-sponsored co-ops in recent months was the dismissal of bulldozers of two of the projects.

(Mr. MULTER (at the request of Mr. SCHEUER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. MULTER'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

HELEN HAYES JOINS FIGHT FOR HUDSON

(Mr. OTTINGER (at the request of Mr. SCHEUER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, over the past 7 months since I introduced the first Hudson River legislation, many voices have been raised in support of Federal participation in the development and protection of this great resource.

Last night a new and beloved voice was added by the "first lady" of the American stage, Helen Hayes. At a special meeting held by the Rockland County Board of Supervisors in preparation for the hearings of the National Parks and Recreation Subcommittee, Miss Hayes spoke movingly of the life that she and her husband, Charles MacArthur, enjoyed along the river. Noting that when they first moved there 34 years ago, there was much talk about cleaning up the area, Miss Hayes pointed out that nothing was done then or since.

Her eloquent plea for action now should reach a broader audience:

STATEMENT BY MISS HELEN HAYES AT THE ROCKLAND COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS HEARING, JULY 21, 1965, AT THE ROCKLAND COUNTY CENTER IN NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

It is terribly important for all of us who care deeply about the Hudson to ally ourselves with efforts to preserve and restore this once lovely river. There can be no doubt that the Hudson has declined. River towns have, in most cases, turned their backs on the Hudson.

Many of us learning of the Federal Government's interest in aiding river communities to rehabilitate their shorelines have thought first about our own backyards and have had our fears exaggerated by those who would have us believe the Federal Government intended to confiscate our property and restrict our free use of it. Nothing of the sort will happen. Rather, the Federal Government will work closely with State and local governments to plan for the highest and best use of this once great river.

And the time has come when we must concern ourselves with those who are less fortunate than we; those who do not have homes along the river; those who may not be able at the present time to buy boats and sail on the river—these people and their families have just as much right to recreational opportunities along the Hudson as any of us.

But no one—and I include myself—will really want to use this Hudson until it is cleaned up and made desirable.

So, for many reasons—to cleanse the polluted water, to heal the wounded shoreline, to reclaim for the Hudson its great nobility—I would like to express my support for Federal efforts to achieve these goals.

WAR ON POVERTY MUST GO ON

(Mr. OTTINGER (at the request of Mr. SCHEUER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 8283, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. This legislation extends the commitment Congress made last year to undertake a massive program attacking the root causes of poverty.

The war on poverty was begun only 9 months ago. It has experienced difficulties—some expected, some unexpected. But I am satisfied that on the whole, the poverty war has shown a record of progress and good performance. It must continue and it must be expanded.

I am particularly proud of the response of communities in my district, the 25th Congressional District of New York, to our call for local programs to combat local poverty.

Many were shocked a year ago when the Westchester Council of Social Agencies released the statistics it had compiled on poverty in Westchester. Those who knew that Westchester was the third wealthiest county in the Nation on a per capita basis, also discovered that 1 Westchester family in 12 lives in abject poverty on less than \$3,000 a year; that 1 out of 4 nonwhite families lives in abject poverty, and half the nonwhite families live on less than \$5,000 a year; that 1 family in 4 headed by a person 65 or older lives on less than \$3,000.

In the city of Yonkers alone, nearly 5,000 families—10 percent of the entire population—lives in abject poverty.

Yonkers has made a real effort to meet the challenge. It has received grants for a community action program to get at the roots of its poverty problems. It has received grants for two Project Head Start programs to enable children of low-income families to receive valuable pre-school preparation. It has received two grants for Neighborhood Youth Corps projects that will enable youngsters to get vocational training.

Other communities in the 25th Congressional District have been actively planning to combat poverty.

Ossining received a Project Head Start grant and just recently a community action program grant. Ossining has 800 families with incomes under \$3,000. It has a frighteningly high dropout rate. In 1964, more than 1,000 youngsters left school. Community leaders developed a comprehensive program to give Ossining a new lease on life.

Greenburgh also received a Project Head Start grant. Its community action program is under study by the Office of Economic Opportunity. I know the community is anxious to commence the effort to give new hope to its less fortunate citizens.

Peekskill has Project Head Start and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs underway. It too, has planned a community-wide effort to attack poverty.

Mr. Speaker, the important thing about these programs is that they were developed and established locally, by local citizens, to meet local needs. They were not dictated by some imaginary poverty czar in Washington, nor were they dictated by Albany. It has always been my philosophy, and that of the Office of Economic Opportunity, that initiative for antipoverty programs begin and remain in local hands.

For this and other reasons, I oppose the amendment which would give Governors unlimited veto power over local antipoverty projects. For one thing, it is openly inviting the Governors of Southern States to effectively bar programs which would raise the economic and social status of the Negro. This would have an undeniably serious effect on the civil rights movement to which this Nation and this Government is dedicated.

In the second place, it would vitiate the role of local communities in developing and administering their programs. Governors could put pressure on communities to conform to their—the Governors—ideas of how programs should be established and run by threatening to use the veto. They can hold up programs to obtain political concessions.

Finally, I want to make it clear to my colleagues that the bill before us today does not take away the Governors' veto power. It merely give the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity authority to override such a veto if he finds that a Governor's objections are not meritorious—and then only with respect to the locally oriented programs. There would still be an unquestionable veto power with respect to the statewide programs of VISTA and the Job Corps.

I have been assured that the Director of OEO would use this authority ju-

ditionally and only after the most careful, painstaking investigation of all the circumstances. Additionally, the attendant glare of publicity concerning a Governor's veto and possible reversal by the Director of OEO would go a long way toward preventing abuses.

Mr. Speaker, for too long we have ignored the plight of our Nation's poor. Our goal is clear, our commitment is firm. I urge my colleagues to approve the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.

THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE—IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. SCHEUER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. merchant marine has seen better days than it is seeing today. The following comparative figures will illustrate the problem:

The total merchant fleet has decreased from 3,421 ships in 1949 to 2,529 ships today.

Our domestic fleet of dry cargo and passenger ships has dropped from 192 ships in 1949 to 93 ships today—excluding tankers.

Our shipyards are operating at only 42 percent of capacity.

We now possess only four old ore carriers, built in the first 4 years following World War II.

Not a single new tramp ship has been built since 1956.

In 1950 we had 45 active combination passenger-and-cargo and passenger ships. Today that number has dwindled to 29 ships.

Obviously, this is not a picture of a healthy shipping industry. It is a picture of a sick shipping industry, and one that has been sick and deteriorating for many years. Unfortunately, on top of its ills the shipping industry is also suffering from a 36-day-old strike. This strike has idled 104 ships, delayed an estimated \$200 million in cargo, and put 10,000 seamen out of work.

Fortunately for the shipping industry and for the American economy the Administrator of the Maritime Administration is Nicholas Johnson. No one, to my knowledge, has isolated our shipping problems and exposed them to public view as well as Mr. Johnson. No Maritime Administrator has been as quick to understand these problems or as ready to try to solve them. Our shipping fleet today is in a serious state of disrepair. Rebuild it we must. As Nicholas Johnson said:

The merchant ships under our control are vital elements in our power as a trading nation. We must have a strong voice in international shipping circles, and maintain an impact on world shipping rates. Our national security, in wars both hot and cold, requires the availability of U.S.-flag merchant ships for many support services. Our shipping policies affect virtually every department in our Federal Government in some way.

It is plain, therefore, that any serious diminution in our merchant seapower is a matter of grave national concern.

Yet, the hard fact is that our fleet is growing smaller and more expensive. The Federal subsidy to this vital industry is increasing year by year at an alarming rate, and has already reached a substantial height. For example, for 1964:

The operating differential subsidy was \$203 million.

The construction differential subsidy was \$97 million.

The cargo preference subsidy, being the difference between United States and foreign costs paid on Public Law 480 cargo, was \$81 million.

Trade in allowances provided by the Federal Government amounted to \$11 million.

The cost to the Federal Government of operating training schools for merchant marine officers, such as the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N.Y., and State schools, was \$6 million.

These items represent a total Federal subsidy of \$398 million for the year 1964. Not included are the costs to the Federal Government of extending such benefits to the shipping industry as Government-guaranteed mortgage insurance similar to FHA, cabotage, tax deferences, Public Health Service Hospital medical care for seamen, and vessel exchanges.

There is no doubt that without Federal subsidies our shipyards would have gone out of the merchant ship business. Probably our entire shipping industry would be now bankrupt. We have continued to support this industry for two reasons:

First. For what we have considered to be the need for shipbuilding capacity.

Second. For our need for ships.

It is a fact, however, that it is much more costly to build ships in domestic shipyards than it is in foreign shipyards. It is another hard fact that foreign countries are pulling ahead of the United States, or have already pulled ahead of us, in shipbuilding and in shipping. Russia has not had, in the past, any supremacy in the area of world shipping. But it is estimated that Russia will surpass the United States in merchant shipping capability within the next 2 years.

Mr. Speaker, I have recited these unhappy facts in order to bring to the attention of my colleagues in this House and to the American people the seriousness of the plight of the U.S. merchant marine. This industry is simply not a source of pride or profits. In the area of shipping, we are being outwitted and outraded. Failure to arrest this trend can mean economic disaster for America. As the present Maritime Administrator has said, the American merchant marine is at the crossroads. It cannot long remain "the Appalachia of the seven seas."

Nicholas Johnson has been the first Maritime Administrator to face these matters fully and to work toward their solution. It is apparent to me that some changes in our basic approach need to be made.

With unanimous consent, I am inserting in the Record at this point a most thoughtful and thought-provoking speech given by Nicholas Johnson before the Mid-Gulf Conference on Transporta-

tion and Industrial Modernization for Profit and Growth, February 9, 1965.

I am also inserting a story from the July 16, 1965 issue of Time magazine; an editorial from the New York Times, July 16, 1965; an editorial from the Wall Street Journal, July 21, 1965; and a story from the Baltimore Sun, July 20, 1965:

THE AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP: THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE

(By Nicholas Johnson, Maritime Administrator, U.S. Department of Commerce)

Problems of modernization in the transportation industry are among the most exciting and potentially rewarding facing the United States today, and, of course, I think that those confronting the maritime industry present many of the most fascinating challenges of all.

The shipping industry has only recently commenced to be attuned to modernizing and mechanizing the fleet. And now, when the pace of technological advance has picked up, we discover that modernization is not alone a question of technology. It is a search for new perspectives.

This search has been an exciting one for me, for I have been seeking the ideas, experience and judgment of those who know the shipping business and of the laboring men who serve it. It has, I think, been exciting for the industry as well. We have stumbled over a few myths and misunderstandings, and found new truths.

Some of our problems remind me of the fellow who joined the Navy and found himself on a training ship. When he lost his hat overboard one day, he was told he would have to pay for it. He protested, and said, "Suppose I had borrowed a jeep and it had been stolen, would I have to pay for that?" The supply officer patiently explained that in the service one paid for all the Government property lost. "My Lord," gasped the boot, "now I understand why captains go down with their ships."

This story has a special point for Americans, for as a nation we do have to pay for our ships, and although in doing so there is not yet any question of going down with our ships, our problems have certainly diminished our stature as a maritime nation.

These are serious problems, for the merchant marine is an essential part of our economy and of our whole national life.

We are the world's largest trading Nation, supplying some 315 million tons of imports and exports each year—99 percent of which go by ship.

Nearly six out of every hundred workers in this country make their living on farms and factories providing goods for export. Last year America's 3.5 million farm families produced and sold over 1.6 billion bushels of grain for export. Most of the major cities of the United States, and scores of others, are ports. One ton of general cargo handled in a port generates between \$15 and \$20 for the economy of the surrounding area—close to \$1 billion per year in our port communities.

The shipping industry generates about \$1.5 billion of gross national product, and pays about \$75 million in Federal and local taxes; its workers pay over \$80 million in personal income taxes. It provides employment for about 200,000 men, including longshoremen.

The merchant ships under our control are vital elements in our power as a trading Nation. We must have a strong voice in international shipping circles, and maintain an impact on world shipping rates. Our national security, in wars both hot and cold, requires the availability of U.S.-flag merchant ships for many support services. Our shipping policies affect virtually every Department in our Federal Government in some way.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 26, 1965

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

AN ACT

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity
4 Amendments of 1965".

5 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

6 JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES

7 SEC. 2. Section 104 (a) of the Economic Opportunity
8 Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the
9 following: "For purposes of this subsection and section
10 114 (a), any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the
11 United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee

1 subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of sec-
2 tion 214 (a) or 212 (d) (5), respectively, of the Immigra-
3 tion and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent
4 resident of the United States.”

5 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS

6 SEC. 3. Section 104 (d) of the Economic Opportunity
7 Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: “(d) Each
8 enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation
9 in the following form: ‘I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that
10 I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of
11 America and will support and defend the Constitution and
12 laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and
13 domestic’. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United
14 States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation
15 required under this subsection.”

16 JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES’

17 COMPENSATION ACT

18 SEC. 4. Section 106 (c) (2) (A) of the Economic Op-
19 portunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

20 “(A) The term ‘performance of duty’ in the Federal
21 Employees’ Compensation Act shall not include any act
22 of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post
23 of duty, except while participating in an activity (including
24 an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such

post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps.”

JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

SEC. 5. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting the word “male” before the word “enrollees” in the first sentence.

WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 6. The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 7. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION

SEC. 8. Section 202 (a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “and” at the end of paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of para-

1 graph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”, and by
2 adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

3 “(5) which includes provision for reasonable pub-
4 lic access to books and records of the agency or agen-
5 cies engaged in the development, conduct, and adminis-
6 tration of the program, in accordance with procedures
7 approved by the Director.”

8 GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS
9 ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

10 SEC. 9. (a) The first sentence of section 208 (a) of
11 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
12 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by
13 striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

14 (b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesign-
15 ating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new
16 subsection (b) as follows:

17 “(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regula-
18 tions establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assist-
19 ance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such com-
20 munity action programs or components as have received
21 assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such
22 regulations.”

23 (c) Section 208 (c) of such Act (as so redesignated by
24 subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the
25 end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The requirement

1 imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such
2 regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate estab-
3 lishing objective criteria for determinations covering situa-
4 tions where a literal application of such requirement would
5 result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent
6 with the purposes sought to be achieved.”

7 DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

8 SEC. 10. Section 209 (c) of the Economic Opportunity
9 Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting “of part B” before
10 “of title I” and (2) striking out “and such plan has not been
11 disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission”
12 and inserting in lieu thereof “and such plan has not been dis-
13 approved by the Governor within thirty days of such submis-
14 sion, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the
15 Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the
16 provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part”.

17 NOTICES

18 SEC. 11. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act
19 of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the
20 following:

21 “(e) When the Director receives an application from
22 a private nonprofit agency for a community action program
23 to be carried on in a community in which there is a com-
24 munity action agency carrying on a number of component

1 programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such
2 community action agency of the receipt of such application.”

3 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS;

4 FEDERAL SHARE

5 SEC. 12. Section 216 (b) of the Economic Opportunity
6 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “and the fiscal year
7 ending June 30, 1966,” and inserting in lieu thereof “and
8 each of the two succeeding fiscal years,”.

9 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER

10 TRAINING

11 SEC. 13. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity
12 Act of 1964 is amended—

13 (1) by striking out “From the sums appropriated
14 to carry out this title” in section 213 (a) and inserting
15 in lieu thereof “From so much of the sums appropriated
16 or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved
17 pursuant to section 218”; and

18 (2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219
19 and inserting immediately after section 217 the follow-
20 ing new section 218:

21 “TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

22 “SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums
23 appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any
24 fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to
25 provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to

1 colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies,
 2 or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or
 3 organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or
 4 preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described
 5 in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any
 6 (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons
 7 undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director
 8 may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

9 VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

10 SEC. 14. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 11 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof, and by re-
 12 designating part D as part C and section 221 as section 220.

13 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO

14 COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

15 COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO

16 ASSIST MANUFACTURING

17 SEC. 15. Section 305 (f) of the Economic Opportunity
 18 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the
 19 period at the end thereof the following proviso: “: *Provided,*
 20 That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing
 21 used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, includ-
 22 ing dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing
 23 merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of
 24 a new or different substance”.

1 ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED

2 AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

3 SEC. 16. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act
4 of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

5 "MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
6 EMPLOYEES

7 "SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and
8 implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to
9 assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions,
10 and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operat-
11 ing programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily
12 contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers
13 and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of
14 housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children."

15 AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

16 SEC. 17. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act
17 of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence
18 thereof the following new sentence: "Workers in farm fami-
19 lies with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be con-
20 sidered unemployed for the purposes of this title.", and (2)
21 by striking out of the last sentence the following: "for the
22 fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,".

1 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND

2 COORDINATION

3 VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF

4 OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS

5 SEC. 18. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the
6 Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking
7 out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause design-
8 nation “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection
9 with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a
10 character eligible for assistance under this Act.”

11 (b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read
12 as follows:

13 “(d) (1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to
14 an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104
15 (d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title
16 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to
17 such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in para-
18 graph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed
19 to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the
20 provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including
21 those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and
22 Federal employee benefits.

1 “(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers
2 as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection
3 (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent
4 as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c),
5 and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the com-
6 putation described in paragraph (2) (B) of section 106 (c)
7 the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that
8 received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the
9 Classification Act of 1949.”

10

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

11

SEC. 19. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act
12 of 1964 is amended by striking “fourteen” in the second
13 sentence and inserting in lieu thereof “twenty”.

14

AFFIDAVITS

15

SEC. 20. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of
16 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof.

17

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

18

SEC. 21. (a) (1) The first sentence of section 131 of
19 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
20 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

21

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
22 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
23 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
24 \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
25 the sum of \$825,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,

1 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
2 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
3 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

4 (b) (1) The first sentence of section 220 of such Act
5 (as so redesignated by section 11 of this Act) is amended
6 by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

7 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
8 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
9 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
10 \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
11 the sum of \$680,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
12 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
13 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
14 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

15 (c) (1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by
16 striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

17 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended
18 to read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this
19 title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum
20 of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,
21 and the sum of \$70,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June
22 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
23 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated
24 as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

25 (d) (1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act

1 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu
2 thereof "three".

3 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
4 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title,
5 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
6 \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
7 the sum of \$300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
8 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
9 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as
10 the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

11 (e) (1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is
12 amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof
13 "three".

14 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
15 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title
16 (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving
17 fund established by section 606 (a)), there is hereby author-
18 ized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal
19 year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$20,000,000 for
20 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year
21 ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such
22 sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter
23 authorize by law."

1 AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—
2 MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUN-
3 TEERS

4 SEC. 22. (a) Paragraph (2) (A) of section 205 (b) of
5 the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C.
6 425 (b) (2) (A)) is amended by striking out “or” before
7 “(iii)” and by inserting before the proviso and after “Peace
8 Corps Act” the following: “, or (iv) not in excess of three
9 years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer
10 under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of
11 1964”.

12 (b) The amendments made by this section shall not
13 apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this
14 Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.

Passed the House of Representatives July 22, 1965.

Attest:

RALPH R. ROBERTS,

Clerk.

AN ACT

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

JULY 26, 1965

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
NOT TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued August 9, 1965
For actions of August 6, 1965
89th-1st; No. 144

CONTENTS

Adjournment.....11	Legislative	Population.....9
Appropriations.....12	accomplishments.....8	Poverty.....1,7,10
Food.....9	Legislative program.....10	Recreation.....4
Foreign trade.....6	Military construction...12	Stockpiling.....3
Forestry.....16	Moving expenses.....14	Tariff.....10
Housing.....2,10	Nomination.....5	Voting rights.....15
Lands.....16	Personnel.....13,14	

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee voted to report bill to expand poverty program.

SENATE

1. POVERTY. The Labor and Public Welfare Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) with amendments H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. p. D759
2. HOUSING. S. 1599, to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development, was made the unfinished business. p. 18916
3. STOCKPILING. Agreed to without amendment H. Con. Res. 100, expressing the approval of Congress to the disposal of approximately 113,500 pounds of raw silk and approximately 969,500 pounds of silk noils from the national stockpile. p. 18913
4. RECREATION. A subcommittee of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee voted to report to the full committee with amendment H. R. 89, to authorize the establishment of the Delaware Valley National Recreation Area, Pa. and N. J. p. D759

5. NOMINATION. The Finance Committee voted to report the nomination of John W. Gardner to be Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. p. D759
6. FOREIGN TRADE. Sen. Hartke urged enactment of anti-dumping legislation to "provide a safeguard against injurious dumping for many domestic industries presently or potentially vulnerable" to unfair international trade practices. p. 18910
7. POVERTY. Sen. Dirksen criticized administration of the poverty program and inserted an article critical of the program in Ypsilanti, Mich. pp. 18914-6
8. LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. Sen. Gruening inserted an article on achievements in domestic legislation under President Johnson. p. 18926
9. POPULATION. Sen. Yarborough inserted several articles on "the dangers to mankind of unchecked population increase," including references to the possible shortage of food. pp. 18927-34
10. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Sen. Mansfield stated that the bill to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs will be considered Tues., a bill to correct certain errors in the tariff schedules on Wed., and that the bill to expand the poverty program may be considered later in the week if reported out of committee. pp. 18916-7
11. ADJOURNED until Tues., Aug. 10. p. 18944

HOUSE

12. APPROPRIATIONS. The "Daily Digest" states that the Appropriations Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) "the military construction appropriation bill for fiscal year 1966." p. D759

ITEM IN APPENDIX

13. PERSONNEL. Speech in the House by Rep. Schisler favoring the bill which would provide equitable adjustments in the annuities of Federal civil service retirees and survivors. p. A4385

BILL INTRODUCED

14. PERSONNEL. S. 2374 by Sen. Scott, to amend the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended, to provide for reimbursement of certain moving expenses of employees, and to authorize payment of expenses for shortage of household goods and personal effects of employees assigned to isolated duty stations within the continental United States; to Government Operations Committee. Remarks of author p. 18911

BILLS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

15. VOTING RIGHTS. S. 1564, the voting rights bill, which includes authorization for the Civil Service Commission to appoint examiners, including Federal employees, to consider cases in which it is alleged that persons have been denied the right to vote on account of race or color. Approved Aug. 6, 1965 (Public Law 89-110).

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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Issued August 16, 1965
For actions of August 13, 1965
89th-1st. No. 149

CONTENTS

Adjournment.....7	Land development.....9	Statistics.....6
Appropriations.....4	Military construction....4	Surplus commodities.....3
Dairy.....3	Poverty.....1	Tariff.....2
Farm program.....3	Recreation.....5	Transportation.....8
Foreign trade.....2	Research.....2	Wheat.....10

HIGHLIGHTS: Sen. Anderson criticized House farm bill. Senate committee reported bill to expand poverty program. Sen. Proxmire inserted recommendations for improving Government statistics.

SENATE

1. POVERTY. The Labor and Public Welfare committee reported with amendment H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (S. Rept. 599)(pp. 19667-8). This bill was made the unfinished business (p. 19669).
2. FOREIGN TRADE. Passed with amendments H. R. 7969, to correct certain errors in the U. S. Tariff Schedules (pp. 19637-8, 19643, 19644-54, 19658-65). Conferees were appointed (p. 19665). House conferees have not yet been appointed. The bill makes two changes in the exceptions to the import restrictions proclaimed under Sec. 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act which (1) would permit articles (other than cotton) having an aggregate value not over \$10 to be imported for research notwithstanding the proclamation, and (2) would eliminate the weight limitation (100 pounds) in the exception for articles for trade fairs or for research, if the Secretary of Agriculture consents in writing.

3. FARM PROGRAM. Sen. Anderson expressed concern over the implications of increased farm production on Government costs, questioned whether the House farm bill, H. R. 9811, "would reduce the production of surpluses, cut Government cost, and maintain farm income," and suggested consideration of a farm program "to move toward a market price system." Sen. Aiken joined in criticizing the dairy provisions of the House farm bill. pp. 19674-7
4. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATION BILL. A subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee voted to report to the full committee this bill. H. R. 10323. p. D791
5. RECREATION. Passed as reported H. R. 89, to provide for creation of the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area (pp. 19656-8). The bill had been reported earlier with amendments by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (S. Rept. 598)(p. 19667).
6. STATISTICS. Sen. Proxmire inserted a summary of recommendations submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics of the Joint Economic Committee by a number of economists and statisticians for the improvement of Government statistics, including statistics relating to agriculture. pp. 19640-3
7. ADJOURNED until Mon., Aug. 16. p. 19683

PRINTED HEARINGS RECEIVED BY THIS OFFICE

8. TRANSPORTATION. S. 1588, high-speed ground transportation. S. Commerce Committee.
9. LANDS. H. R. 7500, establishment of the U. S. Agricultural Land Development Corporation. H. Agriculture Committee.
10. WHEAT. H. R. 10110 and S. 2294, to extend International Wheat Agreement. H. Banking and Currency Committee.

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COMMITTEE HEARINGS:

- Aug. 16: Foreign aid bill, conferees (exec).
Federal pay bill, S. Civil Service (CSC and BB to testify).
- Aug. 18: Regulatory activities of Consumer and Marketing Service, Select Committee on Small Business (Girard, C&MS, to testify).

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ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

AUGUST 13 (legislative day, AUGUST 12) 1965.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. MANSFIELD (for Mr. McNAMARA), from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, submitted the following

REPORT

together with

MINORITY, ADDITIONAL, AND INDIVIDUAL VIEWS

[To accompany H.R. 8283]

The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, to which was referred the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with an amendment in the nature of a substitute and recommends that the bill as amended do pass.

PURPOSE OF THE LEGISLATION

President Johnson transmitted his war on poverty message to Congress on February 17, 1965, requesting the Congress continue the progress started in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. He restated the objective of Congress

to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

The act was approved August 20, 1964; however, funds for its implementation were not available until October 8, 1964. Nine months is hardly sufficient to permit meaningful evaluation of the long-term impact and effectiveness of any major new Federal program, least of all one which directly embraces nearly a dozen distinct component programs, which contemplates an unusual measure of coordination among Federal departments and agencies having historically separate, and sometimes jealously guarded, missions, and which is directed at improving the capacity of some 35 million people to

help themselves to the point where they can overcome conditions of poverty which have always been accepted as a fixed and normal characteristic of our society. By most of the conventional indicia applied to new programs, however, the record of the war on poverty during its abbreviated first fiscal year is a substantial one, whether measured in terms of administrative effort, amount of activity generated, number of persons and families reached, or the foundation laid for future operations. As an indication of this record, the committee believes that the following program-by-program summary speaks largely for itself.

Job Corps.—By the close of the fiscal year, 47 Job Corps centers were in operation, including 35 conservation centers operated by the Departments of Agriculture or the Interior, 7 men's urban centers, and 5 women's centers. Some 10,241 youths had been assigned to these centers by June 30.

Work-training (Neighborhood Youth Corps).—By the close of the fiscal year, 639 separate projects had been approved to provide work and training to 277,699 young men and women, including 189,985 in-school and 87,714 out-of-school participants.

Work-study.—During the spring semester, this program had been inaugurated in 648 institutions of higher education and assisted 34,000 low-income students. By the close of the fiscal year, projects had also been approved for this summer in 766 institutions to assist 46,000 students, many of whom will be employed in jobs directly contributing to the success of other Economic Opportunity Act programs.

Community action.—A total of 771 grants were made, including 311 for the actual conduct and administration of community action programs. In addition, community action provided the basis for a nationwide summer child development program, Project Head Start, with 2,398 separate grants for 13,344 centers to serve 561,356 pre-school age children.

Adult basic education.—By June 30, 40 State plans had received some form of approval, 5 additional plans had been completed and submitted, and 43,372 participants had been enrolled.

Rural loans.—Nearly 11,000 low-interest rate loans to low-income farm or rural families had been made, with an additional 82 loans to cooperatives providing marketing, processing, or other services predominately to low-income rural families.

Migrants.—Fifty-three grants made to assist in meeting housing, sanitation, day care, and education needs of an estimated 73,000 migrant agricultural workers.

Small business loans.—One hundred fifty-five loans were approved for small business enterprises in 16 States and the District of Columbia.

Work experience.—By June 30, 164 projects to provide work experience, training, and other assistance to unemployed fathers and other needy persons had been inaugurated in 46 different jurisdictions (including the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands), with 88,700 participants having an estimated 276,700 dependents.

VISTA.—At the close of the year, 1,053 volunteers were in training (851) or on assignment in the field (202).

The primary purpose of the bill is to permit the continued implementation of these programs over fiscal year 1966 at a level which is realistic in terms of the number of problems that necessarily must still be overcome and at the same time consistent with the objective

of making the fullest reasonable use of the organizational structures, local interest, and other program resources represented by the above summary. Most of the other amendments contained in the bill are of a technical or perfecting nature although several, as indicated in following sections of the report, are directed at particularly difficult problems and one, relating to employment projects of the chronically unemployed poor, contemplates a kind of program activity which has not been carried on before on any scale comparable to that which the amendment is intended to support.

TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

As stated in the report on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the purpose of this title is to create new opportunities and expand existing opportunities for young people to obtain work, education, and training.

PART A—JOB CORPS

The bill has several amendments to part A of title I—the provisions authorizing the Job Corps. One of these, which parallels an amendment to the Neighborhood Youth Corps, would permit Cuban refugees, who are citizens and natives of Cuba, to enroll in the Job Corps notwithstanding the general provision which now restricts enrollment to permanent residents of the United States. Most refugees are nonimmigrant aliens or parolees and cannot qualify under the “permanent resident” requirement. Although the amendment would affect relatively few young men and women, the committee considers that it is consistent with and appropriately complements other efforts that have been and are being made to assist refugees to find a productive and useful role in society.

A second amendment would eliminate the requirement the enrollees execute a so-called disclaimer affidavit patterned upon provisions of the Defense Education Act and National Science Foundation Act which was repealed several years ago. At the same time, the amendment would retain the affirmative loyalty oath requirement, but in a modified and somewhat stronger form, parallel to the oath required for recipients of NDEA and National Science Foundation Act assistance. A special exception to this oath would be made in the case of natives and citizens of Cuba, in order to make effective provisions permitting Cuba refugees to participate in the program. With respect to this second amendment, the committee would like to point out that Job Corps screening criteria are structured so as to limit participation to young men and women with backgrounds marked by both economic and cultural deprivation, that enrollees are subject to continuous supervision, and that any enrollee who might seek to use his enrollment for purposes inconsistent with program objectives can expect to have his participation promptly terminated, with possible loss of all or part of his readjustment allowance.

The bill would also modify provisions of title I-A, providing Federal Employees' Compensation Act (FECA) death and disability benefits to Job Corps enrollees. Under the Economic Opportunity Act as originally enacted, these benefits are not payable in the case of an enrollee who is injured or killed while temporarily absent from a center on authorized pass. This is so even though the enrollee is away from home and engaged in a use of time normally incident to life in a

residential center, and even though he may be in no way at fault in events leading to his death or injury. The amendment is designed to provide coverage in these cases, except where injuries or death are a result of willful misconduct so as to be subject to the regular exclusions under the FECA. They would, in addition, clarify coverage for enrollees on authorized travel to or from a post of duty, including travel by one who is first reporting or who is returning home at the end of his enrollment.

The committee believes that these changes are necessary in order to extend protection so as to cover the risks which an enrollee assumes when he accepts participation in a program which involves both travel and life away from his home. Since the Job Corps program only started, with the first enrollees reporting in January, coverage is extended on a retroactive basis to January 1, 1965. At least one case has already occurred in which an enrollee was killed by drowning while on pass. Other cases may exist involving latent injuries which may not become known until some future date. The amendment would permit such cases to be heard and adjudicated by the Bureau of Employees' Compensation on the same basis as those involving death or injuries sustained after enactment of the bill.

This bill also eliminates young women from the computation of the number of enrollees who must be assigned to a Youth Conservation Corps where their work activities would primarily involve public natural resources or public recreational areas. The act presently requires that at least 40 percent of all enrollees must be so assigned at any one time. No exception is made for young women, even though women obviously are not qualified to participate in conservation and related work activities involving heavy physical labor. The committee does not believe that the Congress intended this result, which necessarily has the effect either of severely limiting the number of young women who can be accepted or of increasing the number in conservation centers to well over 40 percent of the enrollees potentially qualified to perform conservation-type activities. The committee does not contemplate that the amendment will result in any reduction in the actual number of enrollees assigned to rural centers. A continued expansion of this phase of the Job Corps program will be required to keep pace with the overall development of the program and the Director should be prepared to take necessary steps to this end, including use of existing authority to acquire land for new centers where other appropriate sites are unavailable.

PART B—WORK-TRAINING PROGRAMS

The bill contains only two amendments to part B of title I, which authorizes the work-training or Neighborhood Youth Corps programs. One of these would make Cuban refugees eligible for this program, thus paralleling a similar amendment affecting the Job Corps as explained above. The second amendment relates to the authorization for 90 percent Federal financing, which applies to this program, the college work-study program, community action and adult basic education. Authority for this level of Federal financing now extends until August 20, 1966 (2 years after the date of enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act) or, in the case of adult literacy, until June 30, 1966. The bill would extend this authority, in the case of each program, for an additional year.

The authorization for initial support at a 90-percent level was designed to provide both the impetus of a high level of Federal assistance and a time period during which participating States and communities could prepare to assume a greater share of program costs. In this respect, the act necessarily assumed that there would be an adequate opportunity for demonstrating the potential of programs at the local level, for building support for their continuation, and for planning the various adjustments needed to absorb higher local costs. It now appears clear that the original adjustment period of 2 years from date of enactment will not suffice for this purpose. Funds for the act did not become available until October 8, 1964, and relatively few local projects were even underway until the spring of 1965. Because substantial leadtime is required for budget and resource planning, this means that even in communities which moved promptly preparations for the changeover will normally have to be started in advance of any substantial program experience and at times when there has been little opportunity for determining what the programs can actively do, or how much they will probably cost. In some cases, communities or applicants wanting to participate in programs may be unable even to initiate projects until after the current cutoff date. This is particularly apt to be true of isolated or rural areas that lack the staff and ability to act quickly in taking advantage of new Federal programs. Without the extension provided for in the bill, and the incentive of a high level of initial support, many of these projects in these localities may never be started at all.

PART C—WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS

The bill would, as explained above, extend for an additional year the authorization for 90 percent Federal financing for the college work-study program authorized under title I-C of the act. The committee wishes to point out that this amendment is not intended to affect, and reflects no consideration in any way adverse to, the recommended transfer of that program to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which would be effected by S. 600, the proposed Higher Education Act of 1965 now before the committee. The committee believes, however, that until S. 600 or similar legislation providing for a transfer is enacted, the continuity of the work-study program can best be assured by treating it as a regular part of the Economic Opportunity Act structure.

The committee would also like to point out that some questions have arisen as to whether the act presently provides protection to regular workers where students are placed in on-campus employment with Federal assistance under the work-study program. Under section 124(a) of the act standards for the protection of employed workers are expressly required only when students are engaged in work under an arrangement between the college and another public or private nonprofit agency. It seems clear, however, that participating colleges also have responsibility to make certain that such displacement does not occur on campus. The purpose of expanding student employment obviously is not one which the Congress intended should be achieved by assigning students to jobs within the institution which have customarily and traditionally been filled by employment of full-time personnel, no matter what the skill level involved. It

appears to the committee that authority has been provided under section 124(h) for issuance of appropriate regulations to guide institutions in the development of work programs within the institution itself.

TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

PART A—COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

The bill would, as previously explained, extend for an additional year the authorization for 90 percent Federal financing of community action programs. The committee discussed a number of problems involved in administration of the act by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The committee notes that progress has been made in securing the participation of the residents of the areas and members of the groups served in community action programs. In this connection, it is the policy of the Office of Economic Opportunity that such groups have effective representation on the governing or policy advisory boards of community action agencies.

In addition, OEO has encouraged the development and use of representative neighborhood organizations to advise on program policies and participate in the conduct and administration of neighborhood-based community action projects.

Although the policy of OEO is as stated above, an issue which has arisen in numerous areas around the Nation and which was raised at the hearings is whether the community action program is in fact embodying the self-help principle of involving the poor themselves to the maximum extent feasible. This principle was intended to be the significant departure, in the antipoverty program, from the traditional welfare approach to the poverty cycle. It is the committee's view that the act already makes this abundantly clear in section 202(a)(3), which defines a community action program as one "which is developed, conducted, and administered, with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."

Despite this language, there have been complaints that, even where there are indigenous neighborhood groups capable of developing, conducting and administering a community action program in their areas, in some cases citywide "umbrella" agencies with heavy participation of political officials have bypassed them and have instead developed and imposed plans of their own. It is also charged that the boards of citywide umbrella agencies are often dominated by these political officials, so that the poor are not only not involved in the process of developing and administering plans, but are open to political exploitation. It is the committee's firm direction that it is the responsibility of OEO and of local and State officials concerned with the program to avoid such results wherever possible and to take the necessary action to correct any program in which the principle of maximum feasible participation of the poor does not extend to all levels and stages of planning and administration, including applicant organizations, planning and policy boards, corporate and noncorporate recipient agencies and neighborhood groups.

Most of the day-to-day decisions in the conduct of community action programs, however, are made by organizations which are neither community action agencies nor neighborhood councils. These

include a variety of agencies which administer the diverse components of the typical program. The committee believes that a greater emphasis should be placed by OEO upon securing meaningful participation at this level by the residents of the areas and members of the groups served. The committee recognizes that the appropriate means of participation will vary from one organization to another. Participation in a small business development center may be through representation on the governing body, while participation in the case of an elected school board is likely to come through other methods. But as Project Head Start has demonstrated, the residents of the areas and members of the groups served can play a meaningful role in the development even of school-board programs.

Questions have arisen with respect to the payment of compensation to members of governing boards of the so-called "umbrella" community action agencies, and to members of neighborhood community action councils. The Economic Opportunity Act presently contains adequate provision to authorize the Director to make such payments.

The committee understands that the administrative policies of the Office of Economic Opportunity do not permit the compensation of governing board members for their participation in the policymaking or advisory activities of such boards. The committee approves this policy.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has, however, approved compensation payments to the members of neighborhood organizations. The committee agrees that the distinction between such compensation and the compensation of governing board members is warranted in light of the requirement that there be maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas and members of the groups served. The committee believes that incentives should be provided to assure and encourage the active participation of the members of neighborhood organizations in the development, conduct and administration of neighborhood-based community action projects. Before approving such payments, however, the Director should be assured that the activities of the members will materially assist in the administration of neighborhood projects.

The committee has noted criticism that the dispersion of programs under the act among various Federal agencies and departments has resulted in a practical difficulty for communities and Members of Congress in obtaining factual information about the status of applications. It is expected that the Office of Economic Opportunity will undertake, pursuant to its coordinating obligation under section 611 of the act, to establish a procedure for assembling such information so that public information may be complete and readily available.

The committee has also received complaints that project approvals under the act have been announced in certain cases by political officials rather than by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The committee believes that this practice is unwise and urges that all such announcements be made in the first instance by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The committee has taken note of criticism from local community action agencies and other local organizations concerned with the problems of poverty about the difficulties of obtaining information about community action requirements, procedures, and policies. In no small measure, these difficulties are probably attributable to the fact that the Office of Economic Opportunity began operations with-

out a system of regional offices. As a result, many questions that could have been handled in the field were either left unanswered or referred to the central office. In addition to the delay involved in such referral was the difficulty of obtaining answers which were related to local problems.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is now in the process of establishing a system of seven regional offices. As these develop and expand, the committee expects that many of the current difficulties will disappear. For this to occur, however, it is essential that these offices not be permitted to become mere application processing centers. They must also be equipped to provide direct, prompt, and expert assistance at the community level with respect to matters that must be dealt with even before an application is prepared and that will continue to arise as programs are developed and implemented. Such assistance will do more than simply assure better channels of communication for the handling of day-to-day questions. With the opportunities it affords for personal contact and a two-way flow of information, it should also result in a better appreciation of the potentialities of community action, and a correspondingly greater sensitivity to its problems, on the part of those with operating responsibility both at the Federal level and in local communities throughout the country.

In addition, the committee adopted a number of amendments to title II-A which are discussed below under separate heading.

CONTINUING CONSULTATION WITH STATE AGENCIES

Section 209(a) of the act requires the Director to establish procedures which will facilitate effective participation of the States in community action programs. The committee does not believe that this section has been adequately implemented during the first year of the poverty program. In particular, although many State agencies have expertise in matters related to an attack on poverty, this resource has not been effectively mobilized. To insure that this expertise is brought to bear on the poverty program, the committee has added an amendment providing that the procedures for participation of the States will include, but not be limited to, continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs. Under this amendment, it is expected that local community action agencies will be encouraged to make greater use of the assistance available to them through their State governments.

PUBLIC HEARING AND ACCESS TO RECORDS

The bill as passed by the House of Representatives contained a provision designed to insure reasonable public access to books and records of agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs, subject to procedure approved by the Director. The committee has adopted an amendment which amplifies the House provision. Under the committee's amendment, the requirement of reasonable access to books and records of a public nature is complemented by a requirement that appropriate local community groups have feasible access to public information including but not limited to opportunity for public hearings.

The addition of these requirements to the Economic Opportunity Act would make it very clear that the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs is not to be considered the private preserve of the organizations involved. In spite of an Office of Economic Opportunity requirement that applications for Federal funds be made public, complaints have been received that some local antipoverty officials have refused to permit public inspection. Moreover, some groups have felt that they had no effective means of bringing their views to the attention of those with responsibility for the administration of the program. It is believed that a statutory right of access to public information, including the right to public hearings on proposed programs, would enhance the quality of community participation in community action programs.

FAMILY PLANNING, CONSUMER CREDIT EDUCATION, AND CONSUMER DEBT COUNSELING

Section 205(a) of the act contains a list of certain types of components eligible for inclusion in community action programs. The bill would add consumer credit education, consumer debt counseling, and family planning to this list. The committee is aware that services of these types are already being provided in some community action programs. The amendment, however, would underscore the interest of the Congress in these fields of activities and, subject to the principle that programs should be locally planned to meet local needs, would serve to emphasize the importance of inaugurating components involving consumer protection and family planning.

The listing of activities in section 205(a), of course, is not intended to exclude other types of activities related to the purpose of community action programs, such as legal services for the poor, family counseling, or community organization activities. In order to make this absolutely clear, the committee has also included an amendment to this section which would indicate that programs are to be conducted in fields including "but not limited to" those which are specifically enumerated.

HOUSING REHABILITATION

The committee amended section 205 to add a new subsection (c) providing that the Director give special consideration to programs which will, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard housing while, at the same time provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation.

The committee believes that one of the best ways to attack both the employment and environmental aspects of poverty is through self-help. The committee amendment will specifically encourage projects under which those who are out of work and living in substandard housing may be taught a skill while rehabilitating their dwellings. It will further assist in the coordination and integration of community action program activities with Federal housing programs.

In adopting this amendment the committee included a condition that such rehabilitation programs not result in the displacement of employed workers.

PROGRAMS FOR CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR ADULTS

The committee is concerned over the difficulty of meeting the one need that is most critical for many of the poor—the need for constructive employment or work activity. There are many chronically unemployed and poor adults who are not being, or cannot be, reached under existing programs. The committee believes that programs directed specifically to meeting these employment needs could not only serve objectives of the war on poverty but also contribute to preserving our wasting natural resources, to beautifying and improving our recreational areas, cleaning up our cities, and in many ways improving and bettering the quality of life in both urban and rural areas.

The committee has, accordingly, added a new section 205(d) to the act authorizing special programs directed to the needs of the chronically unemployed who have poor employment prospects and who, because of age or other reasons, are unable to secure employment or training under other programs. Participants in these programs would work on projects contributing to such things as the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, parks, highways, and other lands. These programs would also have to be conducted in accordance with standards which assure that they are in the public interest and consistent with the labor policies applied in connection with other programs under the act. The bill contemplates that \$150 million will be used for these programs during the first year, \$50 million of which is to be used for projects on Federal lands or along Federal highways, and the committee expects that the Director will give these programs the necessary priority to assure early attainment of this level of operation.

COMMUNITY MAINTENANCE OF EFFORT

The bill would amend section 208(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the so-called maintenance of effort provision applicable to localities seeking community action assistance under sections 204 and 205 of the act.

Under section 208(b), the non-Federal contribution to a community action program must be in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources being made for similar purposes prior to the extension of Federal assistance.

In some situations, however, it is now apparent that a literal application of the maintenance of effort requirement may work a wholly unnecessary hardship. These are perhaps most likely to involve rural areas, often with high levels of poverty, which are experiencing a decline in population. To require such a locality to maintain its prior level of expenditures means that it must increase its per capita expenditures at the very time that its resources will normally be declining. Such a community typically has a greater than usual need for assistance. The amendment is designed to provide some leeway for administrative exceptions to take account of these and comparable situations where a reduction in local effort occurs because of conditions which are essentially unrelated to the purposes of the requirement or not fairly subject to local control.

GOVERNOR'S VETO

The committee deleted section 209(c) of the act, thereby removing the Governor's veto from Neighborhood Youth Corps programs under title I-B, the community action program under title II-A, and the adult basic education program under title II-B.

The committee endorses the language contained in House Report No. 428, pages 12-14, dated May 27, 1965, wherein the following was stated concerning the Governor's veto:

Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Governors in various States have the following specific powers:

1. Under section 109, to disapprove the establishment of a Job Corps center in the State;
2. Under section 209(c), to disapprove any program or project of assistance proposed to be undertaken by any public agency or any private institution or organization other than an institution of higher education. This power affects the Neighborhood Youth Corps program established under title I-B of the act, the community action program under title II-A, and the adult basic education program under title II-part B;
3. Under section 603(b), to approve or disapprove the assignment or referral of VISTA volunteers.

In addition, Governors as a practical matter generally have power under section 209(b) which provides for Federal assistance to "appropriate State agencies" for expenses of providing technical assistance to local communities in developing and administering local community action programs. In the absence of State law specifically designating an agency for this purpose, the power of designation and appointment of personnel has been exercised by the Governors.

The involvement of the Governors in decisions to establish Job Corps centers and the assignment of VISTA volunteers presents considerations different from those applicable to the veto under section 209(c).

In the case of VISTA, volunteers are trained at Federal cost and, even after assignment or referral, retain a special Federal status. The existence of this status, and the possible need for a special check, has not been in issue and was recognized in the original bill submitted by the administration last year.

In the case of the Job Corps, that program involves a direct Federal activity as opposed to assistance to local programs or local agencies. A consent requirement for this program thus in no way impinges upon the normal legal or governmental framework within the State, since it does not operate to transfer to the Governor control over any matter which would normally be assigned elsewhere by State law.

The Governor's power with respect to the adult basic education program has not to date presented any problems. As a practical matter, since the program is operated under the traditional "State plan" scheme and since the plan is prepared by a State education agency, the Governor's influence and control is apt to be determinative regardless of the

veto requirement. The requirement may, however, in some States operate to shift legal power or responsibility for education programs to an official other than the one designated by State law.

The chief problem to date appears to revolve around the Governor's unlimited power to veto programs and projects under title I-B and title II-A. These both involve assistance to local programs planned and developed by local agencies. The absolute veto as applied to these programs gives the Governor discretion over local programs and affairs over which, under State law, he normally has no direct control and for which he is not directly responsible.

Since the Federal law does not prescribe any criteria to be followed by the Governor, and since there is no State law prescribing criteria, the discretion is in fact unfettered as to the conditions of its exercise. Since there is no Federal body or official with power of review, and since none exists at the State level, the power is absolute. The power may be exercised without any of the restraints that would have been provided had the power been granted by a State legislature composed of representatives each of whom might be concerned over its possible future use in connection with programs in his own community.

What Congress has done in section 209(c) is to confer upon the Governors more power of control over a federally assisted program than the Governors enjoy with respect to State action of their own governments. In some States the Governor has no veto at all, but there is no State where the Governor's veto of the legislative process cannot be overridden.

Nor, can the Governor of any State veto the action of city or municipality under its charter or statute in the conduct of its own affairs. In some States with home rule provisions in their constitutions, not even the State legislature could confer the kind of power over essentially local matters which the Congress has sought to provide.

The power that the Governor has under section 209(c) is without precedent in any Federal program where Federal assistance is given to a local community. There are many such Federal programs where the Federal Government and the municipality deal directly: Community facilities, urban renewal, public housing, Federal aid to airports, the "impact education" aid program, to mention a few.

The existence of an absolute veto power in the hands of a Governor is inconsistent with the entire philosophy of the community action and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs of the Antipoverty Act. These two programs are based on the theory that representative bodies of public and private agencies and organizations, together with representatives of the areas and groups to be served, can best determine the needs of the poor, coordinate the use of local resources, and determine the means for the seeking an end to poverty. It is based on the theory that the level of government and persons closest to the problem understand that problem best.

Particularly with respect to title II, part A, the com-

munity action program, it should be noted that the Governor is provided Federal funds to establish a State technical assistance program. He appoints his people to carry it out. This financial support, coupled with the veto, gives him tremendous power with respect to the planning, establishment, conduct, and administration of community action programs. Governors can, and increasingly have, injected themselves into the planning process.

The committee is aware that the veto power can, and is, being used coercively. Some Governors appear to be experimenting to determine exactly how far they can go in using their power to determine the organization and structure of the community action agency, its constituent agencies and personnel, as well as the content of the program.

It may well be that the veto power is like an iceberg, more important by virtue of its informal and unpublished exercise before the fact than from its exercise after the program has been approved by OEO.

Even if the veto is eliminated, Governors may, of course, have other sources of coercive power. This power would stem, however, from sources of authority they already have by virtue of State law. If that authority is abused, it will not be because the Congress has given a license for possible abuse. It will be abuse which has received no stamp of Federal approval.

The House committee went on to justify the amendment adopted and subsequently passed by the House which maintained the Governor's veto subject to the Director's reconsideration and reinstatement of the program. The Senate committee felt the House action was not sufficient to prevent the abuses of Governor veto power and therefore eliminated the veto completely from section 209(c).

PRIVATE NONPROFIT AGENCY APPLICATION PROCEDURE

The House amended section 209 of the act to add a new subsection (e) providing notice to a community action agency, within 5 days, of the receipt of an application by the Director where an application is received from a private nonprofit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs. The Senate committee amended the same section 209(e) providing in addition that the Director is authorized to make a grant, or to contract directly with, such private nonprofit agency if he determines the separate contract or grant is desirable and practical, and if special cause has been shown. This procedure is consistent with current OEO policy. The amendment would reinforce that policy through a grant of specific statutory authority.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The committee has added a subsection to section 211 designed to make the Hatch Act applicable to employees of community action agencies. Under the committee amendment, these employees would be prohibited from engaging in political activity where they are paid in principal part from Federal funds.

When public agencies are recognized as the local community action agencies, the Hatch Act is already applicable. When private nonprofit agencies are recognized, however, the act does not apply. The committee's amendment reflects the belief that the success of community action programs could be adversely affected if local anti-poverty officials were actively engaged in partisan politics. Such engagement could impart a partisan character to a program which should be based on a broad spectrum of support within the community.

PART B—ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Besides providing for extension of existing authority for 90 percent Federal financing for an additional year, the bill would amend the adult basic education program to permit a limited use of funds for the training of basic education teachers or instructors. Teachers who may otherwise be qualified to participate in this program often have no previous experience in teaching adults and require training in adult education problems and practices either before or during their employment. The bill would authorize use of up to 5 percent of funds appropriated or allocated to the adult basic education program for the purpose of providing such training.

PART C—VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

The bill would delete from the Economic Opportunity Act provisions designed to establish a national voluntary assistance program for needy children. This program, as now authorized, involves collecting names of needy children in the face of established legal and policy restrictions which in many States may preclude disclosure, coupled with selection and followup problems which could be overcome if at all at a cost which would be prohibitive when measured against the benefits provided. Discussions between the Office of Economic Opportunity and representatives of welfare and child assistance organizations have indicated no way in which these difficulties could be avoided, at least so far as a national program is concerned.

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

A. LOANS TO INDIVIDUALS AND COOPERATIVES

In addition to several purely technical amendments, the bill would clarify the restriction against loans under title III to rural cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes, particularly with respect to cooperatives processing edible dairy products.

Section 303 of the act authorizes loans to local cooperatives furnishing essential processing and marketing services predominately to low-income rural families. One limitation on this authority appears in section 305(f) of the act, which prohibits loans to cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes. The amendment would make it clear that this limitation does not preclude loans to cooperatives serving low-income rural families in the processing and marketing of cheese, butter, ice cream, or similar dairy or edible farm products.

B. ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES AND THEIR FAMILIES

Section 311 of the act, which authorizes the special program of assistance to migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees, has been altered to clarify such matters as the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which assistance may be granted. These revisions are technical in nature. They would, for example, expressly provide for grants and loan guarantees, as well as direct loans and indicate that a program must be administered and operated by a State or local public agency, nonprofit organization or cooperative, as opposed to programs that might be undertaken by an individual or growers' association.

The amendment would also clarify authority to assist local programs which supplement other efforts to assist migrants or which contain some services that appropriately complement assistance in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care.

C. INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

The committee amended section 331(c) of the act to extend the authority granted under that section for the making of indemnity payments to dairy farmers from its present expiration date of January 31, 1965, to June 30, 1966.

TITLE V—WORK-EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING

The bill includes only one substantive amendment to the title V work-experience program. This is designed to assure that workers in families subsisting on marginal farming operations with very little cash income are not excluded from participation on the technical ground that they are not "unemployed" for purposes of any particular project limitation that might otherwise be applied. This amendment is limited to workers in families with less than \$1,200 net family income. It is not intended in any way to preclude the establishment of projects which will serve any additional group of needy persons who are unable to meet their own or their families' minimum basic needs and who can benefit from the work-experience and training which the program provides.

TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

PART A—VISTA

The success of the war on poverty will, in large measure, depend upon the effective recruitment and use of volunteers. It has come to the attention of the committee that VISTA volunteers are trained and assigned in parts of the country remote from their hometowns and States.

They are thus often placed in unfamiliar surroundings and assigned, for example, to community action and other projects in large urban centers for work in low-income neighborhoods.

While it is too early to assess the effectiveness of the present recruitment and assignment policies of the VISTA program, the committee feels that ways must be found to assure that such VISTA volunteers and the people with whom they work are prepared to accept each other.

The committee believes that effective service to disadvantaged urban neighborhoods may require the inclusion of indigenous persons from such areas to work along with the VISTA volunteers. VISTA volunteers of all ages should be recruited from the local areas served by community action and other projects and the surrounding metropolitan area, and assigned locally. The committee encourages expansion of experimental programs already undertaken to assign indigenous persons as VISTA volunteers to disadvantaged urban neighborhoods.

Such a metropolitan area approach to the VISTA program will require the coordination of all volunteer recruitment, training, and placement efforts of the VISTA, community action and other programs which make use of volunteer services.

The bill contains several amendments relating to the VISTA program. One of these would authorize the assignment of volunteers generally to programs of a character eligible for assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act. This would eliminate the somewhat arbitrary limitation on the types of projects to which volunteers may now be assigned and would enable the VISTA program to operate in support of all Economic Opportunity Act objectives.

In addition, the bill would provide improved Federal Employees' Compensation Act coverage for volunteers, in recognition of the fact that present provisions limiting death and disability benefits to the levels authorized for Job Corps enrollees are inappropriate for adult volunteers, many of whom are serving at substantial sacrifice. Another amendment would require of volunteers in the future a loyalty oath similar to that which would be required under the bill for Job Corps enrollees in lieu of the current disclaimer affidavit requirements which the bill would delete. The bill also contains an amendment to the National Defense Education Act, patterned upon a similar provision applicable to Peace Corps volunteers, which would authorize limited deferments or moratoriums upon student loans which volunteers may have received in view of the difficulty they may have in making repayment while they are in VISTA service.

The bill includes, finally, one additional amendment relating to VISTA which was adopted by the committee. This would make the Hatch Political Activities Act applicable to volunteers. Although volunteers for many purposes are not deemed employees of the Federal Government, their relationship with the Government has many characteristics of an employment relationship. The committee believes that they should be subject to the same restrictions on political activity as regular Federal employees.

OTHER TITLE VI PROVISIONS

The committee adopted two other amendments to title VI of the act which were not included in the bill as passed by the House.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

The bill would amend section 605 of the act to reconstitute the National Advisory Council as a separate entity rather than as an organization within the Office of Economic Opportunity serving exclusively as a source of advice for its Director.

This new advisory group, of which the Director would be an ex-officio member, would be known as the National Council on

Economic Opportunity. It would be appointed by the President for the purpose of reviewing the administration and operation of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, evaluating their effectiveness in furthering its purposes, and making recommendations for the improvement of such programs, administration, and operation, including proposals for legislative changes.

The Council would consist of 21 members (in addition to the Director), representative of the public and of appropriate fields of endeavor related to the purposes of the act. Its Chairman would be designated by the President from among its members but would not be a regular full-time Federal employee. The Council would have authority to engage technical assistance as required, and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity would provide it with such secretarial, clerical, and other assistance and pertinent data as might be needed. The Council would submit its findings and recommendations to the President not later than March 31 of each year, and he would then transmit the report to the Congress together with his comments and recommendations.

The new Council, no longer within the Office of Economic Opportunity, is charged with reviewing the administration and operations of programs under the act, evaluating their effectiveness in furthering the purposes of the act, and making recommendations for the improvement of such programs, administration, and operation. The committee expects the new Council to provide a conscientious, critical overview of the entire antipoverty program.

In thus revising the structure and functions of the National Advisory Council, the committee intends that this body be fully empowered to render an independent, objective review of the war on poverty to the Director, the President, and, through Congress, to the American people.

The committee believes that such a group can provide valuable assistance to the President and to the Congress in maintaining a continuing review of the conduct of the war on poverty. Both the President and Congress, having the benefit of the Council's reports, would be in a better position to evaluate the progress being made in that war and to determine whether legislative and other improvements are needed from time to time.

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

A second amendment reflects the committee's concern with the plight of the disproportionate number of the aged who are living in poverty. It is essential that these aged poor not be overlooked in any Economic Opportunity Act program under which assistance may be extended to meet their needs. The amendment would, accordingly, state the specific intention of the Congress that wherever feasible the problems of the elderly should be considered in the development of programs under the act.

AUTHORIZATIONS

The committee has amended the fiscal year 1966 authorizations which were included in the bill as passed by the House. Under the bill approved by the committee, the total amount authorized would

be reduced from \$1.895 to \$1.650 billion. This amount, with one exception, conforms to the authorization level requested by the administration for each program. This request reflected the need for orderly and sound development of the various Economic Opportunity Act programs. It is designed to permit these programs to be carried forward at a level consistent with what has already been accomplished, while at the same time leaving ample leeway for attention to program improvement as distinguished from simple production goals.

It should be noted that while the bill approved by the committee in most cases involves some reduction in the authorizations included in the bill passed by the House, it also would provide for a substantial increase in authorizations for community action programs under title II. These would be increased from \$680 to \$880 million. This change very largely reflects \$150 million in additional costs contemplated for the program of special employment projects to assist the chronically unemployed adult poor. Apart from this new type of program, the title II authorization conforms to the request of the administration. Very substantial increases in community action funds will necessarily be required as a result of program activities initiated during the last fiscal year. For example, nearly three-fourths of the grants made either were for or included program development, most of which will ripen into conduct and administration grants this year with costs of from 10 to 20 times the initial grant. Additional amounts will also be required if the community action program is to be expanded to give greater emphasis to rural areas, health, housing, and special programs for the aged.

The authorizations contained in the bill are estimated as sufficient to support the following program levels:

Job Corps.—An end of year Job Corps strength of 50,000.

Work-training.—Projects to include 100,000 in-school and about the same number of out-of-school participants, plus summer programs.

Work-study.—Assistance to about 85,000 students during the regular school year, plus summer programs.

Community action.—Funds to provide for 1,100 grants in more than 700 communities.

Adult basic education.—Programs to include 70,000 participants.

Rural loans.—Funds to permit 13,800 individual and 410 cooperative loans.

Migrants.—Seventy separate grants for projects potentially reaching more than 500,000 migrants.

Work-experience.—Projects which will assist about 112,000 families.

VISTA.—An end of year strength of 4,000 volunteers in service or training.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSED BILL AND SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS

On April 9, 1965, the President transmitted to the Congress the draft of the administration's proposed bill to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The bill was introduced on behalf of the administration as S. 1759 and hearings were held on June 28 and 29. The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee considered the House-passed bill H.R. 8283, and reported said bill with amendments. During its hearings, the Select Subcommittee on Poverty received

oral testimony from Director Sargent Shriver and other officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity supporting this legislation.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 1. Short title

Section 1 provides that the act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965."

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

Section 2. Job Corps—Cuban refugees

This section amends subsection 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (hereinafter referred to as the act) to permit certain Cuban refugees who arrived in the United States subsequent to January 1, 1959, to participate in the Job Corps program.

Section 3. Job Corps—Enrollee affidavits

This section amends section 104(d) of the act, which provides that Job Corps enrollees must execute affidavits disclaiming subversive beliefs and membership in subversive organizations and subscribe to an oath of allegiance. It would eliminate the requirement for disclaimer affidavits, but retains in substance the requirement for an oath of allegiance. It also contains a conforming amendment exempting the Cuban refugee, referred to in section 2, from the loyalty oath requirements of subsection 104(d) because as natives or citizens of Cuba they are not in a position to take an oath or affirmation of loyalty to the United States.

Section 4. Job Corps—Application of Employees' Compensation Act

This section amends section 106(c) of the act to extend Federal Employees' Compensation Act coverage to certain activities of Job Corps enrollees. The amendment would modify subsection (2)(A) of 106(c) in such a way that an enrollee could be considered as engaged in an authorized or supervised activity, and thus covered, while on pass or traveling to or from a Job Corps site. This would not affect the regular exclusions established under that act for cases of willful misconduct. This extension would be retroactive to January 1, 1965.

Section 5. Job Corps—Enrollee work activities

This section amends section 110 of the act which now requires 40 percent of all Job Corps enrollees to be in camps where their work activity primarily involves public natural resources or public recreational areas. As amended, the section would require that 40 percent of the male enrollees must be in such camps.

Section 6. Work-training programs—Cuban refugees

This section amends subsection 114(a) of the act to permit certain Cuban refugees to participate in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, just as they would be made eligible for the Job Corps program under section 2 of the bill.

Section 7. Work-training programs—Limitation on Federal assistance

This section amends section 115 of the act to extend for 1 year the period which the Federal share of the cost of work-training programs will be 90 percent.

Section 8. Work-study program—Limitation on Federal assistance

This section amends section 124(f), relating to work-study programs to extend the period during which the Federal share of student compensation may be up to 90 percent through August 20, 1967 an extension of 1 year.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Section 9. Community action programs—Public information

This section amends section 202(a) by adding a new paragraph (5), to assure that adequate information is made available to interested groups and the public concerning local community action programs. Under the new paragraph, such programs would have to provide for feasible access to public information including public hearings, at the request of local community groups, and for reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, or administration of a community action program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director.

Section 10. Consumer credit education, family planning, and debt counseling

This section amends section 205(a) of the act to add consumer credit education, family planning, and debt counseling to the specifically identified fields of activity which may be included within a community action program.

Section 11. Special conservation programs for the chronically unemployed poor

This section would amend section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act to authorize community action grants for projects employing chronically unemployed poor adults in community betterment or beautification activities. Projects could include the conservation or maintenance of natural resources and Federal, State, and local parks, highways, and lands and would be carried on subject to standards to assure that undertakings are in the public interest and in conformity with policies established under the act for the protection of regular workers. Under section 30 of the bill, \$150 million of the amount appropriated or allocated for title II for fiscal year 1966 may be used for purposes of these projects.

Section 12. Self-help housing rehabilitation

This section would amend section 205 of the act by adding a new subsection (e) to authorize community action grants for projects which will, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation provided such programs will not displace employed workers.

Section 13. Community action programs—Limitations on Federal assistance

Subsection (a) amends subsection (a) of section 208 to extend the period during which community action programs may regularly be financed with 90 percent Federal assistance from August 20, 1966, through August 20, 1967.

Subsection (b) adds a new subsection (b) to section 208 under which the Director would be specifically authorized to promulgate regulations

relating to the reduction of assistance below 90 percent for community action programs or component programs which have been conducted with assistance under section 205 for more than a prescribed period. As with other determinations under section 208, reductions would be made pursuant to objective criteria established in such regulations.

Subsection (c) amends provisions of section 208 which require that the non-Federal share of a community action program be in addition to the aggregate of non-Federal expenditures or contributions made for similar purposes immediately prior to the extension of Federal assistance. Under the amendment, the Director would be authorized to promulgate rules and regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which modifications of this requirement could be permitted in situations where its literal application would result in unnecessary hardship or would otherwise be inconsistent with the basic purpose to be served by the requirement.

Section 14. General community programs—Participation of State agencies

This section amends section 209(a) of the act to provide that procedures for State participation in community action programs must include provision for continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of these programs.

Section 15. Elimination of Governor's veto

This section deletes subsection (c) of section 209 which requires contracts or grants made within a State under title I-B and title II be submitted to the Governor and which empowers the Governors to disapprove any such grant or contract within 30 days.

Section 16. Processing of private nonprofit agency applications

This section amends section 209 of the act to add a new subsection (e) which provides authority to make a grant or contract directly to a private nonprofit agency where a community action program exists upon a showing that a separate grant or contract is desirable and practical; however, when such application is received, the Director must, within 5 days, give notice to such community action agency of the receipt of such application.

Section 17. Political activities in community action programs

This section amends section 211 of the act to make the provision of the Hatch Act applicable to any person who is employed by any agency administering or conducting a community action program receiving assistance under title II-A of the act and whose salary is paid in principal part from funds appropriated under title II-A. Such person shall be deemed to be an officer of a State or local agency within the meaning of the Hatch Act.

Section 18. Adult basic education programs—Payments: Federal share

This section amends section 216(b) of the act to extend for 1 year the period during which the Federal share of the costs of State plans shall be 90 percent.

Section 19. Adult basic education programs—Teacher training

This section adds a new section 218 to the act authorizing use of up to 5 percent of the funds appropriated or allocated for the adult

basic education program for the training of persons to act as adult basic education instructors.

Section 20. Voluntary assistance program for needy children

This section deletes part C of title II of the act which authorizes establishment, on a nationwide basis, of a program for voluntary financial assistance by individuals to needy children.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY
IN RURAL AREAS

Section 21. Technical amendments

This section amends the title designation of part A of title III to eliminate the reference to grants since no grants are authorized under that part and changes the paragraph designations in section 302(a) accordingly.

Section 22. Cooperative associations—Prohibition of loans to assist manufacturing

This section amends section 305(f) to make clear that the prohibition against loans to cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes does not prevent loans, if otherwise appropriate, to cooperatives processing dairy products or similar edible farm products.

Section 23. Migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees

This section amends section 311 of the act, requiring the Director to develop and implement a program to assist migrant workers and their families, so as to clarify the authority granted with respect to the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which that assistance may be extended.

AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

Section 24. Dairy farmers indemnity

This section amends section 331(c) of the act to continue the indemnity payments to dairy farmers authorized under section 331 to June 30, 1966.

Section 25. Definition of unemployment

This section amends section 502 to provide that workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net annual family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of the title. This section also permits continued funding of these programs entirely from funds appropriated or allocated under the Economic Opportunity Act.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

Section 26. VISTA—Assignment; application of other provisions and Federal laws; and political activities

Subsection (a) authorizes the assignment of VISTA volunteers under section 603(a)(2) of the act or programs which are authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under the act. Under section 603(a)(2) of the act, assignment of volunteers in connection with other programs under the act is now limited to programs under titles I and II.

Subsection (d) makes specifically applicable to VISTA volunteers the same oath requirements as would apply to Job Corps enrollees under section 2 of this bill. In addition, it provides that for purposes of death or disability benefits under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, the pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949 (in lieu of the entrance salary for GS-2, as now provided for both Job Corps enrollees and volunteers). Further for the purposes of the Hatch Act a volunteer is deemed to be a person employed in the executive branch of the Federal Government.

Section 27. Programs for the elderly poor

This section expresses the intention of the Congress that the special problems of the elderly poor be considered, whenever feasible, in the development of programs under the act.

Section 28. National Advisory Council

This section amends section 605 of the act to authorize the Council to review, evaluate, and make recommendations on the operations and administration of the act; to authorize an increase in the membership from 15 to 21 members; to authorize the President to appoint the members (including the Director in addition to the 21 members as an ex officio member) and a Chairman (who shall not be a Federal employee) from the members; to authorize the Council to meet at the call of the Chairman but not less than twice a year; to authorize the Council to be staffed as is necessary and for the Director to make available such assistance as necessary; and to make an annual report to the President and Congress.

Section 29. Affidavits

This section amends section 616 of the act to delete the provisions for a disclaimer affidavit applicable to VISTA volunteers and dairy farmers receiving indemnity benefits in view of the amendments made by section 14 to the VISTA program and the lapse of indemnity payments program. It substitutes a new section 616 authorizing the Director to transfer—

not more than 10 percent of any amount appropriated under any title of the act to any other such title in order to carry out programs and activities under that title. However, no transfer could increase the amount otherwise available under any any title by more than 10 percent.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Section 30. Authorizations

This section amends the various sections of the act dealing with the duration of programs and the authorization of appropriations for each such program. The act now provides that the programs provided for in each title will be carried on through the end of the fiscal year 1967. The bill amends each of these provisions to extend the duration of the programs for an additional year.

This section extends all Economic Opportunity Act programs for an additional year, to June 30, 1968, and authorizes appropriation of the following amounts for fiscal year 1966: Title I—\$535 million; title II—\$880 million; title III—\$55 million; title V—\$150 million; title VI—\$30 million.

AMENDMENT TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT

Section 31. Moratorium on student loans to VISTA volunteers

This section amends the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to authorize a moratorium of up to 3 years on the repayment of student loans under that act to individuals in the VISTA program authorized under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW

In compliance with subsection 4 of rule XXIX of the Standing Rules of the Senate, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (existing law proposed to be omitted is enclosed in black brackets, new matter is printed in italic, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman):

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

AN ACT To mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Act of 1964".

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. Although the economic well-being and prosperity of the United States have progressed to a level surpassing any achieved in world history, and although these benefits are widely shared throughout the Nation, poverty continues to be the lot of a substantial number of our people. The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society. It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. It is the purpose of this Act to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy.

TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

PART A—JOB CORPS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 101. The purpose of this part is to prepare for the responsibilities of citizenship and to increase the employability of young men and young women aged sixteen through twenty-one by providing them in rural and urban residential centers with education, vocational training, useful work experience, including work directed toward the conservation of natural resources, and other appropriate activities.

ESTABLISHMENT OF JOB CORPS

SEC. 102. In order to carry out the purposes of this part, there is hereby established within the Office of Economic Opportunity (hereinafter referred to as the "Office"), established by title VI, a Job Corps (hereinafter referred to as the "Corps").

JOB CORPS PROGRAM

SEC. 103. The Director of the Office (hereinafter referred to as the "Director") is authorized to—

(a) enter into agreements with any Federal, State, or local agency or private organization for the establishment and operation, in rural and urban areas, of conservation camps and training centers and for the provision of such facilities and services as in his judgment are needed to carry out the purposes of this part, including but not limited to agreements with agencies charged with the responsibility of conserving, developing, and managing the public natural resources of the Nation and of developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas, whereby the enrollees of the Corps may be utilized by such agencies in carrying out, under the immediate supervision of such agencies, programs planned and designed by such agencies to fulfill such responsibility, and including agreements for a botanical survey program involving surveys and maps of existing vegetation and investigations of the plants, soils, and environments of natural and disturbed plant communities;

(b) arrange for the provision of education and vocational training of enrollees in the Corps: *Provided*, That, where practicable, such programs may be provided through local public educational agencies or by private vocational educational institutions or technical institutes where such institutions or institutes can provide substantially equivalent training with reduced Federal expenditures;

(c) provide or arrange for the provision of programs of useful work experience and other appropriate activities for enrollees;

(d) establish standards of safety and health for enrollees, and furnish or arrange for the furnishing of health services; and

(e) prescribe such rules and regulations and make such arrangements as he deems necessary to provide for the selection of enrollees and to govern their conduct after enrollment, including appropriate regulations as to the circumstances under which enrollment may be terminated.

COMPOSITION OF THE CORPS

SEC. 104. (a) The Corps shall be composed of young men and young women who are permanent residents of the United States, who have attained age sixteen but have not attained age twenty-two at the time of enrollment, and who meet the standards for enrollment prescribed by the Director. Participation in the Corps shall not relieve any enrollee of obligations under the Universal Military Training and Service Act (50 U.S.C. App. 451 et seq.). *For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States*

from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States.

(b) In order to enroll as a member of the Corps, an individual must agree to comply with rules and regulations promulgated by the Director for the government of the Corps.

(c) The total enrollment of any individual in the Corps shall not exceed two years except as the Director may determine in special cases.

[(d) Each enrollee must execute and file with the Director an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods, and (2) each enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic." The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such affidavits.]

(d) *Each enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of Cuba described in section 104(a) of this Act) must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic." The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection.*

ALLOWANCE AND MAINTENANCE

SEC. 105. (a) Enrollees may be provided with such living, travel, and leave allowances, and such quarters, subsistence, transportation, equipment, clothing, recreational services, medical, dental, hospital, and other health services, and other expenses as the Director may deem necessary or appropriate for their needs. Transportation and travel allowances may also be provided, in such circumstances as the Director may determine, for applicants for enrollment to or from places of enrollment, and for former enrollees from places of termination to their homes.

(b) Upon termination of his or her enrollment in the Corps, each enrollee shall be entitled to receive a readjustment allowance at a rate not to exceed \$50 for each month of satisfactory participation therein as determined by the Director: *Provided, however,* That under such circumstances as the Director may determine a portion of the readjustment allowance of an enrollee not exceeding \$25 for each month of satisfactory service may be paid during the period of service of the enrollee directly to a member of his or her family (as defined in section 609(c)) and any sum so paid shall be supplemented by the payment of an equal amount by the Director. In the event of the enrollee's death during the period of his or her service, the amount of any unpaid readjustment allowance shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of section 1 of the Act of August 3, 1950 (5 U.S.C. 61f).

APPLICATION OF PROVISIONS OF FEDERAL LAW

SEC. 106. (a) Except as otherwise specifically provided in this part, an enrollee shall be deemed not to be a Federal employee and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

(b) Enrollees shall be deemed to be employees of the United States for the purposes of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) and of title II of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 401 et seq.), and any service performed by an individual as an enrollee shall be deemed for such purposes to be performed in the employ of the United States.

(c)(1) Enrollees under this part shall, for the purposes of the administration of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act (5 U.S.C. 751 et seq.), be deemed to be civil employees of the United States within the meaning of the term "employee" as defined in section 40 of such Act (5 U.S.C. 790) and the provisions thereof shall apply except as hereinafter provided.

(2) For purposes of this subsection:

[(A) The term "performance of duty" in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee—

(i) while on authorized leave or pass; or

(ii) while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity authorized by or under the direction or supervision of the Corps.]

(A) *The term "performance of duty" in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps.*

(B) In computing compensation benefits for disability or death under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, the monthly pay of an enrollee shall be deemed to be \$150, except that with respect to compensation for disability accruing after the individual concerned reaches the age of twenty-one, such monthly pay shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-2 under the Classification Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 1071 et seq.), and section 6(d)(1) of the former Act (5 U.S.C. 756(d)(1)) shall apply to enrollees.

(C) Compensation for disability shall not begin to accrue until the day following the date on which the enrollment of the injured enrollee is terminated.

(d) An enrollee shall be deemed to be an employee of the Government for the purposes of the Federal tort claims provisions of title 28, United States Code.

(e) Personnel of the uniformed services who are detailed or assigned to duty in the performance of agreements made by the Director for the support of the Corps shall not be counted in computing strength under any law limiting the strength of such services or in computing the percentage authorized by law for any grade therein.

POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

SEC. 107. (a) No officer or employee of the executive branch of the Federal Government shall make any inquiry concerning the political affiliation or beliefs of any enrollee or applicant for enrollment in the Corps. All disclosures concerning such matters shall be ignored, except as to such membership in political parties or organizations as constitutes by law a disqualification for Government employment. No discrimination shall be exercised, threatened or promised by any person in the executive branch of the Federal Government against or in favor of any enrollee in the corps, or any applicant for enrollment in the Corps because of his political affiliation or beliefs, except as may be specifically authorized or required by law.

(b) No officer, employee or enrollee of the Corps shall take any active part in political management or in political campaigns, except as may be provided by or pursuant to statute, and no such officer, employee or enrollee shall use his official position or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the result thereof. All such persons shall retain the right to vote as they may choose and to express, in their private capacities, their opinions on all political subjects and candidates. Any officer, employee, enrollee or Federal employee who solicits funds for political purposes from members of the Corps, shall be in violation of the Corrupt Practices Act.

(c) Whenever the United States Civil Service Commission finds that any person has violated the foregoing provisions, it shall, after giving due notice and opportunity for explanation to the officer or employee or enrollee concerned, certify the facts to the Director with specific instructions as to discipline or dismissal or other corrective actions.

STATE-OPERATED YOUTH CAMPS

SEC. 108. The Director is authorized to enter into agreements with States to assist in the operation or administration of State-operated programs which carry out the purpose of this part. The Director may, pursuant to such regulations as he may adopt, pay part or all of the operative or administrative costs of such programs.

REQUIREMENT FOR STATE APPROVAL OF CONSERVATION CAMPS AND TRAINING CENTERS

SEC. 109. In carrying out the provisions of part A of this title no conservation camp, training center or other similar facility designed to carry out the purposes of this Act, shall be established within a State unless a plan setting forth such proposed establishment has been submitted to the Governor of the State and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission.

SEC. 110. Within the Job Corps there is authorized a Youth Conservation Corps in which at any one time no less than 40 per centum of the *male* enrollees under this part shall be assigned to camps where their work activity is directed primarily toward conserving, developing, and managing the public natural resources of the Nation, and developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas. Such work activity shall be performed under the direction of members of agencies charged with the responsibility of conserving, developing, and managing the public natural resources and of developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas.

PART B—WORK-TRAINING PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 111. The purpose of this part is to provide useful work experience opportunities for unemployed young men and young women, through participation in State and community work-training programs, so that their employability may be increased or their education resumed or continued and so that public agencies and private nonprofit organizations (other than political parties) will be enabled to carry out programs which will permit or contribute to an undertaking or service in the public interest that would not otherwise be provided, or will contribute to the conservation and development of natural resources and recreational areas.

DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS

SEC. 112. In order to carry out the purposes of this part, the Director shall assist and cooperate with State and local agencies and private nonprofit organizations (other than political parties) in developing programs for the employment of young people in State and community activities hereinafter authorized, which, whenever appropriate, shall be coordinated with programs of training and education provided by local public educational agencies.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 113. (a) The Director is authorized to enter into agreements providing for the payment by him of part or all of the cost of a State or local program submitted hereunder if he determines, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, that—

(1) enrollees in the program will be employed either (A) on publicly owned and operated facilities or projects, or (B) on local projects sponsored by private nonprofit organizations (other than political parties), other than projects involving the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship;

(2) the program will increase the employability of the enrollees by providing work experience and training in occupational skills or pursuits in classifications in which the Director finds there is a reasonable expectation of employment, or will enable student enrollees to resume or to maintain school attendance;

(3) the program will permit or contribute to an undertaking or service in the public interest that would not otherwise be provided, or will contribute to the conservation, development, or management of the natural resources of the State or community or to the development, management, or protection of State or community recreational areas;

(4) the program will not result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services;

(5) the rates of pay and other conditions of employment will be appropriate and reasonable in the light of such factors as the type of work performed, geographical region, and proficiency of the employee;

(6) to the maximum extent feasible, the program will be coordinated with vocational training and educational services adapted to the special needs of enrollees in such program and sponsored by State or local public educational agencies: *Provided, however,* That where such services are inadequate or unavailable, the program may make provision for the enlargement, improvement, development, and coordination of such services with the cooperation of, or where appropriate pursuant to agreement with, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and

(7) the program includes standards and procedures for the selection of applicants, including provisions assuring full coordination and cooperation with local and other authorities to encourage students to resume or maintain school attendance.

(b) In approving projects under this part, the Director shall give priority to projects with high training potential.

ENROLLEES IN PROGRAM

SEC. 114. (a) Participation in programs under this part shall be limited to young men and women who are permanent residents of the United States, who have attained age sixteen but have not attained age twenty-two, and whose participation in such programs will be consistent with the purposes of this part.

For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States.

(b) Enrollees shall be deemed not to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

(c) Where appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act, the Director may provide for testing, counseling, job development, and referral services to youths through public agencies or private nonprofit organizations.

LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 115. Federal assistance to any program pursuant to this part paid for the period ending [two] three years after the date of enactment of this Act, [or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,] shall not exceed 90 per centum of the cost of such program, including costs of administration, and such assistance paid for periods thereafter shall not exceed 50 per centum of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to regulations adopted and promulgated by him establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assistance in excess of such percentages is required in furtherance of the purposes of this part. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment, and services.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 116. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under this part among the

States. In developing such criteria, he shall consider among other relevant factors the ratios of population, unemployment, and family income levels. Not more than 12½ per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal year to carry out the purposes of this part shall be used within any one State.

PART C—WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 121. The purpose of this part is to stimulate and promote the part-time employment of students in institutions of higher education who are from low-income families and are in need of the earnings from such employment to pursue courses of study at such institutions.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 122. (a) From the sums appropriated to carry out this title for a fiscal year, the Director shall reserve the amount needed for making grants under section 123. Not to exceed 2 per centum of the amount so reserved shall be allotted by the Director among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands according to their respective needs for assistance under this part. The remainder of the sums so reserved shall be allotted among the States as provided in subsection (b).

(b) Of the sums being allotted under this subsection—

(1) one-third shall be allotted by the Director among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in institutions of higher education in such State bears to the total number of persons enrolled on a full-time basis in institutions of higher education in all the States,

(2) one-third shall be allotted by the Director among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of high school graduates (as defined in section 103(d)(3) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963) of such State bears to the total number of such high school graduates of all the States, and

(3) one-third shall be allotted by him among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of related children under eighteen years of age living in families with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 in such State bears to the number of related children under eighteen years of age living in families with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 in all the States.

(c) The amount of any State's allotment which has not been granted to an institution of higher education under section 123 at the end of the fiscal year for which appropriated shall be reallotted by the Director, in such manner as he determines will best assist in achieving the purposes of the Act. Amounts reallotted under this subsection shall be available for making grants under section 123 until the close of the fiscal year next succeeding the fiscal year for which appropriated.

(d) For purposes of this section, the term "State" does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

GRANTS FOR WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS

SEC. 123. The Director is authorized to enter into agreements with institutions of higher education (as defined by section 401(f) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (P.L. 88-204)) under which the Director will make grants to such institutions to assist in the operation of work-study programs as hereinafter provided.

CONDITIONS OF AGREEMENTS

SEC. 124. An agreement entered into pursuant to section 123 shall—

(a) provide for the operation by the institution of a program for the part-time employment of its students in work—

(1) for the institution itself, or

(2) for a public or private nonprofit organization when the position is obtained through an arrangement between the institution and such an organization and—

(A) the work is related to the student's educational objective, or

(B) such work (i) will be in the public interest and is work which would not otherwise be provided, (ii) will not result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services, and (iii) will be governed by such conditions of employment as will be appropriate and reasonable in light of such factors as the type of work performed, geographical region, and proficiency of the employee:

Provided, however, That no such work shall involve the construction, operation, or maintenance of so much of any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship;

(b) provide that funds granted an institution of higher education, pursuant to section 123 may be used only to make payments to students participating in work-study programs, except that an institution may use a portion of the sums granted to it to meet administrative expenses, but the amount so used may not exceed 5 per centum of the payments made by the Director to such institution for that part of the work-study program in which students are working for public or nonprofit organizations other than the institution itself;

(c) provide that employment under such work-study program shall be furnished only to a student who (1) is from a low-income family, (2) is in need of the earnings from such employment in order to pursue a course of study at such institution, (3) is capable, in the opinion of the institution, of maintaining good standing in such course of study while employed under the program covered by the agreement, and (4) has been accepted for enrollment as a full-time student at the institution or, in the case of a student already enrolled in and attending the institution, is in good standing and in full-time attendance there either as an undergraduate, graduate, or professional student;

(d) provide that no student shall be employed under such work-study program for more than fifteen hours in any week in which classes in which he is enrolled are in session;

(e) provide that in each fiscal year during which the agreement remains in effect, the institution shall expend (from sources other than payments under this part) for the employment of its students (whether or not in employment eligible for assistance under this part) an amount that is not less than its average annual expenditure for such employment during the three fiscal years preceding the fiscal year in which the agreement is entered into;

(f) provide that the Federal share of the compensation of students employed in the work-study program in accordance with the agreement will not exceed 90 per centum of such compensation for work performed during the period ending [two] *three* years after the date of enactment of this Act, [or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,] and 75 per centum thereafter;

(g) include provisions designed to make employment under such work-study program, or equivalent employment offered or arranged for by the institution, reasonably available (to the extent of available funds) to all eligible students in the institution in need thereof; and

(h) include such other provisions as the Director shall deem necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this part.

SOURCES OF MATCHING FUNDS

SEC. 125. Nothing in this part shall be construed as restricting the source (other than this part) from which the institution may pay its share of the compensation of a student employed under a work-study program covered by an agreement under this part.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 126. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve such distribution of assistance under this part among institutions of higher education within a State as will most effectively carry out the purposes of this Act.

PART D—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 131. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the [two] *three* succeeding fiscal years. [For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.] *For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$535,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.*

TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

PART A—GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 201. The purpose of this part is to provide stimulation and incentive for urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty through community action programs.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 202. (a) The term "community action program" means a program—

(1) which mobilizes and utilizes resources, public or private, of any urban or rural, or combined urban and rural, geographical area (referred to in this part as a "community"), including but not limited to a State, metropolitan area, county, city, town, multicounty unit, or multicounty unit in an attack on poverty;

(2) which provides services, assistance, and other activities of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty or a cause or causes of poverty through developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work;

(3) which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served; [and]

(4) which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a public or private nonprofit agency (other than a political party), or a combination [thereof.] thereof; and

(5) *which includes provision for feasible access of the public to information including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director.*

(b) The director is authorized to prescribe such additional criteria for programs carried on under this part as he shall deem appropriate.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 203. (a) From the sums appropriated to carry out this title for a fiscal year, the Director shall reserve the amount needed for carrying out sections 204 and 205. Not to exceed 2 per centum of the amount so reserved shall be allotted by the Director among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands according to their respective needs for assistance under this part. Twenty per centum of the amount so reserved shall be allotted among the States as the Director shall determine. The remainder of the sums so reserved shall be allotted among the States as provided in subsection (b).

(b) Of the sums being allotted under this subsection—

(1) one-third shall be allotted by the Director among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of public assistance recipients in such State bears to the total number of public assistance recipients in all the States;

(2) one-third shall be allotted by him among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the annual average number of persons unemployed in such State bears to the annual average number of persons unemployed in all the States; and

(3) the remaining one-third shall be allotted by him among the States so that the allotment to each State under this clause will be an amount which bears the same ratio to such one-third as the number of related children under 18 years of age living in families with incomes of less than \$1,000 in such State bears to the number of related children under 18 years of age living in families with incomes of less than \$1,000 in all the States.

(c) The portion of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for a fiscal year which the Director determines will not be required for such fiscal year for carrying out this part shall be available for reallocation from time to time, on such dates during such year as the Director may fix, to other States in proportion to their original allotments for such year, but with such proportionate amount for any of such other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum which the Director estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such year for carrying out this part; and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallocated among the States whose proportionate amounts are not so reduced. Any amount reallocated to a State under this subsection during a year shall be deemed part of its allotment under subsection (a) for such year.

(d) For the purposes of this section, the term "State" does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 204. The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies, or combinations thereof, to pay part or all of the costs of development of community action programs.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION OF COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 205. (a) The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, public or private nonprofit agencies, or combinations thereof, to pay part or all of the costs of community action programs which have been approved by him pursuant to this part, including the cost of carrying out programs which are components of a community action program and which are designed to achieve the purposes of this part. Such component programs shall be focused upon the needs of low-income individuals and families and shall provide expanded and improved services, assistance, and other activities, and facilities

necessary in connection therewith. Such programs shall be conducted in those fields which fall within the purposes of this part including *but not limited to* employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, *family planning, consumer credit education, consumer debt counseling*, welfare, and special remedial and other noncurricular educational assistance for the benefit of low-income individuals and families.

(b) No grant or contract authorized under this part may provide for general aid to elementary or secondary education in any school or school system.

(c) In determining whether to extend assistance under this section the Director shall consider among other relevant factors the incidence of poverty within the community and within the areas or groups to be affected by the specific program or programs, and the extent to which the applicant is in a position to utilize efficiently and expeditiously the assistance for which application is made. In determining the incidence of poverty the Director shall consider information available with respect to such factors as: the concentration of low-income families, particularly those with children; the extent of persistent unemployment and underemployment; the number and proportion of persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations; the number of migrant or transient low-income families; school dropout rates, military service rejection rates, and other evidences of low educational attainment; the incidence of disease, disability, and infant mortality; housing conditions; adequacy of community facilities and services; and the incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency.

(d) *The Director is authorized to make grants under this section for special programs (1) which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addition to other services provided, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community or area served by the program, including without limitation activities which will contribute to the management, conservation or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State and local government parks, highways and other lands, and (3) which are conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment.*

(e) *In extending assistance under this section the director shall also give special consideration to programs which will, through selfhelp, rehabilitate substandard housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation: Provided, That such programs will not result in the displacement of employed workers.*

[(d)] (f) In extending assistance under this section the Director shall give special consideration to programs which give promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities to deal with their problems without further assistance.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 206. The Director is authorized to provide, either directly or through grants or other arrangements, (1) technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs, and (2) training for specialized personnel needed to develop, conduct, or administer such programs or to provide services or other assistance thereunder.

RESEARCH, TRAINING, AND DEMONSTRATIONS

SEC. 207. The Director is authorized to conduct, or to make grants to or enter into contracts with institutions of higher education or other appropriate public agencies or private organizations for the conduct of, research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of this part. Expenditures under this section in any fiscal year shall not exceed 15 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for such year to carry out the purposes of this part.

LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 208. (a) Assistance pursuant to sections 204 and 205 paid for the period ending **[two]** *three* years after the date of enactment of this Act, **[or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,]** shall not exceed 90 per centum of the costs referred to in those sections, respectively, and thereafter shall not exceed 50 per centum of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to regulations adopted and promulgated by him establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assistance in excess of such percentages is required in furtherance of the purposes of this part. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment, and services.

(b) *The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations.*

[(b)] (c) The expenditures or contributions made from non-Federal sources for a community action program or component thereof shall be in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources which were being made for similar purposes prior to the extension of Federal assistance. *The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved.*

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 209. (a) The Director shall establish procedures which will facilitate effective participation of the States in community action programs *including, but not limited to, continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs.*

(b) The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, appropriate State agencies for the payment of the expenses of such agencies in providing technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs.

[(c) In carrying out the provisions of title I and title II of this Act, no contract, agreement, grant, loan, or other assistance shall be made with, or provided to, any State or local public agency or any private institution or organization for the purpose of carrying out any program, project, or other activity within a State unless a plan setting forth such proposed contract, agreement, grant, loan, or other assistance has been submitted to the Governor of the State, and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission: *Provided, however,* That this section shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of the approval of this Act.]

[(d)] (c) No private institution or organization shall be eligible for participation under this part unless it (1) is itself an institution or organization which has, prior to its consideration for such participation, had a concern with problems of poverty, or (2) is sponsored by one or more such institutions or organizations or by a public agency, or (3) is an institution of higher education (as defined by section 401(f) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963).

(d) *When the Director receives an application from a private non-profit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such community action agency of the receipt of such application. When the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that special cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency.*

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 210. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under this part within the States between urban and rural areas. In developing such criteria he shall consider the relative numbers in the States or areas therein of: (1) low-income families, particularly those with children; (2) unemployed persons; (3) persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations; (4) school dropouts; (5) adults with less than an eighth-grade education; (6) persons rejected for military service; and (7) persons living in urban places compared to the number living in rural places as determined by the Bureau of the Census for the 1960 census.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND PREFERENCE FOR COMPONENTS OF APPROVED PROGRAMS

SEC. 211. (a) *Any person who is employed by any agency administering or conducting a community action program receiving assistance under this part and whose salary is paid in principal part from funds appropriated pursuant to this part, shall be deemed to be an officer or employee of a State or local agency for the purposes and within the meaning of the*

Act entitled "An Act to Prevent Pernicious Political Activities," approved August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), as amended.

(b) In determining whether to extend assistance under this Act, the Director shall, to the extent feasible, give preference to programs and projects which are components of a community action program approved pursuant to this part.

PART B—ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 212. It is the purpose of this part to initiate programs of instruction for individuals who have attained age eighteen and whose inability to read and write the English language constitutes a substantial impairment of their ability to get or retain employment commensurate with their real ability, so as to help eliminate such inability and raise the level of education of such individuals with a view to making them less likely to become dependent on others, improving their ability to benefit from occupational training and otherwise increasing their opportunities for more productive and profitable employment, and making them better able to meet their adult responsibilities.

GRANTS TO STATES

SEC. 213. (a) **[From the sums appropriated to carry out this title,]** *From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218,* the Director shall make grants to States which have State plans approved by him under this section.

(b) Grants under subsection (a) may be used, in accordance with regulations of the Director, to—

(1) assist in establishment of pilot projects by local educational agencies, relating to instruction in public schools, or other facilities used for the purpose by such agencies, of individuals described in section 212, to (A) demonstrate, test, or develop modifications, or adaptations in the light of local needs, of special materials or methods for instruction of such individuals, (B) stimulate the development of local educational agency programs for instruction of such individuals in such schools or other facilities, and (C) acquire additional information concerning the materials or methods needed for an effective program for raising adult basic educational skills;

(2) assist in meeting the cost of local educational agency programs for instruction of such individuals in such schools or other facilities; and

(3) assist in development or improvement of technical or supervisory services by the State educational agency relating to adult basic education programs.

STATE PLANS

SEC. 214. (a) The Director shall approve for purposes of this part the plan of a State which—

(1) provides for administration thereof by the State educational agency;

(2) provides that such agency will make such reports to the Director, in such form and containing such information, as may reasonably be necessary to enable the Director to perform his duties under this part and will keep such records and afford such access thereto as the Director finds necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports;

(3) provides such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the State under this part (including such funds paid by the State to local educational agencies);

(4) provides for cooperative arrangements between the State educational agency and the State health authority looking toward provision of such health information and services for individuals described in section 212 as may be available from such agencies and as may reasonably be necessary to enable them to benefit from the instruction provided under programs conducted pursuant to grants under this part; and

(5) sets forth a program for use, in accordance with section 213(b), of grants under this part which affords assurance of substantial progress, within a reasonable period and with respect to all segments of the population and all areas of the State, toward elimination of the inability of adults to read and write English and toward substantially raising the level of education of individuals described in section 212.

(b) The Director shall not finally disapprove any State plan submitted under this part, or any modification thereof, without first affording the State educational agency reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing.

ALLOTMENTS

SEC. 215. (a) From the sums allocated for grants to States under section 213 for any fiscal year, the Director shall reserve such amount, but not in excess of 2 per centum thereof, as he may determine, and shall allot such amount among Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands according to their respective needs for assistance under this part. The remainder of the sums so allocated for a fiscal year shall be allotted by the Director on the basis of the relative number of individuals in each State who have attained age eighteen and who have completed not more than five grades of school or have not achieved an equivalent level of education, as determined by the Director on the basis of the best and most recent information available to him, including any relevant data furnished to him by the Department of Commerce. The amount allotted to any State under the preceding sentence for any fiscal year which is less than \$50,000 shall be increased to that amount, the total thereby required being derived by proportionately reducing the amount allotted to each of the remaining States under the preceding sentence, but with such adjustments as may be necessary to prevent the allotment of any of such remaining States from being thereby reduced to less than \$50,000. For the purposes of this subsection, the term "State" shall not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands.

(b) The portion of any State's allotment under subsection (a) for a fiscal year which the Director determines will not be required, for the period such allotment is available, for carrying out the State plan

(if any) approved under this part shall be available for reallocation from time to time, on such dates during such period as the Director may fix, to other States in proportion to the original allotments to such States under subsection (a) for such year, but with such proportionate amount for any of such other States being reduced to the extent it exceeds the sum which the Director estimates such State needs and will be able to use for such period for carrying out its State plan approved under this part; and the total of such reductions shall be similarly reallocated among the States whose proportionate amounts are not so reduced. Any amount reallocated to a State under this subsection during a year shall be deemed part of its allotment under subsection (a) for such year.

(c) The allotment of any State under subsection (a) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, shall, except to the extent reallocated under subsection (b), remain available until June 30, 1966, for obligation by such State for carrying out its State plan approved under this part.

PAYMENTS

SEC. 216. (a) From a State's allotment available for the purpose, the Federal share of expenditures, under its State plan, for the purposes set forth in section 213(b) shall be paid to such State. Such payments shall be made in advance on the basis of estimates by the Director; and may be made in such installments as the Director may determine, after making appropriate adjustments to take account of previously made overpayments or underpayments; except that no such payments shall be made for any fiscal year unless the Director finds that the amount available for expenditures for adult basic educational programs and services from State sources for such year will be not less than the amount expended for such purposes from such sources during the preceding fiscal year.

(b) For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, [and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966,] *and each of the two succeeding fiscal years* the Federal share for each State shall be 90 per centum. For the succeeding fiscal year the Federal share for any State shall be 50 per centum.

OPERATION OF STATE PLANS; HEARINGS AND JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 217. (a) Whenever the Director, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State educational agency administering a State plan approved under this part, finds that—

(1) the State plan has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of section 214, or

(2) in the administration of the plan there is a failure to comply substantially with any such provision, the Director shall notify such State agency that no further payments will be made to the State under this part (or in his discretion, that further payments to the State will be limited to programs under or portions of the State plan not affected by such failure), until he is satisfied that there will no longer be any failure to comply. Until he is so satisfied, no further payments may be made to such State under this part (or payments shall be limited to programs under or portions of the State plan not affected by such failure).

(b) A State educational agency dissatisfied with a final action of the Director under section 214 or subsection (a) of this section may appeal to the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which the State is located, by filing a petition with such court within sixty days after such final action. A copy of the petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Director, or any officer designated by him for that purpose. The Director thereupon shall file in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code. Upon the filing of such petition, the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Director or to set it aside, in whole or in part, temporarily or permanently, but until the filing of the record, the Director may modify or set aside his order. The findings of the Director as to the facts, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive, but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Director to take further evidence, and the Director may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify this previous action, and shall file in the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence. The judgment of the court affirming or setting aside, in whole or in part, any action of the Director shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code. The commencement of proceedings under this subsection shall not, unless so specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of the Director's action.

TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine.

MISCELLANEOUS

SEC. [218.] 219. For purposes of this part—

(1) the term "State educational agency" means the State board of education or other agency or officer primarily responsible for the State supervision of public elementary and secondary schools, or, if different, the agency or officer primarily responsible for supervision of adult basic education in public schools, whichever may be designated by the Governor or by State law, or, if there is no such agency or officer, an agency or officer designated by the Governor or by State law;

(2) the term "local educational agency" means a board of education or other legally constituted local school authority having administrative control and direction of public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or political subdivision in a State, except that if there is a separate board or other legally constituted local authority having administrative control and direction of adult basic education in public schools therein, it means such other board or authority.

[PART C—VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 219. The purpose of this part is to allow individual Americans to participate in a personal way in the war on poverty, by voluntarily assisting in the support of one or more needy children, in a program coordinated with city or county social welfare agencies.

AUTHORITY TO ESTABLISH INFORMATION CENTER

SEC. 220. (a) In order to carry out the purposes of this part, the Director is authorized to establish a section within the Office of Economic Opportunity to act as an information and coordination center to encourage voluntary assistance for deserving and needy children. Such section shall collect the names of persons who voluntarily desire to assist financially such children and shall secure from city or county social welfare agencies such information concerning deserving and needy children as the Director shall deem appropriate.

(b) It is the intent of the Congress that the section established pursuant to this part shall act solely as an information and coordination center and that nothing in this part shall be construed as interfering with the jurisdiction of State and local welfare agencies with respect to programs for needy children.】

PART [D] C—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. **[221]** 220. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the **[two]** three succeeding fiscal years. **[For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.]** *For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$880,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law. \$150,000,000 of the funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1966 for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this title may be used for the purposes of section 205(d).*

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 301. It is the purpose of this title to meet some of the special problems of rural poverty and thereby to raise and maintain the income and living standards of low-income rural families and migrant agricultural employees and their families.

PART A—AUTHORITY TO MAKE [GRANTS AND] LOANS

SEC. 302. (a) The Director is authorized to make [—]

[(1)] loans having a maximum maturity of 15 years and in amounts not exceeding \$2,500 in the aggregate to any low-income rural family where, in the judgment of the Director, such loans have a reasonable possibility of effecting a permanent increase in the income of such families by assisting or permitting them to—

(A) acquire or improve real estate or reduce encumbrances or erect improvements thereon,

(B) operate or improve the operation of farms not larger than family sized, including but not limited to the purchase of feed, seed, fertilizer, livestock, poultry, and equipment, or

(C) participate in cooperative associations; and/or to finance nonagricultural enterprises which will enable such families to supplement their income.

(b) Loans under this section shall be made only if the family is not qualified to obtain such funds by loan under other Federal programs.

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

SEC. 303. The Director is authorized to make loans to local cooperative associations furnishing essential processing, purchasing, or marketing services, supplies, or facilities predominantly to low-income rural families.

LIMITATIONS ON ASSISTANCE

SEC. 304. No financial or other assistance shall be provided under this part unless the Director determines that—

(a) the providing of such assistance will materially further the purposes of this part, and

(b) in the case of assistance provided pursuant to section 303, the applicant is fulfilling or will fulfill a need for services, facilities, or activities which is not otherwise being met.

LOAN TERMS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 305. Loans pursuant to sections 302 and 303 shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine, subject to the following limitations:

(a) there is reasonable assurance of repayment of the loan;

(b) the credit is not otherwise available on reasonable terms from private sources or other Federal, State, or local programs;

(c) the amount of the loan, together with other funds available, is adequate to assure completion of the project or achievement of the purposes for which the loan is made;

(d) the loan bears interest at a rate not less than (1) a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity, plus (2) such additional charge, if any, toward covering other costs of the program as the Director may determine to be consistent with its purposes;

(e) with respect to loans made pursuant to section 303, the loan is repayable within not more than thirty years; and

(f) no financial or other assistance shall be provided under this part to or in connection with any corporation or cooperative organization for the production of agricultural commodities or for manufacturing **[purposes.]** *purposes: Provided, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance.*

PART B—ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT, AND OTHER SEASONALLY EMPLOYED, AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES AND THEIR FAMILIES

[SEC. 311. The Director shall develop and implement as soon as practicable a program to assist the States, political subdivisions of States, public and nonprofit agencies, institutions, organizations, farm associations, or individuals in establishing and operating programs of assistance for migrant, and other seasonally employed, agricultural employees and their families which programs shall be limited to housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children. Institutions, organizations, farm associations, or individuals shall be limited to direct loans.**]**

MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.

PART C—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 321. The Director shall carry out the program provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the **[two]** *three* succeeding fiscal years. **[For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.]** *For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law. Not to exceed \$15,000,000 of the funds*

appropriated under other titles of this Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, may also be utilized for the purposes of part B of this title.

PART D—INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

SEC. 331. (a) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorize to make indemnity payments, at a fair market value, to dairy farmers who have been directed since January 1, 1964, to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government at the time of such use. Such indemnity payments shall continue to each dairy farmer until he has been reinstated and is again allowed to dispose of his milk on commercial markets.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(c) The authority granted under this section shall expire on **[January 31, 1965]** *June 30, 1966*.

TITLE IV—EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 401. It is the purpose of this title to assist in the establishment, preservation, and strengthening of small business concerns and improve the managerial skills employed in such enterprises; and to mobilize for these objectives private as well as public managerial skills and resources.

LOANS, PARTICIPATIONS, AND GUARANTIES

SEC. 402. The Director is authorized to make, participate (on an immediate basis) in, or guarantee loans, repayable in not more than fifteen years, to any small business concern (as defined in section 3 of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 632) and regulations issued thereunder), or to any qualified person seeking to establish such a concern, when he determines that such loans will assist in carrying out the purposes of this title, with particular emphasis on employment of the long-term unemployed: *Provided, however,* That no such loans shall be made, participated in, or guaranteed if the total of such Federal assistance to a single borrower outstanding at any one time would exceed \$25,000. The Director may defer payments on the principal of such loans for a grace period and use such other methods as he deems necessary and appropriate to assure the successful establishment and operation of such concern. The Director may, in his discretion, as a condition of such financial assistance, require that the borrower take steps to improve his management skills by participating in a management training program approved by the Director. The Director shall encourage, as far as possible, the participation of the private business community in the program of assistance to such concerns.

COORDINATION WITH COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 403. No financial assistance shall be provided under section 402 in any community for which the Director has approved a community

action program pursuant to title II of this Act unless such financial assistance is determined by him to be consistent with such program.

FINANCING UNDER SMALL BUSINESS ACT

SEC. 404. Such lending and guaranty functions under this title as may be delegated to the Small Business Administration may be financed with funds appropriated to the revolving fund established by section 4(c) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 633(c)) for the purposes of sections 7(a), 7(b), and 8(a) of that Act (15 U.S.C. 636(a), 636(b), 637(a)).

LOAN TERMS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 405. Loans made pursuant to section 402 (including immediate participation in and guaranties of such loans) shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine, subject to the following limitations—

(a) there is reasonable assurance of repayment of the loan;

(b) the financial assistance is not otherwise available on reasonable terms from private sources or other Federal, State, or local programs;

(c) the amount of the loan, together with other funds available, is adequate to assure completion of the project or achievement of the purposes for which the loan is made;

(d) the loan bears interest at a rate not less than (1) a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity, plus (2) such additional charge, if any, toward covering other costs of the program as the Director may determine to be consistent with its purposes: *Provided, however,* That the rate of interest charged on loans made in redevelopment areas designated under the Area Redevelopment Act (42 U.S.C. 2501 et seq.) shall not exceed the rate currently applicable to new loans made under section 6 of that Act (42 U.S.C. 2505); and

(e) fees not in excess of amounts necessary to cover administrative expenses and probable losses may be required on loan guarantees.

LIMITATION ON FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 406. No financial assistance shall be extended pursuant to this title where the Director determines that the assistance will be used in relocating establishments from one area to another or in financing subcontractors to enable them to undertake work theretofore performed in another area by other subcontractors or contractors.

DURATION OF PROGRAM

SEC. 407. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the two succeeding fiscal years.

TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 501. It is the purpose of this title to expand the opportunities for constructive work experience and other needed training available to persons who are unable to support or care for themselves or their families. In carrying out this purpose, the Director shall make maximum use of the programs available under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and Vocational Education Act of 1963.

PAYMENTS FOR EXPERIMENTAL, PILOT, AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

SEC. 502. In order to stimulate the adoption of programs designed to help unemployed fathers and other needy persons to secure and retain employment or to attain or retain capability for self-support or personal independence, the Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable him to make payments for experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects under section 1115 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1315), subject to the limitations contained in section 409(a) (1) to (6), inclusive, of such Act (42 U.S.C. 609(a) (1)–(6)), in addition to the sums otherwise available pursuant thereto. *Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title.* The costs of such projects to the United States [for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,] shall, notwithstanding the provisions of such Act, be met entirely from funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 503. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the [two] three succeeding fiscal years. [For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.] *For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.*

TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

PART A—ADMINISTRATION

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

SEC. 601. (a) There is hereby established in the Executive Office of the President the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Office shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. There shall also be

in the Office one Deputy Director and three Assistant Directors who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Deputy Director and the Assistant Directors shall perform such functions as the Director may from time to time prescribe.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 5(b) of the Reorganization Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 133z-3(b)), at any time after one year from the date of enactment hereof the President may, by complying with the procedures established by that Act, provide for the transfer of the Office from the Executive Office of the President and for its establishment elsewhere in the executive branch as he deems appropriate.

(c) The compensation of the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall be fixed by the President at a rate not in excess of the annual rate of compensation payable to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

(d) The compensation of the Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall be fixed by the President at a rate not in excess of the annual rate of compensation payable to the Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

(e) The compensation of the Assistant Directors of the Office of Economic Opportunity shall be fixed by the President at a rate not in excess of the annual rate of compensation payable to the Assistant Secretaries of the Executive Departments.

AUTHORITY OF DIRECTOR

SEC. 602. In addition to the authority conferred upon him by other sections of this Act, the Director is authorized, in carrying out his functions under this Act, to—

(a) appoint in accordance with the civil service laws such personnel as may be necessary to enable the Office to carry out its functions, and, except as otherwise provided herein, fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 1071 et seq.);

(b) employ experts and consultants or organizations thereof as authorized by section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), compensate individuals so employed at rates not in excess of \$100 per diem, including travel time, and allow them, while away from their homes or regular places of business, travel expenses (including per diem in lieu of subsistence) as authorized by section 5 of such Act (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently, while so employed: *Provided, however,* That contracts for such employment may be renewed annually;

(c) appoint, without regard to the civil service laws, one or more advisory committees composed of such private citizens and officials of the Federal, State, and local governments as he deems desirable to advise him with respect to his functions under this Act; and members of such committees (including the National Advisory Council established in section 605), other than those regularly employed by the Federal Government, while attending meetings of such committees or otherwise serving at the request of the Director, shall be entitled to receive compensation and

travel expenses as provided in subsection (b) with respect to experts and consultants;

(d) with the approval of the President, arrange with and reimburse the heads of other Federal agencies for the performance of any of his functions under this Act and, as necessary or appropriate, delegate any of his powers under this Act and authorize the redelegation thereof;

(e) utilize, with their consent, the services and facilities of Federal agencies without reimbursement, and, with the consent of any State or a political subdivision of a State, accept and utilize the services and facilities of the agencies of such State or subdivision without reimbursement;

(f) accept in the name of the Office, and employ or dispose of in furtherance of the purpose of this Act, or of any title thereof, any money or property, real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible, received by gift, devise, bequest, or otherwise;

(g) accept voluntary and uncompensated services, notwithstanding the provisions of section 3679(b) of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 665(b));

(h) allocate and expend, or transfer to other Federal agencies for expenditure, funds made available under this Act as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions hereof, including (without regard to the provisions of section 4774(d) of title 10, United States Code) expenditures for construction, repairs, and capital improvements;

(i) disseminate, without regard to the provisions of section 4154 of title 39, United States Code, data and information, in such form as he shall deem appropriate, to public agencies, private organizations, and the general public;

(j) adopt an official seal, which shall be judicially noticed;

(k) notwithstanding any other provision of law relating to the acquisition, handling, or disposal of real or personal property by the United States, deal with, complete, rent, renovate, modernize, or sell for cash or credit at his discretion any properties acquired by him in connection with loans, participations, and guaranties made by him pursuant to titles III and IV of this Act;

(l) collect or compromise all obligations to or held by him and all legal or equitable rights accruing to him in connection with the payment of obligations until such time as such obligations may be referred to the Attorney General for suit or collection;

(m) expend, without regard to the provisions of any other law or regulation, funds made available for purposes of this Act (1) for printing and binding, and (2) for rent of buildings and space in buildings and for repair, alteration, and improvement of buildings and space in buildings rented by him; but the Director shall not utilize the authority contained in this clause (A) except when necessary in order to obtain an item, service, or facility, which is required in the proper administration of this Act, and which otherwise could not be obtained, or could not be obtained in the quantity or quality needed, or at the time, in the form, or under the conditions in which, it is needed, and (B) prior to having given written notification to the Administrator of General Services (if the exercise of such authority would affect an activity which otherwise would be under the jurisdiction of the General Services Administration) or the Chairman of the Joint Committee on

Printing (if the exercise of such authority would affect an activity which otherwise would be under the jurisdiction of such Committee) of his intention to exercise such authority, the item, service, or facility with respect to which such authority is proposed to be exercised, and the reasons and justifications for the exercise of such authority; and

(n) establish such policies, standards, criteria, and procedures, prescribe such rules and regulations, enter into such contracts and agreements with public agencies and private organizations and persons, make such payments (in lump sum or installments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in the case of grants, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments), and generally perform such functions and take such steps as he may deem to be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this Act.

VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA

SEC. 603. (a) The Director is authorized to recruit, select, train, and—

(1) upon request of State or local agencies or private nonprofit organizations, refer volunteers to perform duties in furtherance of programs combating poverty at a State or local level; and

(2) in cooperation with other Federal, State, or local agencies involved, assign volunteers to work (A) in meeting the health, education, welfare, or related needs of Indians living on reservations, of migratory workers and their families, or of residents of the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; (B) in the care and rehabilitation of the mentally ill or mentally retarded under treatment at nonprofit mental health or mental retardation facilities assisted in their construction or operation by Federal funds; and (C) **[**in furtherance of programs or activities authorized or supported under title I or II of this Act.**]** *in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.*

(b) The referral or assignment of volunteers shall be on such terms and conditions as the Director may determine, but volunteers shall not be referred or assigned to duties or work in any State without the consent of the Governor.

(c) The Director is authorized to provide to all volunteers during training and to volunteers assigned pursuant to subsection (a)(2) such stipend, not to exceed \$50 per month, such living, travel, and leave allowances, and such housing, transportation (including travel to and from the place of training), supplies, equipment, subsistence, clothing, and health and dental care as the Director may deem necessary or appropriate for their needs.

[(d) Volunteers shall be deemed not to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits, except that all volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to subsection (a)(2) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act.**]**

(d) (1) *Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.*

(2) *All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949.*

(3) *For the purposes of the Act entitled "An Act To Prevent Pernicious Political Activities", approved August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), a volunteer under this section shall be deemed to be a person employed in the executive branch of the Federal Government.*

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COUNCIL

SEC. 604. (a) There is hereby established an Economic Opportunity Council, which shall consult with and advise the Director in carrying out his functions, including the coordination of antipoverty efforts by all segments of the Federal Government.

(b) The Council shall include the Director, who shall be Chairman, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Director of Selective Service, and such other agency heads as the President may designate, or delegates thereof.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

[SEC. 605. There is hereby established in the Office a National Advisory Council. The Council shall be composed of the Director, who shall be Chairman, and not more than fourteen additional members appointed by the President, without regard to the civil service laws, who shall be representative of the public in general and appropriate fields of endeavor related to the purposes of this Act. Upon the request of the Director, the Council shall review the operations and activities of the Office, and shall make such recommendations with respect thereto as are appropriate. The Council shall meet at least once each year and at such other times as the Director may request.]

SEC. 605. (a) *The President shall, during 1965, appoint a National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity (hereinafter referred to as the Advisory Council) for the purpose of reviewing the administration and operation of programs under this Act, evaluating their effectiveness in furthering the purposes of this Act, and making recommendations for the improvement of such programs, administration, and operation, including proposals for changes in this Act.*

(b) *The Advisory Council shall be appointed by the President without regard to the civil service laws and shall consist of twenty-one persons who shall be representative of the public in general and appropriate fields of endeavor related to the purposes of this Act. From among the members of the Advisory Council the President shall designate a Chairman, who shall not be a regular full time employee of the United States. The Advisory Council shall meet at the call of the Chairman but not less often than twice a year. The Director shall be an ex officio member of the Advisory Council.*

(c) *The Advisory Council is authorized to engage such technical assistance as may be required to carry out its functions, and the Director shall, in addition, make available to the Advisory Council such secretarial, clerical, and other assistance and such pertinent data prepared by the Office of Economic Opportunity as it may require to carry out such functions.*

(d) *The Advisory Council shall make an annual report of its findings and recommendations to the President not later than March 31 of each calendar year beginning with the calendar year 1966. The President shall transmit each such report to the Congress together with his comments and recommendations.*

REVOLVING FUND

SEC. 606. (a) To carry out the lending and guaranty functions authorized under titles III and IV of this Act, there is authorized to be established a revolving fund. The capital of the fund shall consist of such amounts as may be advanced to it by the Director from funds appropriated pursuant to section 321 and shall remain available until expended.

(b) The Director shall pay into miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury, at the close of each fiscal year, interest on the capital of the fund at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity during the last month of the preceding fiscal year. Interest payments may be deferred with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, but any interest payments so deferred shall themselves bear interest.

(c) Whenever any capital in the fund is determined by the Director to be in excess of current needs, such capital shall be credited to the appropriation from which advanced, where it shall be held for future advances.

(d) Receipts from any lending and guaranty operations under this Act (except operations under title IV carried on by the Small Business Administration) shall be credited to the fund. The fund shall be available for the payment of all expenditures of the Director for loans, participations, and guaranties authorized under titles III and IV of this Act.

LABOR STANDARDS

SEC. 607. All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in the construction, alteration or repair, including painting and decorating of projects, buildings and works which are federally assisted under this Act shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5). The Secretary of Labor

shall have, with respect to such labor standards, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 64 Stat. 1267; 5 U.S.C. 133—133z-15), and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (48 Stat. 948, as amended; 40 U.S.C. 276(c)).

REPORTS

SEC. 608. Not later than one hundred and twenty days after the close of each fiscal year, the Director shall prepare and submit to the President for transmittal to the Congress a full and complete report on the activities of the Office during such year.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 609. As used in this Act:

(a) The term "State" means a State, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, or the Virgin Islands, and for purposes of title I and part A of title II such term includes the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; and the term "United States", when used in geographical sense, includes the foregoing and all other places, continental or insular, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

(b) The term "agency", unless the context requires otherwise, means department, agency, or other component of a Federal, State, or local governmental entity.

(c) The term "family," in the case of a Job Corps enrollee, means—

(1) the spouse or child of an enrollee, and

(2) any other relative who draws substantial support from the enrollee.

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

SEC. 610. *It is the intention of the Congress that wherever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under this Act.*

PART B—COORDINATION OF ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAMS

COORDINATION

SEC. 611. (a) In order to insure that all Federal programs related to the purposes of this Act are carried out in a coordinated manner—

(1) the Director is authorized to call upon other Federal agencies to supply such statistical data, program reports, and other materials as he deems necessary to discharge his responsibilities under this Act, and to assist the President in coordinating the antipoverty efforts of all Federal agencies;

(2) Federal agencies which are engaged in administering programs related to the purposes of this Act, or which otherwise perform functions relating thereto, shall—

(A) cooperate with the Director in carrying out his duties and responsibilities under this Act; and

(B) carry out their programs and exercise their functions in such manner as will, to the maximum extent permitted by other applicable law, assist in carrying out the purposes of this Act; and

(3) the President may direct that particular programs and functions, including the expenditure of funds, of the Federal agencies referred to in paragraph (2) shall be carried out, to the extent not inconsistent with other applicable law, in conjunction with or in support of programs authorized under this Act.

(b) In order to insure that all existing Federal agencies are utilized to the maximum extent possible in carrying out the purposes of this Act, no funds appropriated to carry out this Act shall be used to establish any new department or office when the intended function is being performed by an existing department or office.

PREFERENCE TO COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 612. To the extent feasible and consistent with the provisions of law governing any Federal program and with the purposes of this Act, the head of each Federal agency administering any Federal program is directed to give preference to any application for assistance or benefits which is made pursuant to or in connection with a community action program approved pursuant to title II of this Act.

INFORMATION CENTER

SEC. 613. In order to insure that all Federal programs related to the purposes of this Act are utilized to the maximum extent possible, and to insure that information concerning such programs and other relevant information is readily available in one place to public officials and other interested persons, the Director is authorized as he deems appropriate to collect, prepare, analyze, correlate, and distribute such information, either free of charge or by sale at cost (any funds so received to be deposited to the Director's account as an offset to such cost), and make arrangements and pay for any printing and binding without regard to the provisions of any other law or regulation.

PROHIBITION OF FEDERAL CONTROL

SEC. 614. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 615. The Director shall carry out the programs provided for in this title during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the [two] *three* succeeding fiscal years. [For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.] *For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,*

1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

[SEC. 616. No part of any funds appropriated or otherwise made available for expenditure under authority of this Act shall be used to make payments to any individual unless such individual has executed and filed with the Director an affidavit that he does not believe in, and is not a member of and does not support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.]

TRANSFER OF FUNDS

SEC. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appropriations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to carry out programs or activities under any such title may be transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of carrying out programs or activities under any other such title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the amounts otherwise available under any title by more than 10 per centum.

TITLE VII—TREATMENT OF INCOME FOR CERTAIN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PURPOSES

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

SEC. 701. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of titles I, IV, X, XIV, and XVI of the Social Security Act, a State plan approved under any such title shall provide that—

(1) the first \$85 plus one-half of the excess over \$85 of payments made to or on behalf of any person for or with respect to any month under title I or II of this Act or any program assisted under such title shall not be regarded (A) as income or resources of such person in determining his need under such approved State plan, or (B) as income or resources of any other individual in determining the need of such other individual under such approved State plan;

(2) no payments made to or on behalf of any person for or with respect to any month under such title or any such program shall be regarded as income or resources of any other individual in determining the need of such other individual under such approved State plan except to the extent made available to or for the benefit of such other individual; and

(3) no grant made to any family under title III of this Act shall be regarded as income or resources of such family in determining the need of any member thereof under such approved State plan.

(b) No funds to which a State is otherwise entitled under title I, IV, X, XIV, or XVI of the Social Security Act for any period before July 1, 1965, shall be withheld by reason of any action taken pursuant to a State statute which prevents such State from complying with the requirements of subsection (a).

Approved August 20, 1964.

NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958, AS AMENDED

AN ACT To strengthen the national defense and to encourage and assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act, divided into titles and sections according to the following table of contents, may be cited as the "National Defense Education Act of 1958".

* * * * *

TERMS OF LOANS

SEC. 205.

* * * * *

(b) Loans from any such loan fund to any student by any institution of higher education shall be made on such terms and conditions as the institution may determine; subject, however, to such conditions, limitations, and requirements as the Commissioner may prescribe (by regulation or in the agreement with the institution) with a view to preventing impairment of the capital of the student loan fund to the maximum extent practicable in the light of the objective of enabling the student to complete his course of study; and except that—

(1) such a loan shall be made only to a student who (A) is in need of the amount of the loan to pursue a course of study at such institution, and (B) is capable, in the opinion of the institution, of maintaining good standing in such course of study, and (C) has been accepted for enrollment as a student in such institution or, in the case of a student already attending such institution, is in good standing there either as an undergraduate, graduate, or professional student, and (D) is carrying at least one-half of the normal full-time academic workload as determined by the institution;

(2) such a loan shall be evidenced by a note or other written agreement which provides for repayment of the principal amount, together with interest thereon, in equal annual installments, or, if the borrower so requests, in graduated periodic installments (determined in accordance with such schedules as may be approved by the Commissioner), over a period beginning one year after the date on which the borrower ceases to pursue a full-time course of study at an institution of higher education and ending eleven years after such date, except that (A) interest shall not accrue on any such loan, and periodic installments need not be paid, during any period (i) during which the borrower is pursuing a full-time course of study at an institution of higher education or at a comparable institution outside the States approved for this purpose by the Commissioner, (ii) not in excess of three years, during which the borrower is a member of the Armed Forces of the United States, [or] (iii) not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under the Peace Corps [Act:] Act, or (iv) not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer² under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964: Provided: That this clause shall apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of the Peace Corps Act only with the consent of the then obligee institution, (B) any such period shall not be included in determining

the ten-year period during which the repayment must be completed, (C) such ten-year period may also be extended for good cause determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner, (D) the institution may provide that periodic installments need not be paid during any period or periods, aggregating not in excess of three years, during which the borrower is in part-time attendance at an institution of higher education taking courses which are creditable toward a degree, and may also provide that any such period shall not be included in determining the ten-year period during which the repayment must be completed, but interest shall continue to accrue during any such period, and (E) the borrower may at his option accelerate repayment of the whole or any part of such loan;

(3) not to exceed 50 per centum of any such loan (plus interest) shall be canceled for service as a full-time teacher in a public or other nonprofit elementary or secondary school in a State, in an institution of higher education, or in an elementary or secondary school overseas of the Armed Forces of the United States, at the rate of 10 per centum of the amount of such loan plus interest thereon, which was unpaid on the first day of such service for each complete academic year of such service;

(4) such a loan shall bear interest, on the unpaid balance of the loan, at the rate of 3 per centum per annum except that no interest shall accrue before the date on which repayment of the loan is to begin in all cases except where the date on which repayment is to begin is suspended by reason of clause (D) of paragraph (2);

(5) such a loan shall be made without security and without endorsement, except that, if the borrower is a minor and the note or other evidence of obligation executed by him would not, under the applicable law, create a binding obligation, either security or endorsement may be required;

(6) the liability to repay any such loan shall be canceled upon the death of the borrower, or if he becomes permanently and totally disabled as determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner;

(7) such a loan by an institution for any year shall be made in such installments as may be provided in regulations of the Commissioner for the agreement with the institution under this title and, upon notice to the Commissioner by the institution that any recipient of a loan is failing to maintain satisfactory standing, any or all further installments of his loan shall be withheld, as may be appropriate; and

(8) no note or other evidence of such a loan may be transferred or assigned by the institution of higher education making the loan except, upon the transfer of the borrower to another institution of higher education participating in the program under this title (or, if not participating, is eligible to do so and is approved by the Commissioner for such purpose), to such institution.

* * * * *

MINORITY VIEWS

The undersigned along with all others in the country recognize the existence of pockets of poverty spread through the Nation. We recognize the despair and suffering that accompany poverty. We reaffirm our concern for the poor and our determination to take energetic and effective steps toward the elimination of poverty as a part of American life. But we would be derelict in our duty to the poor and to all Americans if we failed to point out the tremendous flaws in the legislative program called the war on poverty. The present legislation, billed as an attempt to strengthen and expand the war on poverty, in fact can only serve to increase its existing weaknesses.

THE TRAGIC SHORTCOMINGS IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

To begin to understand why the war on poverty has become mired in trouble so early in its life it is necessary to look no further than the organization and personnel of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The structure of this agency is a nightmare of bureaucratic bungling. It runs from a part-time Director at the top to an extravagant oversupply of highly paid administrators and finally to a vast muddle of poorly organized fieldworkers. Even a brief look at OEO makes one wonder whether there is any hope of help finally trickling down to the poor.

Even though thousands of people are employed from coast to coast and millions of dollars per day of taxpayers' funds are being spent on a program purporting to be designed to help the poor, we are told that only a part-time Director is needed to administer the agency. On the other hand in the Office of Economic Opportunity there is 1 supergrade position for every 18 employees. For purposes of comparison there is 1 supergrade in the Department of Defense for every 1,000 employees and 1 supergrade in the Department of Agriculture for every 500 employees. While we have yet to see any evidence that economic opportunities will be provided for the poor by OEO, it is not difficult, ironically, to conclude that the supergrade positions, which entail salaries of from \$19,000 to \$24,500, create a great deal of economic opportunity for bureaucrats. Because of the superabundance of supergrades and the resulting high ratio of administrators to personnel, it has even been reported that OEO has had to hire special consultants at high cost merely to answer the daily mail. Some of these consultants are paid as much as \$100 a day for their efforts.

OEO bureaucrats are also getting rich from the salaries paid to them as local directors of the antipoverty program. In New Jersey the State director of the Office of Economic Opportunity receives \$25,000 a year, a higher salary than is paid to any member of the New Jersey Governor's cabinet. One county in New Jersey received a grant of \$67,000, but unfortunately the poor did not benefit greatly from the grant. All but \$15,000 of the grant was earmarked for

salaries and administrative expense. In Indiana OEO paid salaries 25 percent higher than those paid by the State for comparable positions in public schools. One final comparison should be drawn. One of two brothers from an Indiana community graduated first in his high school class. He is now serving under enemy fire in Vietnam for \$78 per month. The other brother dropped out of school, taking the occasion to beat up his mother and his teacher. He is now being paid \$200 monthly by the Job Corps for running a power mower.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has argued that it is necessary to pay such high salaries in order to be able to hire the highly qualified personnel necessary to command the war on poverty. The sad truth is that many of the personnel of OEO have questionable qualifications. The best example of this is a man hired to serve in a community action program in Arizona. Among the many attributes of the worker are two convictions for grave offenses. In 1960 he was jailed for violation of elections laws. Again in 1961 he was imprisoned for falsifying documents. This would be comical were it not tragic. Considering the ridiculously high salaries being offered, OEO should be able to hire men of higher character than this.

An equally troublesome problem is the intrusion of partisan politics into the war on poverty. The antics of the poverty czars led the Democratic chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor to call some local poverty programs "giant fiestas of political patronage." The disadvantaged citizens of Texas and Montana lost their slim chance for some help when local community programs were set up under highly political organizations. The threatened use of the New York City community action program for political purposes almost cost New Yorkers their program. The House hearings and mail from constituents have turned up countless examples of the intrusion of politics into poverty. Playing politics with poverty is the meanest of hypocrisy. If strong measures are not immediately taken to get partisan political hacks out of the poverty war, the entire program may collapse under the impetus of scandal.

Another widely publicized shortcoming of the war on poverty is the failure to coordinate Federal actions with State, local, and private programs. Time and again we have heard protests that the Office of Economic Opportunity was bypassing either local governments or the poor in establishing local programs. Early in June of this year a group of big-city mayors attempted to get the U.S. Conference of Mayors to approve a resolution highly critical of OEO. The proposed resolution would have accused OEO of "trying to wreck local government by setting the poor against city hall." The resolution, drafted by two Democratic mayors of big cities, was stopped at the last minute at the urging of the administration. The mayor of Syracuse pointed out that in addition to his other problems the poor in that city were being "urged to storm city hall." Governors have argued that the only way they have been able to get OEO to consult with and advise State antipoverty agencies has been to threaten use of the Governor's veto. Other local programs have been set up without consultation with local charities experienced in the local problems and often without any representation of the poor. A North Carolina clergyman testifying before the Poverty Subcommittee said that the poor in his area have been almost completely ignored in setting up a community action program. He implied that racial prejudice was largely responsible. Floods of mail arriving in

Senators' offices have shown that the poverty czars, however idealistically oriented they may be, usually don't take time to get local approval before establishing community action programs and other local projects.

THE RESULTING HAVOC

These and other mistakes made by the administrators of the war on poverty have led to widespread local dissatisfaction and many unfortunate incidents. One of the best demonstrations of what can happen under the shoddy mismanagement of OEO is the fiasco that occurred in the St. Petersburg, Fla., Women's Job Corps Center. The troubles began when OEO picked as a site for the center a resort hotel in a quiet residential district. Residents of the area experienced some difficulty in adjusting to what an OEO spokesman described as "the animal spirits of the young." The enrollees, however, did not object to the hotel, remodeled for them at a cost of \$40,000, nor to the welcome they received from the 122 staffers employed to care for a student complement of 237. Even with this degree of supervision, trouble with the enrollees soon began. Eight girls were expelled for drinking, and one was described as an alcoholic. Another girl disappeared after writing that she was leaving the center because some girls were using narcotics and staying out overnight with male companions. As a result of the whole mess, the local school board, which was under contract to help in administering the center, voted to terminate its contract with OEO as soon as possible.

Similarly, criticism has been voiced of a men's Job Corps training center in Indiana. A Columbus, Ind., newspaper reported that some of the trainees had attempted to purchase guns while on leave. Seven of the trainees were arrested for a sexual assault on a 17-year-old boy, but at least some of the seven were promptly bailed out and returned to the center. Following these incidents a military discipline was imposed on the boys, and they now are made to stand at military attention at 6:30 in the morning. Serious trouble also arose at a Job Corps camp near Astoria, Oreg. After a number of fist fights occurred at the camp, the U.S. marshal for the State of Oregon considered deputizing State and local police officers to control further outbreaks of violence.

Another problem which has arisen from mismanagement is that of dropouts from the Job Corps. Director Shriver testified that one out of every seven Job Corps enrollees had been forced to drop out for one reason or another. This may seem to be a small fraction, but it represents a large number of young men and women who will bear the final stigma of having dropped out of a school designed particularly for those who had dropped out of school and society. Many of them were asked to leave for disciplinary reasons. In one camp 52 of a total of 203 left the program for varied reasons. Better screening before enrollment and better supervision thereafter might help to prevent squandering of the enrollees' time and dealing another tragic blow to their self-confidence.

SOME IMPROVEMENTS MADE BY H.R. 8283

Through the efforts of the Republican minority some substantial amendments were adopted to improve H.R. 8283. First, the minor amendments to part A of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of

1964, which were all the majority would accept, should make even clearer the intent of Congress that there be more and better cooperation between all levels of government and private agencies. The 1964 legislation made it amply clear that private and governmental agencies at all levels were to take part in planning the war on poverty. This clear edict has too often been ignored by OEO. The amendments adopted in this committee should reaffirm this edict. Nevertheless, the coordination and cooperation essential to a workable program may never be achieved until consultation with the appropriate groups is made a prerequisite to the initiation of any program. H.R. 8283 should be so amended.

Second, H.R. 8283 was amended to provide a stronger and more useful Advisory Council to the Director of the poverty war. The Advisory Council established by the 1964 legislation was little more than a farce. The Director was made the Chairman of the Advisory Council, which led to the rather incongruous result of a part-time Director advising himself on necessary changes in the poverty war. Under the terms of the amendment, the Advisory Council will be more independent, will meet more often, and will report directly to Congress. This is a badly needed improvement.

Third, the provisions of the Hatch Act have been extended to cover more employees of the war on poverty. This is a step in the right direction which should have been taken when the poverty program was begun in 1964. Application of the Hatch Act to more of the staff of the community action programs and to VISTA, the Domestic Peace Corps, should help to prevent the poverty war from becoming the political toy we now observe in far too many cases.

Fourth and finally, the addition of two phrases to the list of areas of education to be given by community action programs should be of great value. The phrases are "consumer credit education" and "consumer debt counseling," and their addition will make it possible to instruct the poor on means of receiving credit on reasonable terms and on properly managing family debts. Because the poor represent a high-risk area for loans, this training will help them to understand and manage their finances and may eventually lead to better repayment of loans and therefore to lower interest charges and more readily accessible credit.

THE UNACCEPTABLE CHANGES MADE BY THE BILL

In spite of the needed changes made by the Republican amendments, H.R. 8283 fails to correct the administrative problems in the present program and incorporates some changes which are wholly unacceptable. H.R. 8283 authorizes the spending of more than twice as much money in fiscal year 1966 as was spent in fiscal year 1965 without any provision for independent review to make sure that the money is being well spent. We believe that an independent and bipartisan congressional review should be made as soon as possible. In doing so we adopt the suggestion of Congressman Emanuel Celler, Democratic chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Complaints on the operations of various aspects of the poverty war continue to bury the desks of Congressmen and to crowd the pages of newspapers. Nevertheless we are told in the handsomely printed brochures of OEO that everything is going well and all troubles are minor. We

do not expect a new program to be completely free of growing pains, but we do think that the entire program should be carefully reviewed by Congress to see just what OEO is doing other than spending money on supergrades and other employees. Until such a review is made, we cannot concur in the doubling of authorization for spending.

The most unfortunate Senate committee change in H.R. 8283, however, was the act of eliminating completely the veto power of State Governors over activities encompassed in certain sections of titles I and II. H.R. 8283 was bad enough in this respect as it came from the House. The House-passed version left a veto power for the Governors but permitted that veto to be overridden within 30 days by the Director of OEO. Largely because of internecine warfare in the Democratic Party in the State of Texas, this committee knocked out the House version and eliminated entirely any right of a Governor to exercise his State's sovereignty over activities in and affecting his State. This was done in the face of a resolution passed, with only one dissenting vote, at the recent Governors' conference held in Minneapolis. This resolution, introduced by Democratic Governor Sawyer of Nevada, urged the committee to reinstate the previous provision for the Governor's veto.

Governors have stated on many occasions that threatened use of the veto power is their only means of getting the poverty czars to consult with State antipoverty agencies before going ahead with programs. To date, the veto has been exercised only where community action programs have been established under the aegis of blatantly political groups, and no one has come forward to show that there has been any abuse of the power. Elimination of this right is one more slash at the authority of Governors to have a voice in federally sponsored programs in their States.

In summary, the war on poverty is deeply mired in politics and bureaucratic ineptness. We have before us the sorry spectacle of a war on poverty being waged with a part-time general, too many "brass hats," inaccurately aimed weapons, and no visible tactical or strategic successes. The workings of the program should be exposed to the light of day and not again hidden behind a veil of bureaucratic secrecy. The program should be better coordinated with the multi-billion-dollar efforts against poverty by other Federal, State, local, and private organizations. The Governor's veto should be reinstated in order to guarantee the fullest cooperation of local and Federal efforts. These changes will not be made as long as discussion about the war on poverty is politically motivated nor while efforts to aid and strengthen the struggle are publicized as the opposite. The U.S. Senate now has the opportunity to rise above party lines to make the war on poverty a real aid to the poor of America. We hope the mistakes made in the House and in the Senate committee will be corrected on the floor of the Senate. Until this is done, the Economic Opportunity Act will continue to be a political and administrative monstrosity.

PETER H. DOMINICK.
GEORGE L. MURPHY.
PAUL J. FANNIN.

ADDITIONAL VIEWS

We are deeply concerned about indications that the antipoverty program may be sidetracked from its highly important mission because of a combination of factors which careful administration could avoid. Our committee has heard testimony about minimum feasible participation of the poor in the community action program, instead of the maximum feasible participation which is required by the express language of section 202(a)(3) of the act and which is the touchstone of the entire program, setting it apart from traditional welfare efforts. The minority staff issued a report earlier this year documenting such a situation in New York City. We have heard charges that secrecy has been the rule and that political officials in various cities are taking over the community action program. We have seen massive demonstrations by the poor, not to mobilize support for this program, but to protest against it because it was excluding them from the crucial processes of planning and hiring.

We believe that these dangers require the closest kind of administrative responsibility at the source of such large amounts of funds, at the top of the Office of Economic Opportunity. We feel that such responsibility cannot be exercised by anyone, no matter how capable, who is not doing the job of serving as Director of OEO on a full-time basis. We strongly urge the administration to meet the challenge of fighting poverty with its full resources by relieving the present Director of one of his two important full-time directorships, that of the Peace Corps.

We have endeavored to use the opportunity of this review of the act to make such changes in the basic law as have been demonstrated so far to be necessary to achieve the goals of the program. We are gratified that a number of such amendments have been included in the bill being reported to the Senate and that the program will be improved to this extent:

(1) The committee adopted an amendment offered by Senator Javits making clear that neighborhood community action groups which are bypassed by citywide "umbrella" organizations have a procedural route by which to appeal directly to the Office of Economic Opportunity for funding. To do so successfully, they would be required to show that such funding separately would be desirable and practical and that there is special cause for such an arrangement.

(2) An amendment offered by Senator Prouty makes the existing National Advisory Council under the act an independent and meaningful entity for the first time, by requiring that it meet a minimum number of times each year and that it file an annual report of its recommendations with the President and Congress.

(3) An amendment offered by Senators Murphy and Prouty seeks to meet the danger of political manipulation of the program through the block-worker system, by extending the political activity restrictions of the Hatch Act, which now extend only to State and local officials who have duties under the Federal act, to those private per-

sons whose salaries are paid predominantly by Federal funds under the Antipoverty Act.

(4) An amendment offered by Senator Fannin specifically includes consumer education, which is a crucial lack among the poor, in the list of areas which community action programs are encouraged to cover.

(5) A second amendment offered by Senator Javits will insure that the public is afforded a full measure of information about the development and conduct of community action programs, including, among other things, public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups and open books and records of participating agencies.

(6) A third amendment offered by Senator Javits requires continuous consultation with State antipoverty authorities at every stage of the planning and conduct of community action programs. Too often, the Office in Washington has announced approval of programs which the States have not seen before; this is clearly unreasonable in those States which are fully cooperating in the antipoverty effort.

There is a limit beyond which legislative language cannot go, of course, where the administration of the words of the act becomes virtually conclusive. But it is the function of the Congress to set the policy and to direct the agency to act in conformity with it. This we are doing and will continue to do in order to insure that the promise of the antipoverty program does not become an empty one.

JACOB K. JAVITS.
WINSTON L. PROUTY.
PETER H. DOMINICK.
GEORGE MURPHY.
PAUL J. FANNIN.

INDIVIDUAL VIEWS OF SENATOR PROUTY

"Every one of us would like to see a state of perfection on earth; but we know that every great reform takes time and good judgment, and that too great haste often defeats its own ends."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1919.

Seventeen months ago the President of the United States announced a program to eradicate poverty in America. One year ago Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to put that program into operation. Now, after the expenditure of nearly \$800 million, the Congress pauses to take stock of its creation.

The basic underlying principle of the war on poverty is sound—and it is in the best tradition of the American people. It is not the principle of charity, nor of patronizing benevolence. It is not the principle of the freeloader and the dole. It is the principle that it is right—and wise—for Americans to help their fellow Americans to help themselves.

President Johnson recognized this when he said, in his initial message to Congress:

The war on poverty is not a struggle simply to support people, to make them dependent on the generosity of others. It is a struggle to give people a chance. It is an effort to allow them to develop and use their capacities, as we have used ours, so that they can share, as others share, in the promise of this Nation.

Walter Heller, then Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, put it this way:

The essence of the President's attack on poverty is the creation of new economic opportunities, a change for the poor who are able to do so to earn their way out of poverty.

There is scarcely an American today so callous, so ruthless, so finthearted, as to repudiate this principle embedded so deeply within us as a people.

The great national debate on the poverty program today is not a debate on the merits of its fundamental principle. As so often occurs in American society, the debate rages over the means by which those in power seek to translate that principle into action. The issue before the Congress today is, simply, this: In view of the magnitude of the poverty problem in America, and in view of the resources committed to overcome it, has the war on poverty been a success?

Any attempt to answer this query must necessarily result in a balancing of positive and negative accomplishments. The administration and the Office of Economic Opportunity have emphasized the positive achievements of the war on poverty, and their arguments are not without merit. Because of the war on poverty, for example,

561,000 young Americans are being introduced to the world of learning through Project Headstart. Eighty thousand young men and women have had the opportunity to earn the money they need to stay in college. Nearly 90,000 unemployed heads of families have received work training and experience that will help them to become producers instead of public charges. Ten thousand men and women in rural areas have received loans that will give them a new incentive to improve their incomes and standards of living.

Nor has the Office of Economic Opportunity rejected every criticism that has been made of the program. Commendably, the Office has candidly admitted that in some areas serious difficulties have developed. In view of the magnitude of the poverty problem in America, in view of the depths of its roots and persistence of its causes, some failures were inevitable. The Congress has no right to expect perfection from the administrators of its programs.

Yet, when all this is said and done, when every reasonable allowance has been made for extenuating circumstances, when the benefit of many doubts has been generously granted, the fact remains that this so-called war on poverty has exhibited classic examples of administrative bungling, haphazard haste and costly waste, shoddy coordination, bureaucratic secrecy, excessively high salaries, heavy handed dictation, ugly politics and—worst of all—botched opportunity.

Let us examine the various charges brought against the operation of the war on poverty:

1. The Poverty Army is led by a Part-Time General

There is scarcely a position in Government more demanding of full-time attention than that of Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Yet, the present Director must devote part of his time and energy to the task of running the Peace Corps. In view of the present administration's predilection for appointing four where two could serve, it is truly surprising that here it has appointed only one to do what is admittedly the job of two. The sooner the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Peace Corps get separate, full-time Directors, the better it will be for both.

2. A Comparison of Prediction and the Results Show a Significant Performance Gap

When the poverty legislation was before the Congress last year, we were told how many people the various programs were to benefit in the first fiscal year of operation. In one program—the Neighborhood Youth Corps—the stated goal of 200,000 has been exceeded, with 277,000 young people employed. In view of the simple nature of this program, its success in reaching its numerical goal is not surprising.

Other programs, however, have been less successful. Last year it was estimated that 140,000 youths would benefit from the college work study provisions. At the close of the fiscal year the actual number was around 80,000. Even doubling the spring semester recipients to account for the fall semester of 1964, when the program was not yet in operation, the total would be only 114,000, far below the goal.

Last year it was estimated that 130,000 persons would be enrolled in the work experience programs under title V. At the close of the fiscal year 88,700 had been enrolled.

Last year it was estimated that 40,000 Job Corps men would be in the program by the first year. The actual number at the close of the fiscal year was only about 10,000.

Last year it was estimated that 1,000 VISTA volunteers would be in the field at the end of the fiscal year, provided only that enough young men and women stepped forward to enroll. Fifteen thousand did step forward to enroll—and as of June 30 a total of 202 were actually in service.

And even some of these OEO figures are open to question. Jack Steele of the Scripps Howard Newspaper Alliance gave this progress report on the war on poverty as of the end of its first fiscal year:

TROUBLES, DELAYS, AND CONFUSIONS

POVERTY WAR ENDS YEAR OF CRISIS

(By Jack Steele)

[Excerpts from Washington Daily News, July 1, 1965]

Bitter political warfare—still largely unsettled—has stymied the community action program in most of the Nation's big cities. This program is the keystone of the antipoverty war since it will provide the machinery for helping the poor. In rural areas, lack of community initiative has delayed the CAP program even more.

VISTA, the so-called Domestic Peace Corps, was originally supposed to enroll 5,000 volunteers to help the poor by June 30. As of yesterday, it actually had 203 such volunteers working in the field and 842 more in training.

The Job Corps, which Mr. Shriver told Congress last autumn would have 30,000 to 40,000 teenage dropouts in some 75 camps by June 30, actually had 8,345 in 48 camps as of Tuesday. And more than 15 percent of those sent to Youth Corps camps had already quit the camps.

Gloss over

Mr. Shriver and his battery of public relations experts have managed to gloss over most such lags and failures in the antipoverty program. Here's how they've done it.

In recent weeks, OEO officials have worked day and night to allocate funds for antipoverty projects and thus use up all the \$793 million Congress appropriated last year for the program and clear the way for passage of this year's \$1.5 billion fund request. Much of this money won't be spent—or the projects even started—for months.

Mr. Shriver listed 265,000 enrollees in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. But the 100,000th enrollee was inducted at a White House ceremony on June 11, less than 3 weeks ago. And Neighborhood Youth Corps officials, after whirling their computers, came up yesterday with a top enrollment estimate of 175,000—including 70,000 in a special summer

"leaf-raking" project. The first-year goal for this program was 200,000.

Mr. Shriver's list included 88,000 in a so-called work experience program run by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. But HEW officials yesterday reported the program had 15,240 actual enrollees in 59 projects now in operation.

The OEO Director also listed 600,000 direct beneficiaries of community action programs. Yet most of the CAP projects approved thus far are so-called planning or demonstration grants which provide help or employment to relatively few of the poor. And only a few of these are yet off the ground.

A striking exception to the performance gap is the administrative costs of the program. The OEO Director said last year that his administrative budget would be about \$3.5 million and that he would employ 300 to 700 people. As of June 30, 1965, the amount obligated for administrative expenses of the Office was over \$6.1 million, and the number of employees was hovering around the thousand mark.

What has caused this gap between prediction and performance? Two answers suggest themselves: A lack of clear understanding of the complexities of creating these new programs, resulting in euphoric election-year predictions unrelated to reality; or administrative confusion and chaos in the implementation. The true answer is probably a combination of the two.

3. The Administrative Record of the Office of Economic Opportunity Has Been a Sorry Story of Delay and Bungling

The war on poverty has been a godsend to those mild mannered little fellows who take secret satisfaction watching the high and mighty goof up the works. Not even OEO has yet paid anyone to add up the inches of newspaper lineage that have been used to describe the fumbling and bumbling of the poverty administrators, but it is said that around Washington one can get three to one that the stories laid end to end would reach from the White House Rose Garden to Catoctin, Md., and part way back.

In my own State the loyal Democrat in charge of the poverty program at the State level has assailed OEO for "inexcusable delays." He told how the Washington poverty warriors put on the heat to get all program applications submitted before the fiscal year deadline—then were unable to tell him the status of the projects thereafter. "There is no person or place we can go to get a reading on the status of our own programs," he said.

Just the other day, testifying before the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee, Dr. Murray Grant, Health Director of the District of Columbia, stated that the District had applied for public welfare funds about 9 months ago, but the application was still pending. He went on to say that the District government had made repeated inquiries since that time as to when the money might be forthcoming, apparently with no success. There is now a 2-month backlog of cases. Space, and perhaps the resources of the Government Printing Office, do not permit a complete listing of all such interesting

examples, but the man so rash as to suggest these instances are uncommon has not yet stepped forward.

If unprocessed applications were negotiable, like bank drafts, I would advocate putting a strict security guard around the Washington poverty headquarters; for within those walls reposes what is probably the most massive collection of ignored, forgotten, and bogged-down applications known to the Western World since the halcyon days of the great South Seas bubble.

An otherwise sympathetic observer, Eve Edstrom of the Washington Post, characterized this abysmal situation succinctly when she reported:

The confusion caused by the law itself has been compounded by the turmoil that exists at the Office of Economic Opportunity. "We operate from crisis to crisis," one Federal antipoverty worker said "We're always in perpetual motion but I'm not sure where we're going."

4. Heavyhanded Dictation From Washington Stifles Local Flexibility and Initiative

One of the great virtues of the antipoverty program, as conceived a year ago, was that it was designed to allow maximum latitude for experimentation at local levels. True, there has been a great deal of experimentation—one Mississippi Head Start center has experimented with eliminating bookkeeping controls on a \$1.2 million project, and the Memphis Neighborhood Youth Corps has experimented in requiring kickbacks from corpsmen to pay unauthorized supervisors. But in many cases the bureaucrats on top have squashed local initiative by laying down impossible requirements and meddling with even the smallest details.

Typical of this malady is the situation at that boon to antipoverty critics, the St. Petersburg Women's Job Corps Center. At this establishment, so I am told, no officer may talk to the press without reporting by long-distance telephone to Washington the substance of the conversation. These phone calls probably add up to quite a sum, since Washington may have a hard time getting the message over the rumbling of hot rod exhausts, the continuous rock-and-roll parties, the omnipresent police sirens that rise to a crescendo whenever an inmate makes a break for it, and, more recently, the angry mutterings of the local citizens. Pinellas County's assistant school superintendent, struggling to make this center less of a disaster, says:

We were so deluged by so many people from Washington giving us information and advice on community relations, public health, and home and family living that it was just plain confusing.

In my own State of Vermont, the acting State director of economic opportunity has had occasion to state that local volunteer agencies have—

done everything but stand on their heads. They've formed programs, then changed them or scrapped them to meet the Federal suggestions—

and yet, at the time of his statement, the applications were bogged down somewhere in OEO.

It is always necessary in a Federal grant program for the administrators to stay close enough to the various situations to see that proper procedures are carried out, and that Federal funds are not expended without justification. But this sort of intelligent supervision, in the hands of a zealous bureaucrat, can easily shade into the tyranny of centralized direction that stifles local programs. Happily, the European Communist world is learning this, and is decentralizing all but the most basic economic decisions. One hesitates to say that OEO should profit from this trend in the Communist world, but the point should be clear.

5. Haste and Waste—The Romulus and Remus of OEO

According to legend, the great empire of Rome had its beginning in the birth of the brothers Romulus and Remus, suckled by a she-wolf on the banks of the Tiber. The analogous allegory for the Economic Opportunity Empire would have to be Haste and Waste, suckled to sleek corpulence by the American taxpayer.

Haste holds sway whenever a well-intentioned project flounders due to inadequate preparation. The deft touch of Haste appears behind the screening procedures that send a girl 5 months pregnant to the Women's Job Corps, accompanied by another who was emotionally ill, 2 who refused to heed curfews and no-drinking rules, and 20 who didn't much care about the whole project.

Waste rears its ugly head when seamstresses are hired to remake clothes for Job Corps girls who are supposed to be learning to sew, maids are hired to make the beds of Job Corps girls who are supposed to be learning practical homemaking, and construction gangs are hired to spruce up abandoned forest camps for boys who are supposed to be learning basic job skills in carpentry and plumbing.

Waste gloats gleefully in city after city, including the Nation's Capital, where formerly anonymous political coadjutors emerge at succulent salaries of \$18,000 and even \$25,000. And it chortles with pleasure as OEO functionaries crawl over each other trying to find out what they are supposed to be doing, while the administrative budget continues its incessant march skyward.

6. The Rules of the Road—Avoid State and Local Officials, Keep Local People in the Dark

One well-documented example is sufficient to exemplify the way the "povercrats" prefer to deal with local officials and citizenry. The pattern was set when the very first Job Corps camp location was announced—at Yorktown, Va.—before any local people had been consulted. This excerpt from a statement by Congresswoman Catherine May, of Washington, shows how the concept has been honed to near-perfection in the months since.

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE CATHERINE MAY, REPUBLICAN, OF WASHINGTON, BEFORE THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, JUNE 16, 1965

The first situation I would like to discuss is the announced establishment of a Job Corps conservation center to be located on the Yakima Indian Reservation near the small community of White Swan.

The official announcement concerning this Job Corps camp was contained in a press release from the Office of the Secretary of the Interior which detailed the locations of 14 Job Corps camps in 10 States to be activated early that fall. The Secretary's announcement states, "Each of these camps will also be a great community asset." This press release, which was received in my office on August 19, 1964, the date it was to be released, was the first notification received by me of this project and was, in fact the first official notification received by the people of White Swan, a community of approximately 200 inhabitants and approximately 2 miles from the announced site of the camp.

From information I was able to piece together later, it became evident that a great deal of secrecy had surrounded the circumstances in arriving at the selection of this site for a Job Corps camp. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, once a decision had been made, consulted only with the Yakima Tribal Council and it is my understanding the Bureau told the tribal council that Indians would be put to work and that the work to be accomplished would be in the nature of work which would benefit the Indian reservation. The Secretary of the Interior's announcement of August 19, 1964, in fact, stated: "The enrollees will be concerned primarily with timber and range conservation practices such as timber thinning and construction of fire roads and trails."

It is not difficult to understand the immediate reaction of the people of White Swan who naturally were concerned over the effect on their community of the arrival of as many Job Corps "guests" as there are inhabitants. Urgent requests for complete information on the impact of such a facility were made to my office. I point out again that no such information had been volunteered either prior to or following the brief original announcement. Inquiries were initiated by my office to the Bureau of Indian Affairs because the Office of Economic Opportunity advised they had no information with which to respond to the community concern. To give an example of this kind of bureaucratic attitude, we were told by a spokesman of the Bureau of Indian Affairs that "If a community wishes to protest it should do so to the Yakima Indian Agency superintendent." On August 28, 1964, we were also advised that this was only a "proposed" establishment since Congress had not as yet appropriated the money to establish any of the Job Corps centers. This fact brought out yet another interesting point because I was later informed that even prior to the August 19 announcement work crews contracted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were

busy clearing a site for the proposed establishment. I still do not know the source of the funds for this preliminary work.

On August 28, 1964, I asked Sargent Shriver, Director of the President's Task Force on the War on Poverty, to arrange for a public hearing on the announced establishment of a Job Corps camp near White Swan. I advised Mr. Shriver that since the August 19, 1964, announcement of the location of the camp a number of residents of nearby communities had indicated their concern over the location of such a camp in their area and that many of these individuals were asking questions which deserved factual answers. I advised Mr. Shriver that I had discussed the situation with the Governor's representative appointed to handle antipoverty programs in the State (who incidentally had not been provided answers to the questions being asked) and that we both agreed that a full public hearing should be held in the area as soon as possible so that all the individual citizens would have all the facts upon which to base opinions. On September 2, 1964, I was advised by the Governor's representative that the Bureau of Indian Affairs regional office had notified him that they would hold a public meeting in the White Swan High School on September 9 to inform the community of plans for the proposed Job Corps camp. I initiated telephone calls to the Office of Economic Opportunity to ask whether this meeting was in response to my request for hearing and was advised that a representative of Sargent Shriver's office would attend the meeting. I did not receive any written response to my letter requesting a hearing.

The meeting was held in the White Swan High School the evening of September 9, 1964. I was subsequently advised that only written questions were allowed from an audience of about 350 persons and no oral discussion was permitted. One gentleman stood up and demanded that he be heard and was given the opportunity to make a brief statement. This, Mr. Chairman, was not the kind of hearing I had requested, although I was given to understand that generally speaking the audience seemed to be satisfied with the answers received to their written questions, mostly handled by the representative from Sargent Shriver's office.

The then Governor of the State of Washington subsequently approved the camp. It was about this time that a local attorney for a group of White Swan residents protested to the Office of Economic Opportunity the establishment of the camp, contending that work planned by occupants of the camp would benefit Yakima Indians only and therefore was discriminatory against non-Indians. The attorney based his contention on the Civil Rights Act passed by Congress in 1964. The General Counsel for the Office of Economic Opportunity advised the local attorney, "We are acquainted with no law or policy against discrimination on the basis of race which is violated by the operation of a conservation center on the Yakima Indian Reservation Center." The General Counsel went on to state in his letter, "Government policy against discrimination, whatever source, does not

generally prevent the expenditure of money to benefit Indians on an Indian reservation." The local attorney said he could not agree and that he would seek a Federal injunction to stop the establishment of a camp. The new Governor agreed that before he would approve the camp that assurance would have to be given that the general public would have access to and use of facilities constructed by the Job Corps. There the matter rested for many months. However, as recently as early this month, Otis A. Singletary, Director of the Job Corps, said in a letter to the local newspaper in Yakima, Wash., the largest nearby community, that he was holding up approval of the White Swan Camp because of "poor community attitudes." Apparently recognizing the former Governor's approval of the site and not waiting for the new Governor's recommendation, Dr. Singletary indicated in his letter that the Office of Economic Opportunity had every legal right to proceed with the camp, but the delay was "based solely on my concern for the enrollees."

In the meantime, the new Governor, continuing to be concerned over the two questions, that of community acceptance and that of general public use of an access to the facilities, obtained from local communities assurances that public opinion had gradually changed to favor the camp and new letters were received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Yakima Tribal Council giving assurances the public would have access to and use of the facilities after all. The Governor just last week wrote to the Office of Economic Opportunity approving the location of the camp and this last Friday evening, June 11, my office was called by the Deputy Director for the Job Corps to be advised that that office would now proceed with the Camp.

I might say parenthetically that when I asked the Office of Economic Opportunity last Friday evening for details I was advised they had none. They assumed the camp would be established as originally proposed, but that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would have to provide the details. Once again, Mr. Chairman, the local citizens found themselves "in the dark" as to details of the situation.

I will not dwell long on the second Job Corps camp proposal in my district.

This is a camp to be administered by the Bureau of Reclamation to be located on the Columbia Basin reclamation project. In February of this year it was announced by the Bureau of Reclamation headquarters on the project that the Office of Economic Opportunity had requested a recommendation for a location of a Job Corps conservation center on the Columbia Basin project. This was undertaken and on April 27 of this year the President announced a number of new Job Corps conservation centers, including one on the Columbia Basin project. Accompanying the White House announcement was a detailed fact sheet which stated that the Columbia Basin center would be located on land owned by the city of Ephrata. The announcement went on to state

that two buildings consisting of a two-story dormitory building and a former messhall will be made available by the city of Ephrata. The city of Ephrata was delighted by this announcement because the people of Ephrata had actively sought the center and the Ephrata location had received a favorable recommendation from the Bureau of Reclamation.

Within a matter of hours after the President's announcement, however, the announcement was withdrawn insofar as exact location is concerned and I received from the Ephrata Chamber of Commerce an urgent letter wanting to know what had happened and reaffirming its wishes for the center. My office, Mr. Chairman, made repeated calls to the Office of Economic Opportunity from Dr. Singletary on down and about all we could learn was that the Office of Economic Opportunity thinks it will establish the Job Corps center at Larson Air Force Base near Moses Lake, Wash., instead of Ephrata. As nearly as I can tell, no local request for establishment of the center at Larson Air Force Base or at Moses Lake was ever made. The people of Ephrata are understandably angry, especially because the center was announced for their town and then the announcement withdrawn. No one in the Office of Economic Opportunity has ever explained to me why the announcement was made for Ephrata in the first place and as a matter of fact, they won't even admit that it was announced for Ephrata even though I have a copy of the announcement in my possession. This, Mr. Chairman, strikes me as a prime example of the right bureaucratic hand not knowing what the left bureaucratic hand is doing.

Again, Mr. Chairman, one would think the people in the Office of Economic Opportunity would have learned from the White Swan situation, but experience made no difference in the case of the Columbia Basin center. What I am afraid of now, Mr. Chairman, is that the Ephrata people will be hostile to the project and will not be in a mood to cooperate with the trainees. Ephrata is only 26 miles from Moses Lake.

7. Raising False Hopes

"I'm worried about a possible loss of interest and enthusiasm on the part of the people who have worked so hard on a volunteer basis to get this program started," so spoke Vermont's director of economic opportunity when the program in our State came almost to a standstill because of delays in Washington.

Thousands upon thousands of eligible Job Corps youths across the land are disenchanted. Billboards, diskjockeys, and poverty missionaries have assiduously spread the word that the Job Corps needs you; yet, with 228,000 inquiry cards received, only about 16,000 corpsmen had been accepted and assigned at the end of the first fiscal year. What of those others, who seized the initiative—perhaps for the first time in their lives—to seek the help of the Job Corps in getting themselves out of the morass of poverty? What is the effect on them, in real, personal terms, of one more apparent rejection—this one after having been led on by all the OEO ballyhoo? If the poverty people

are going to lure youths into the gingerbread house, they should be prepared to hand out cookies, not waiting room numbers.

Similarly, false hopes have been raised among the elderly. The Office of Economic Opportunity has not been able to find any way to focus on the needs of our older citizens. In desperation, faced with congressional murmurings, the Director has belatedly established—on June 14 of this year—a special task force to try to come up with something. In the meantime the elderly—a group for which poverty is both prevalent and serious—can hope only to catch on in some other program not designed to help them or meet their specific needs.

Nor was it fair to the elderly for the Director, a special assistant to the President of the United States, to come before the committee and express his support of my proposal to substantially increase the monthly social security benefits. Later, when the 1965 Social Security Amendments were before the Senate, the administration forces battered down my proposal by an overwhelming margin.

8. OEO's Coat of Arms: Duplication Rampant on a Field Chaotic

A good summary of the ineffectiveness of coordination of the Federal antipoverty effort is provided by the following article from the Wall Street Journal of June 9, 1965:

OVERLAPPING UPLIFT—WAR ON POVERTY SPILLS OVER INTO MANY FEDERAL AGENCIES

(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON.—It's been 6 months since Congress voted the first funds for the new Office of Economic Opportunity but Sargent Shriver's researchers haven't identified yet all the existing Federal activities that conceivably could fall under his sway as generalissimo of the antipoverty crusade.

Admittedly the tabulating task is tough. The Library of Congress, restricting its count to those offering aid to State or local governments, cataloged 115 such programs or "closely related groups" last year; if "subcategories" are included the total swells to 216.

For sheer scope, these figures suggest Mr. Shriver's job is matched by none save the President's and the Defense Secretary's. Furthermore, his congressional mandate to "coordinate the antipoverty efforts of all Federal agencies" will become more demanding before, if ever, it becomes more manageable. The Library's count didn't include all 17 sizable programs enacted in the 88th Congress, nor, of course, the dozens more enacted or pending in this Congress. "We're starting to run out of new stuff to propose," one policymaker concedes.

No wonder. Nowadays a school dropout can get help from the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a variety of welfare programs and, at the option of local citizens' groups or school boards, from Mr. Shriver's

community action grants and from the new billion-dollar school aid law.

Fifteen programs authorize aid for acquiring teaching equipment, nine provide teacher training, and four, all enacted since 1962, include funds to promote basic adult literacy. Needy students can reach for loans or scholarships offered by eight, not including President Johnson's higher education bill.

Overlap obviously isn't a new problem in Big Government. "Believe me, it's long been a department head's biggest headache," says the top assistant to a member of the Kennedy Cabinet. Democrats assert, moreover, that for all its talk of bringing businesslike techniques to Washington, the Eisenhower regime left scant dents in the many-layered bureaucracy. (To this observation must be added the fact that for all but 2 of his 8 White House years Ike faced a Democratic Congress).

President Johnson, of course, wants efficiency and he's taken some small steps toward it, among them reorganization plans to tidy up the Customs Bureau and merge the Weather Bureau with the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Another proposal, an old one, to upgrade the Housing and Home Finance Agency to Cabinet status, is similarly billed as an efficiency move.

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY

Yet, in greater measure than he can hope to untangle jurisdictional conflicts by such steps, the President contributes to overlap by dividing responsibility among his top men for the panoply of old and new programs designed to uplift poor people and renew poor places.

Rather than shake up a limping agency or beef up an existing endeavor, the White House piles on a new program. "If we don't catch 'em with one we'll catch 'em with another," according to a congressional aid who has helped write several administration bills. In this sense, Lyndon's administrative style is reminiscent of Franklin Roosevelt's.

Few who've heard Mr. Johnson, his voice wavering, recall desperate men garbage grubbing for grapefruit rinds in depression days doubt his fidelity to the poverty-conquering cause; nothing less than total war on poverty, or at least the appearance of it, satisfies the restless Chief Executive. So he applies several plows to the same sod.

Look at regional renewal. Deeply disturbed by rural distress, Agriculture Secretary Freeman first expanded his domain to embrace every poor person, whether farmer or not, who happens to live in a rural place, and he set his sights on 8 million new jobs in rural America. To reach that target his Department increasingly promotes industrial development, helps search for minerals, issue loans for industry-serving utilities, looks for tourists, and helps develop water sources for factories.

But with hardly a glance at Agriculture-sponsored renewal, the White House redesignated Commerce as the chief renewal

agency. The Appalachia program authorizes Secretary Connor to approve and help finance "local development districts" in 11 States. And the administration's big public works and development bill would have him designate, and funnel aid to, a continent-spanning network of "redevelopment areas" and larger "economic development districts" containing "economic development centers." Higher up, he'll work with "regional action planning commissions" embracing at least two States.

Mr. Connor's areas and districts will crisscross many of the 2,000 county-based "rural areas development committees" already prodded into existence by Secretary Freeman. It's hoped that those of Mr. Shriver's community action groups functioning in rural spots will cooperate with Mr. Freeman's network of county committees (in a few places the two are identical) and where possible, with Mr. Connor's redevelopment areas.

As part of regional renewal the Government launched a pilot project in four distressed Indiana counties to "speed the development of industry, land, water, mineral resources, recreation, and tourism." This sounds like something the Commerce Department's development planners might be trying; in fact, though, it's a Freeman project.

The troubles policymakers encounter just in thinking up names for the agencies they'd like Congress to establish reflect how tough it is to sort out clear lines of authority for the uplift effort, particularly in the unclaimed land between cow country and outward-creeping city.

Awhile back, Mr. Freeman set up what was called the Office of Rural Areas Development, a new agency offering advice and technical help to his Department's county committees. Now, asking Congress for money to establish small branches in 20 or more States, he wishes the agency to be known as the Rural Community Development Service. Note how "rural community" suggests a concentration of population denser than "rural area" but less populous than "urban area."

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Last year, hoping to sidestep smalltown Congressmen's fears that giving HHFA Cabinet rank would enlarge big-city influence, policymakers dropped the word "urban" from HHFA's proposed name; they suggested calling it the Department of Housing and Community Development. But this year, enjoying bigger majorities in Congress, the White House stopped fiddling around; now it's proposed to baptize HHFA as the Department of Housing and Urban Development, thus leaving inbetween "community development" to Mr. Freeman.

Understandable, then, is the wary eye Housing Administrator Robert Weaver's people cast at Mr. Freeman. Shortly after Agriculture asked for a \$350 million fund to insure rural housing loans, the Federal Housing Administration sent word to its local offices that "no community should

be considered too remote or too isolated for FHA to serve in a prompt manner."

Apart from big government's built-in overlap, believers in tidiness confront Lyndon Johnson's unique personality. He's just as determined to project a glowing record of economy as he is to lead the costly antipoverty crusade. The result is compromise. Rather than be selective among the 34.6 million Americans deemed "hard core poor" by Mr. Shriver's statisticians, the Government spreads money and effort every which way, boosting overhead, generating more overlap and, so critics claim, assuring mediocre results.

As always, politics plays a part. At least for the first year, all 1,000 counties that had been eligible for special subsidies from the spectacularly unsuccessful Area Redevelopment Administration can knock on Secretary Connor's door for similar help after the bigger development bill becomes law. And, to mobilize maximum congressional support for the billion-dollar-a-year bill to help "educationally deprived" children, Johnson men concocted a formula spreading whatever an eager Congress appropriates to all but 6 percent of the Nation's 3,000-odd counties.

Yet, months before Mr. Johnson ceremoniously signed the school aid bill outside his Texas boyhood schoolhouse, Sargent Shriver's office embarked on its own education program, intended for much the same purpose. Among other grants, antipoverty money went to Lansing, Mich., for remedial schooling; to Washington County, Va., for pre-school training, and to Detroit for "expanded educational services."

Several parts of the antipoverty package are new. But Mr. Shriver also exercises partial responsibility for a batch of overlapping "delegated" programs which established bureaucracies manage: For small business loans; for rural loans, hitherto a Freeman preserve; for adult literacy, an ingredient of three existing programs; for "work study," launched in 1963 and assigned to HEW's vocational education administrators; and for "work experience," started in 1962 as part of the HEW's assignment to reduce relief rolls. Intruding into Interior Secretary Udall's reservation, Mr. Shriver operates a special program to help Indian tribes, many of which are also eligible to knock on Secretary Connor's development door.

A SHINY NEW PACKAGE

If the old programs were deemed insufficient the White House could have sought more money directly for them; or, if their results were disappointing L.B.J. could have replaced the administrators or sought revisions in the governing statutes. Instead he bundled them into a shiny new package for presentation to a cooperative Congress.

What with upward of 70 agencies operating several hundred programs to uplift people, communities or regions, official Washington keeps hoping that Mr. Freeman's committees, Mr. Shriver's community action outfits, Mr.

Connor's redevelopment areas, and the metropolitan planning agencies promoted by Mr. Weaver will somehow wrap all the available aid from all the sources into an uplift package that makes sense.

By shifting more responsibility for coordination to recipients of their grants, loans, and technical help, the Feds further hope to spur local initiative. Already the Agriculture Department professes to see a "real revival" in long-lagging rural places, with "people sitting down together as never before."

Another advantage of the "do it down there" approach is that it enables Federal administrators to hold down the roster of Federal employes. The directors, planners, and technicians hired by the 600 community action groups Mr. Shriver hopes soon to see functioning won't be added to the Government's employee rolls, although they'll be paid almost exclusively with Federal taxes. The staffs of Mr. Connor's redevelopment areas similarly won't be counted.

But few local politicians or planners willingly forgo rummaging in Washington's big kit for the tools allotted to them by law or for those to which they can stake reasonable claim. It was, for example, a rare locally drawn "overall economic development program" under ARA that didn't include a vocational school or an industrial park.

Still, it's widely believed here that reliance on local coordination will help untie Washington's tangled jurisdictions and slice through the overlap.

9. Letting the Farmers Fend for Themselves

Not only have the elderly been left off the poverty bandwagon, the citizens of America's rural areas are also missing their fair share of participation.

Title III, of course, is directed at rural people, and loans pursuant to those provisions have helped some 10,000 persons make a new start toward economic self-sufficiency. But America's rural citizens are entitled to full participation in all programs for which they are eligible, and here they are decidedly on the short end.

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman has estimated that rural communities are getting only about 5 percent of the money doled out by OEO for community action programs. As of last April, Mr. Freeman estimated that while over 90 percent of the Nation's cities with populations of 50,000 and above have community action programs in progress, only about one-third of the Nation's rural counties have programs underway.

The August 5, 1965, rural areas development newsletter of the Department of Agriculture reports that \$9.5 million had been allocated to 202 rural community action programs, as of June 30. By contrast, 569 grants totaling \$127.6 million were approved for urban and suburban areas.

Congressman Carl Perkins, Kentucky Democrat and original sponsor of the antipoverty legislation in the House, laments:

"I am certainly not satisfied as to the assistance that the rural communities have received throughout the Nation." Secretary

Freeman sorrowfully takes the view that "I am afraid that the going, for a long time, will be mighty slow."

One reason for this inattention to our rural areas is the admitted difficulty in constructing an effective community action program when the "community" is spread out over miles of farmland. But a more serious problem appears to be the lack of interest in rural areas among the antipoverty warriors, almost all of whom come from big-city backgrounds. In addition, it is not without some significance that the heaviest concentration of voting power for the administration's party finds itself in and around the large cities of every State.

The time for procrastination is over. The rural citizen of America, already beset with so many problems from other Federal programs and from the trends of the farm market, should be given full opportunity to take part in programs now so eagerly constructed for the benefit of his urban fellow citizens.

10. A Case Study in Hog Trough Politics

"Giant fiestas of political patronage"—those are the words used by Chairman Adam Clayton Powell of the House Education and Labor Committee in describing the actual operation of the war on poverty.

"A prize piece of political pornography" says veteran antipoverty fighter Saul Alinsky.

"The records are full of direct political patronage," adds Rev. Lynward Stevenson, head of a local community organization in Chicago. "How do you think we (poor) feel when we know that men who drive Cadillacs, eat 3-inch steaks, and sip champagne at luncheon meetings, discuss our future while we are pushed off the highways of self-help and told to keep our hats in hand."

It would serve no purpose to prolong this laundry list of horrors. From the day that the administration delivered to each Democratic Congressman's office a "poverty kit" for use in the 1964 elections, the antipoverty effort has been political in conception, gestation, parturition, and infancy. Americans who sincerely want the war on poverty to live up to its lofty purposes—and that certainly includes the great majority of Americans of both political parties—must firmly insist that the Director and his staff leave no stone unturned to insure that the program not be, to paraphrase Chairman Powell, seduced by politicians hoping to use the reservoir of poverty funds to feed their political hacks at the trough of mediocrity.

ACTIONS BY THE COMMITTEE

1. A Sneering Slap at the Nation's Governors

Perhaps the most serious action taken by the committee was to strike from the act the Governor's veto provisions of section 209(c). This section provided that no community action program, adult basic education program, or Neighborhood Youth Corps project could be undertaken in a State if the Governor of that State disapproved the program within 30 days of its submission to him.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, to its credit, did not urge this change. The Senate, last year, endorsed the Governor's veto provision by a vote of 80 to 7. The Governors of the 50 States have, with only one dissenting vote, urged the retention of this pro-

vision in the strongest possible terms. Yet, now, by the action of a one-vote majority of the Select Subcommittee on Poverty, the Senate will consider a bill to strip from the Governors the one meaningful tool they have for preserving a strong Federal-State relationship, integrating the Federal antipoverty programs into their own State efforts, and protecting the best interests of the citizens of their States.

One liberal Democratic Governor has written me:

One crucial issue at stake here is meaningful Federal-State partnership. This partnership can survive only if the States maintain a dynamic posture with respect to their responsibilities. And such a posture requires action by the Governor as the focus of political power and administrative coordination.

Another northern Democratic Governor writes, in support of the veto:

Even though the act provides for a direct relationship between the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity and the local entities in most cases, it is highly advisable to allow the States to play some role in the organization and initiation of the Economic Opportunity Act projects.

One midwestern Republican Governor writes:

Although it has not been necessary to exercise the veto, due to the fact that our Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity works closely in an affirmative way with the local organizations in the development of programs, I do feel that the Governor's veto power is a necessary deterrent to ineffective or wasteful uses of public funds.

A western Republican Governor writes:

[My opposition to repeal of the Governor's veto] is based on the conviction that removal of this authority from the Governors of the States would remove also the opportunity for strong leadership and direction of economic opportunity programs statewide. Such action would also weaken community interest in developing programs that can be enabled by this law, and for which the Economic Opportunity Act is designed.

These comments, representative of the positions of the overwhelming majority of Governors of both parties and all sections of the country, show why it is important to continue to give the Chief Executive of a State some effective leverage with respect to these parts of the poverty program.

The drive for repeal of the veto provision derives not from an objective case study of the use of the veto during the act's first year of operation. Indeed, as of July 26 the veto had been used only 4 times—once each in Florida, Alabama, Texas, and Montana—while nearly 1,500 projects were started. The Office of Economic Opportunity has not been willing to say that the Governor's veto has been an impediment to the proper functioning of the poverty program. The real motivation for repeal of the veto power comes principally from the forces that would undermine and destroy effective State government in this country, expand and strengthen the bureaucracy

at the Federal level, and consolidate their own political empires through the generous application of antipoverty funds. It is my hope that the one-vote majority of the subcommittee which struck the Governor's veto from the act will be overturned by a substantial margin on the Senate floor.

2. Even OEO Fears Duplication in Nelson Amendment

The committee added to the bill an amendment proposed by Senator Nelson to provide work experience programs to chronically unemployed poor adults with poor employment prospects. As adopted by the committee, this new program will be included in title II-A community action programs and will cost \$150 million.

The Office of Economic Opportunity did not favor the adoption of this amendment. It argued, rightfully, that the proposed Nelson amendment program would duplicate the existing title V work experience programs, which attempts to do almost exactly the same thing.

"A work experience program," according to OEO—

provides up to 100 percent funds for projects to help unemployed parents and other needy persons gain work experience and job training interwoven with adult education and basic literacy instruction. It is directed primarily toward jobless heads of families in which there are dependent children.

If the Nelson amendment is retained by the Congress, we will be treated to the spectacle of two nearly identical programs administered separately by the same Administrator. What is needed is not a proliferation of new programs, but a weeding out of the present multitude of programs and some sensible coordination between them.

According to OEO, it would not be necessary to make any statutory changes to accomplish all the objectives of the Nelson amendment under the existing title V of the act. If there is any doubt on this point, title V could be amended to provide that a person need not be from a family receiving aid to dependent children to qualify for the work experience training. I would have no objection to such a change. But I believe the committee erred in accepting this "gimmick" amendment, when sound policy would dictate a strengthening of existing programs instead of the creation of substantially identical programs in new places under new names.

3. A Blow to the Bureaucrats, "Right of Secrecy"

Due to the efforts of Senator Javits, the committee broadened the language in H.R. 8283 providing for public access to information about the community action programs. The present form of the Javits-Reid amendment (after Republican Congressman Ogden Reid, of New York, who secured its adoption by the House) requires a community action program to provide for feasible public information, including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies in the development, conduct and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director.

It is hoped that this new language will put an end to the almost neurotic secrecy practiced by officials of community action programs in some places. If a Federal program is going to come into a community and stand it on its head—as has happened in a number of cases—the citizens of that community should have a right to find out exactly what is being done, by whom, for whom, and at whose expense. The Javits-Reid amendment is a long step toward meeting this need. It deserves the support of the Senate.

4. Murphy-Prouty Political Activity Amendment Will Cause Loud Lamentations in Big City Political Clubhouses

Those who have been trying—with conspicuous success, in some cases—to subvert the antipoverty program for their own partisan political advantage will take a body blow from Congress, if it enacts the Murphy-Prouty political activities amendment, adopted by the committee.

The Murphy-Prouty amendment brings under the Hatch Act two groups of people not previously covered: employees of private organizations conducting community action programs, whose salary is in principal part paid from Federal funds; and VISTA volunteers, including those referred to State, local, and private antipoverty agencies and those assigned to work on Federal lands and on federally supported projects.

This amendment will not affect teachers, nor will it affect employees of organizations conducting antipoverty programs, whose salaries are paid from other than Federal funds.

The whole purpose of this amendment is to prevent unscrupulous political bosses from enlisting antipoverty fieldworkers and VISTA volunteers into a battalion of partisan precinct workers.

The Hatch Act already covers the employees of State and local governments who administer programs financed by Federal funds. These provisions were added to the Hatch Act in 1940, when the idea of Federal grant programs bypassing State and local governments was still in its infancy. The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, of all the recent Federal grant programs, introduced a new factor into the picture. Now, for the first time, persons paid from Federal funds but not directly on any public payroll are assuming the functions traditionally performed by the old-time ward bosses to help—and win the political allegiance of—the poor.

Take the man who is a neighborhood social worker for a private organization conducting a community action program. He is a resident of the neighborhood, familiar with its people and their customs. His job is to serve them—to help them press for the correction of housing violations, straighten out public assistance problems, enroll their children in special programs, solve their home economics and consumer credit problems, and get jobs and keep them. He is truly the link between the poor families of his neighborhood and the whole “outside” world of local and State agencies, schools, employment services, and host of other bodies, the workings of which often seem mysterious and incomprehensible to those at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder.

Now, if a local politician were seeking an efficient, respected, aggressive man or woman to organize a ward, how could he do better than the local poverty fieldworker? How could he do better than

persons with built-in status among the residents, persons who do the multitude of favors and services that have always been the stock in trade of the ward leader? Similarly the VISTA volunteer, immersed in service to the poverty-stricken neighborhood, is a prime candidate for recruitment by a political machine.

Nor is it merely a question of local politicians trying to recruit poverty workers into their organizations. In case after case it has been shown that local politicians are intent on placing their own trusted lieutenants in these crucial community organization positions. Once it was necessary to support ward heelers from graft and local government payrolls. Then, with the advent of this new direct Federal-local war on poverty, it became possible, indirectly, to put ward heelers on the Federal payroll as well.

The Murphy-Prouty political activity amendment will be greeted with outcries and expletives from those whose dreams of political empire must crumble before its prohibitions. But, it will be welcomed by all Americans who believe that the war on poverty is too important to perish at the hands of the political hacks who seek to subvert it for their own pernicious purposes.

5. Now, for the First Time, the Promise of an Effective Poverty Watchdog

I applaud the action of the committee in accepting my amendment to revise, expand, and strengthen the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity.

Basically, there are three principal kinds of advisory groups or councils in Federal agencies.

The first is the interagency coordinating council, composed of operating agency heads or their delegates. These groups attempt to work out maximum coordination of effort when related programs are carried out by more than one agency. Section 604 of the Economic Opportunity Act entrusts this function to the Economic Opportunity Council.

The second is the in-house advisory committee, composed of persons with high professional or technical qualifications, which exists to assist the administrator in making policy decisions, issuing regulations, etc. These are, in effect, part-time staff groups attached to the administrator of the program. Section 602(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act authorizes the Director to establish such groups "to advise him with respect to his functions under the Act."

The third is the "overview" type of advisory Council, composed of knowledgeable and respected citizens, which exists to review the operation of the program and make recommendations to the Administrator, the President, and Congress for its improvement. The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Youth, established by section 212 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965, and the Advisory Council on Vocational Education, established by section 12 of the Vocational Education Act of 1963, are examples of this type of council.

Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act authorized a national advisory Council which at first glance resembles this third kind of advisory council. It is charged, "upon request of the Director," with reviewing the operations and activities of the Office and making such recommendations to the Director as are appropriate.

Upon close inspection, however, it became obvious that this Council as originally created could not possibly fulfill the true function of an independent, conscientious overview of the war on poverty program.

Unlike advisory councils established by other acts for this purpose, this group was by statute "in the Office" of Economic Opportunity—and thus not an independent body.

Unlike the other councils, this Council had as its Chairman, by statute, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity—the very person whose activities the Council was supposed to review.

This Council could meet only at the request of its Chairman, the Director of OEO.

There were no provisions for any investigatory, clerical, or secretarial assistance. The Director-Chairman could provide as much or as little as he saw fit. Unfortunately, the bureaucrat probably has not yet lived who is eager to allocate staff and resources to a body charged with making a thorough and independent review of his activities.

The Council, unlike every other council I have been able to discover, was not responsible for making a report of its findings and recommendations to anyone but the Director of OEO, who was under no obligation whatsoever to make any such report available to the Congress or the American people.

In view of these rather singular facts, it is natural to raise the question, What does this so-called advisory council do? If the minutes of the Council's only two meetings to date are indicative, the answer is little more than fun and games.

The first meeting, on February 3, 1965, seems to have been a question and answer session, with various OEO functionaries helping to get the Council member squared away. Mrs. Olivarez, of Phoenix, for example, was advised that noncitizens could participate in adult basic education programs. One Mr. Gilgoff, of OEO, announced that its research, program planning, and evaluation group was developing "an index of poverty oriented toward people," whatever that may be. When it became apparent that the full agenda could not be covered, Mr. Shriver said he would call another meeting in 30 days. "This suggestion," we are advised, "met with an enthusiastic response." This meeting culminated with a White House tea with Mrs. Johnson.

What is the Director-Chairman's view of the function of this "Advisory Council"? According to the minutes of the first meeting, Mr. Shriver indicated that one of the most meaningful jobs the Council could undertake would be to interpret and explain the war on poverty program to the American people. The Council was asked to keep OEO informed of any major criticism of the program which crossed their [sic] paths. At the second meeting, the minutes tell us:

Mrs. (Robert S.) McNamara asked what the members of the Council can best do to help. Mr. Shriver pointed out the most important things are to help get "the word" around the country, to take an interest in specific parts of the program, and to generate new ideas.

What does all this mean? It means that this impotent Council is little more than a public relations transmission belt designed to propagate the opinions of the Director of OEO and his associates.

Enactment of the new language adopted by the committee will, I hope, pave the way to the establishment of a new Council which is designed to conscientiously fulfill its overview functions.

The new Council will be an independent body of distinguished citizens representative of the general public and of appropriate fields of endeavor related to the antipoverty program.

The President is directed to appoint 21 members to the Council during 1965, with the Director of OEO as an additional member *ex officio*. The membership of the Council was increased from 15 to 21 (plus the Director) to comply with the administration's request for a larger and presumably more representative body.

The new Council, no longer "in the Office" of Economic Opportunity, is charged with reviewing the administration and operation of programs under the act, evaluating their effectiveness in furthering the purposes of the act, and making recommendations for the improvement of such programs, administration, and operation. The intent of these provisions is that the new Council should provide a conscientious, critical overview of the entire antipoverty program to insure that every dollar spent makes a maximum contribution toward reducing poverty in the Nation, and that the administration of the war on poverty is continued on a sound, effective, efficient basis.

In the hope of guaranteeing a truly independent Council, it is required that the Chairman not be a regular, full-time employee of the Federal Government. The Council is required to meet at least twice a year, and to make an annual report to the President for transmittal to Congress. Statutory provisions for staff assistance follow those of the Advisory Council on Social Security Financing, established by the Social Security Amendments of 1956, and replicated in several other acts since.

But it should be emphasized that the mere revision of this Council, salutary as it is, will mean little unless the President appoints to it persons genuinely interested in carrying on a conscientious, independent review of the whole poverty program. In looking over the biographies of the present 12 appointees, one looks in vain for any person known to be publicly critical of the war on poverty program and its administration. I hope that President Johnson, who will presumably reappoint the present Council members to the new group, will also appoint nine new members of equal distinction who will make the Council truly representative of all the American people, not just those who are enthusiastic supporters of the administration's antipoverty program.

6. Holding the Line on Bureaucratic Appetites

The pecuniary progress of the war on poverty can be seen by the following chart:

[Dollars in millions]

	Authorized for fiscal year 1965	Appropriated for fiscal year 1965		Fiscal year 1966 authorization, H.R. 8283		
				Senate		House
		Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	
Title I.....	\$412.5	\$371.5	100.0	\$535	100.0	\$825
I-A.....		183.0	49.3	235	44.0	-----
I-B.....		132.5	35.7	240	44.9	-----
I-C.....		56.0	15.0	60	11.1	-----
Title II.....	340.0	259.1	100.0	880	100.0	680
II-A.....		240.1	92.9	700	79.3	-----
II-B.....		19.0	7.1	30	3.4	-----
Nelson amendment.....				150	17.3	(?)
Title III.....	35.0	40.7	100.0	55	100.0	70
III-A.....		25.7	63.1	35	63.6	-----
III-B.....		15.0	36.9	20	36.4	-----
Title V.....	150.0	112.0	100.0	150	100.0	300
Title VI.....	10.0	9.7	100.0	30	100.0	20
Administration.....		6.5	67.0	10	33.3	-----
VISTA.....		3.2	33.0	20	66.7	-----
Total.....	947.5	793.0	-----	1,650	-----	1,895

The figures given for the Senate version of H.R. 8283, fiscal year 1966 authorization, are those figures originally requested by the President, plus the \$150 million of the Nelson amendment. The administration requested that the committee substitute these figures for the higher figures authorized by the House. Given this choice, I was delighted for once to comply.

Because the program did not actually get underway in any meaningful sense until October of 1964, the fiscal year 1965 appropriation figures are substantially less than the amounts authorized. This is an unusual situation brought about by a program beginning a quarter of the way into a new fiscal year and will not be repeated henceforth. Thus in gaging the progress of the program it is necessary to compare the equivalent full-year authorization figures.

The first obvious fact is that the House blindly doubled all the fiscal year 1965 authorizations, unmindful of the wishes of OEO itself, which presumably is worried about the prospect of spending the extra money profitably. This fuzzy headed doubling of funds suggests an arbitrary action unrelated to the actual merits of the various programs supposedly reviewed.

By the same token it is not wise so slash funds across the board. Some of the programs under the war on poverty heading have been noncontroversial and reasonably well administered. If these programs are producing efficiently, it makes little sense to make them suffer for the sins of other programs lumped together in the same package.

There can be little doubt that the two chief offenders in this anti-poverty grab bag have been the Job Corps and the community action programs. Some of the fantastic happenings in these two programs have been noted earlier in these views, and in the news media over the past year. Although some of the other programs may have questionable merit as effective remedies for the causes of poverty, and one of

them—VISTA—is still scarcely off the ground, on balance a reasonable man could accept the figures proposed by the administration in these areas.

But when we come to the Job Corps and community action, a long look is in order. The proposed fiscal year 1966 Job Corps authorization represents a 30-percent increase over the fiscal year 1965 authorization and a 44-percent increase in new obligational authority, if the full appropriation is granted. It is not clear in my mind that the Job Corps deserves a 30-percent increase, in view of the rather astonishing record it has made so far; but I am willing to give it the benefit of the doubt for 1 more year.

Community action is another thing. The Nelson amendment, first of all, was not asked for by the administration. In fact, when the House proposed to add an identical \$150 million to the title V authorization, to be spent for precisely the same purposes as the Nelson amendment program, the administration asked our committee to restore the original figure. Only later, when it was apparent that the committee would accept the Nelson amendment anyway, did OEO relent by including the additional \$150 million in its request. This amount of money should be pruned from the bill.

As for community action programs proper (title II-A), the new fiscal year 1966 authorization represents an increase of 106 percent over the corresponding fiscal year 1965 figures. By no stretch of the fevered liberal imagination can this drastic increase in title II-A funds be welcomed. There is only one way for Congress to force a Federal bureaucracy to tighten up its administrative practices and improve the operation of a poorly run program—starve it. An overfed bureaucrat is a sloppy bureaucrat. A bureaucrat worried about the next feeding of his pet program is a bureaucrat who will try to make his program look good when the gravy train rolls in.

The Job Corps, with all its amazing spectacles, is in line for a 30-percent increase. There is no reason why community action programs—valuable as they may well be in principle—should get any more of a boost, let alone a raise of 106 percent. A more reasonable bill would drop the \$150 million for the Nelson amendment and authorize \$442 million for title II (approximately 4 percent of which would go to adult basic education). This would make the overall authorization of the bill \$1,212 million, more reasonable than the \$1,650 million proposed by the committee and vastly more reasonable than the \$1,895 million proposed by the big spenders in the House.

SENATOR PROUTY'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR H.R. 8283

When H.R. 8283 comes before the Senate, the following amendments should be adopted:

1. An amendment to restore to the Governors of the 50 States the authority they now possess to veto Neighborhood Youth Corps, community action, and adult basic education programs when the operation of specific programs promises to be inimical to the best interests of the people of their States.

2. An amendment to delete the Nelson amendment and its authorization.

3. An amendment to permit no greater than a 30-percent increase in the community action program authorization—as a warning to all

those involved that Congress expects these programs to be run right before it will double the funds.

4. An amendment to transfer the actual authority and responsibility for six programs—Neighborhood Youth Corps, college work study, adult basic education, rural loans, small business loans, and work experience—to the respective agencies by which those programs are presently administered.

SENATOR PROUTY'S FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ATTACKING THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

1. Enact either the Ribicoff-Dominick or the Prouty tax credit plan to aid students to stay in and graduate from college.

The Ribicoff-Dominick bill (S. 12) permits a taxpayer to take a tax credit toward the amount spent by him for college tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment, according to the following sliding scale:

Seventy-five percent of the first \$200 of tuition, etc.;

Twenty-five percent of the next \$300;

Ten percent of the next \$1,000;

to a maximum of \$325 when the allowable expenses equal or exceed \$1,500.

Under S. 12 a taxpayer with an adjusted gross income greater than \$25,000 would have the maximum amount of credit reduced by 1 percent of such income in excess of \$25,000, until at \$57,000 income no credit could be claimed.

The Prouty bill (S. 2023) differs in three ways from S. 12. The sliding scale is modified to afford relatively more assistance to taxpayers supporting students in public colleges and universities, as follows:

One hundred percent of the first \$200 of tuition, etc.;

Ten percent of the next \$300;

Five percent of the next \$100;

to a maximum of \$280 when the allowable expenses equal or exceed \$1,500.

Under S. 2023 taxpayers with an adjusted gross income greater than \$10,000 would have the maximum amount of credit reduced by 2 percent of such income in excess of \$10,000, until at \$24,000 income no credit could be claimed. In addition, S. 2023 differs from S. 12 in that it provides for an absolute tax credit of up to \$100, available to an otherwise qualified person whose tax liability is too low to permit him to take full advantage of the tax credit provision.

2. Enact the Prouty College Student Tax Relief Act of 1965 (S. 1486), currently cosponsored by 26 other Republican Senators. This measure, which was defeated on a 47 to 47 tie vote in the Senate last year, would permit working college students to claim tax deductions of up to \$1,200 (\$1,500 for graduate students) toward the student's expenditures for tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment.

3. Enact the Prouty Human Investment Act of 1965 (S. 1130), which would permit employers to get a 7 percent tax credit for their investment in training programs to provide necessary job skills to potential employees and to upgrade the job skills of present employees.

4. Expand the existing State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program, which has proven its merit in taking men and women off the relief rolls and getting them back into productive work.

5. Enact the Prouty provision for forgiveness of National Defense Education loans for persons who choose to teach in poverty impacted areas. This provision is currently included in the Senate committee version of S. 600, the Higher Education Act of 1965.

6. Enact the Prouty proposal to give substantial increases in monthly benefits to social security recipients, with the minimum increased from \$40 a month to \$70.

7. Enact the Prouty proposal to blanket in under social security every American over the age of 70, whether or not he has been covered by social security during his working days.

8. Enact the Prouty proposal to permit older workers to earn up to \$3,000 a year without losing any monthly benefits under social security.

9. Vigorously implement those provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which seek to guarantee to every American the opportunity to hold any job for which he is qualified, regardless of his race, creed, or color.

10. Enact legislation to guarantee that all Americans have the right to join the labor union of their choice and take advantage of its benefits without regard to race, creed, or color.

11. Enact the Prouty bill to aid the States in the early detection of phenylketonuria (PKU), which if untreated leads to serious mental retardation of children, and an associated economic burden on the child's parents and the State.

12. Give top priority in the antipoverty program to ways of combating the serious problem of poverty among the aged, the handicapped, and those families headed by women.

13. Recognize and come to grips with the problem of designing and implementing antipoverty community action programs in rural areas, where such programs are more difficult to organize than in large cities.

CONCLUSION

In its first year of operation the war on poverty has had both successes and failures. Its successes we applaud; its failures give us concern. With the passage of the amendments presently included in H.R. 8283 (with the notable exception of the repeal of the Governors' veto), the legislative framework for the war on poverty will be essentially complete. The future progress of this great effort now lies in the hands of those who must administer it.

Despite my strong objection to the repeal of the veto provision, I presently intend to continue my support of the antipoverty program by voting for this bill, barring unwise changes in the Senate floor. But in so doing, I serve notice to those responsible for the bungling and blundering of the past 9 months: my support, and the support of many other Members of Congress who sincerely hope that the dollars we vote here will gnaw effectively at the deep and tenacious roots of poverty in America, will come to an end unless certain parts of this program begin to shape up—and fast. To risk political attacks at home for my support of a well-conceived, smoothly run Federal

antipoverty program is one thing; to be forced to defend my support of a poorly planned, chaotic, wasteful, and defectively administered program is quite another. I sincerely hope that by this time next year, if not far sooner, the latter possibility will have substantially receded in likelihood.

WINSTON L. PROUTY.

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CONTENTS
ORIGINAL ARTICLES
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION AND THE PUBLIC
The Medical Profession and the Public
The Medical Profession and the Public

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

[Report No. 599]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 26, 1965

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

AUGUST 13 (legislative day, AUGUST 12), 1965

Reported by Mr. McNAMARA, with an amendment

[Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the part printed in italic]

AN ACT

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the “Economic Opportunity
4 Amendments of 1965”.

5 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

6 JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES

7 SEC. 2. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity
8 Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the
9 following: “For purposes of this subsection and section
10 114(a), any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the
11 United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee

1 subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of sec-
 2 tion ~~214(a)~~ or ~~212(d)(5)~~, respectively, of the Immigra-
 3 tion and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent
 4 resident of the United States.”

5 ~~JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS~~

6 SEC. 3. Section ~~104(d)~~ of the Economic Opportunity
 7 Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: “(d) Each
 8 enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation
 9 in the following form: ‘I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that
 10 I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of
 11 America and will support and defend the Constitution and
 12 laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and
 13 domestic’. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United
 14 States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation
 15 required under this subsection.”

16 ~~JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES’~~

17 ~~COMPENSATION ACT~~

18 SEC. 4. Section ~~106(c)(2)(A)~~ of the Economic Op-
 19 portunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

20 “(A) The term ‘performance of duty’ in the Federal
 21 Employees’ Compensation Act shall not include any act
 22 of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post
 23 of duty, except while participating in an activity (including
 24 an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such

1 post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and
 2 supervision of the Corps.”

3 ~~JOB -CORPS—ENROLLEE -WORK -ACTIVITIES~~

4 ~~SEC. 5.~~ Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 5 of 1964 is amended by inserting the word “male” before the
 6 word “enrollees” in the first sentence.

7 ~~WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL~~
 8 ~~ASSISTANCE~~

9 ~~SEC. 6.~~ The first sentence of section 115 of the Eco-
 10 nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out
 11 “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking
 12 out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

13 ~~WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL~~
 14 ~~ASSISTANCE~~

15 ~~SEC. 7.~~ Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity
 16 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting
 17 in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “or June 30,
 18 1966, whichever is later,”.

19 ~~AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COM-~~
 20 ~~MUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS~~

21 ~~COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION~~

22 ~~SEC. 8.~~ Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity
 23 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “and” at the end of
 24 paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of para-

1 graph ~~(4)~~ and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”, and by
 2 adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

3 “~~(5)~~ which includes provision for reasonable pub-
 4 lie access to books and records of the agency or agen-
 5 cies engaged in the development, conduct, and adminis-
 6 tration of the program, in accordance with procedures
 7 approved by the Director.”

8 GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS
 9 ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

10 SEC. 9. ~~(a)~~ The first sentence of section 208~~(a)~~ of
 11 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1946 is amended by strik-
 12 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by
 13 striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

14 ~~(b)~~ Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesign-
 15 ating subsection ~~(b)~~ as subsection ~~(c)~~ and inserting a new
 16 subsection ~~(b)~~ as follows:

17 “~~(b)~~ The Director is authorized to prescribe regula-
 18 tions establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assist-
 19 ance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such com-
 20 munity action program or components as have received
 21 assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such
 22 regulations.”

23 ~~(c)~~ Section 208~~(c)~~ of such Act ~~(as so redesignated by~~
 24 subsection ~~(b)~~ of this section) is amended by adding at the
 25 end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The requirement

1 imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such
2 regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate estab-
3 lishing objective criteria for determinations covering situa-
4 tions where a literal application of such requirement would
5 result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent
6 with the purposes sought to be achieved.”

7 DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

8 SEC. 10. Section 209(e) of the Economic Opportunity
9 Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting “of part B” before
10 “of title I” and (2) striking out “and such plan has not been
11 disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission”
12 and inserting in lieu thereof “and such plan has not been dis-
13 approved by the Governor within thirty days of such submis-
14 sion, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the
15 Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the
16 provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part”.

17 NOTICES

18 SEC. 11. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act
19 of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the
20 following:

21 “(e) When the Director receives an application from
22 a private nonprofit agency for a community action program
23 to be carried on in a community in which there is a com-
24 munity action agency carrying on a number of component

1 programs; he shall, within five days, give notice to such
2 community action agency of the receipt of such application."

3 ~~ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS PAYMENTS;~~

4 ~~FEDERAL SHARE~~

5 ~~SEC. 12.~~ Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity
6 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year
7 ending June 30, 1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and
8 each of the two succeeding fiscal years,"

9 ~~ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER~~

10 ~~TRAINING~~

11 ~~SEC. 13.~~ Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity
12 Act of 1964 is amended—

13 (1) by striking out "From the sums appropriated
14 to carry out this title" in section 213(a) and inserting
15 in lieu thereof "From so much of the sums appropriated
16 or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved
17 pursuant to section 218"; and

18 (2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219
19 and inserting immediately after section 217 the follow-
20 ing new section 218:

21 "TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

22 "SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums
23 appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any
24 fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to
25 provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to

1 colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies,
 2 or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or
 3 organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or
 4 preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described
 5 in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any
 6 (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons
 7 undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director
 8 may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

9 VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

10 SEC. 14. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 11 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof, and by re-
 12 designating part D as part C and section 221 as section 220.

13 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO
 14 COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

15 COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO
 16 ASSIST MANUFACTURING

17 SEC. 15. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity
 18 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the
 19 period at the end thereof the following proviso: “: *Provided,*
 20 That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing
 21 used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, includ-
 22 ing dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing
 23 merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of
 24 a new or different substance”.

1 ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED
2 AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

3 SEC. 16. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act
4 of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

5 “MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
6 EMPLOYEES

7 SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and
8 implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to
9 assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions,
10 and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operat-
11 ing programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily
12 contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers
13 and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of
14 housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.”

15 AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

16 SEC. 17. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act
17 of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence
18 thereof the following new sentence: “Workers in farm fami-
19 lies with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be con-
20 sidered unemployed for the purposes of this title.”, and (2)
21 by striking out of the last sentence the following: “for the
22 fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,”.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND
COORDINATION

VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF
OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS

SEC. 18. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the
Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking
out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designa-
tion “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection
with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a
character eligible for assistance under this Act.”

(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read
as follows:

“(d)(1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to
an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104
(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title
18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to
such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in para-
graph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed
to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the
provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including
those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and
Federal employee benefits.

1 ~~“(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers~~
 2 ~~as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection~~
 3 ~~(a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent~~
 4 ~~as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b); (c),~~
 5 ~~and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the com-~~
 6 ~~putation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(e)~~
 7 ~~the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that~~
 8 ~~received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the~~
 9 ~~Classification Act of 1949.”~~

10 NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

11 SEC. 19. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 12 of 1964 is amended by striking “fourteen” in the second
 13 sentence and inserting in lieu thereof “twenty”.

14 AFFIDAVITS

15 SEC. 20. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 16 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof.

17 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

18 SEC. 21. ~~(a)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 131 of
 19 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
 20 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

21 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended to
 22 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
 23 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
 24 \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
 25 the sum of \$825,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,

1 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
2 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
3 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

4 ~~(b)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 220 of such Act
5 ~~(as so redesignated by section 11 of this Act)~~ is amended
6 by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

7 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended to
8 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
9 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
10 \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
11 the sum of \$680,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
12 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
13 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
14 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

15 ~~(c)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 321 is amended by
16 striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

17 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended
18 to read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this
19 title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum
20 of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965;
21 and the sum of \$70,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June
22 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
23 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated
24 as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

25 ~~(d)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 503 of such Act

1 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu
2 thereof "three".

3 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended to
4 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title,
5 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
6 \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
7 the sum of \$300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
8 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
9 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as
10 the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

11 ~~(c)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is
12 amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof
13 "three".

14 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended to
15 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title
16 (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving
17 fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby author-
18 ized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal
19 year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$20,000,000 for
20 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year
21 ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such
22 sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter
23 authorize by law."

1 AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT-
 2 MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUN-
 3 TEERS

4 SEC. 22. ~~(a) Paragraph (2)(A) of section 205(b) of~~
 5 ~~the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C.~~
 6 ~~425(b)(2)(A))~~ is amended by striking out "or" before
 7 "~~(iii)~~" and by inserting before the proviso and after "Peace
 8 Corps Act" the following: "; or ~~(iv)~~ not in excess of three
 9 years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer
 10 under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 11 1964".

12 ~~(b) The amendments made by this section shall not~~
 13 ~~apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this~~
 14 ~~Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.~~

15 *That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity*
 16 *Amendments of 1965".*

17 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

18 JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES

19 SEC. 2. *Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity*
 20 *Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the*
 21 *following: "For purposes of this subsection, any native and*
 22 *citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba*

1 as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1,
 2 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5),
 3 respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be
 4 considered a permanent resident of the United States.”

5 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS

6 SEC. 3. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity
 7 Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: “(d) Each
 8 enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of
 9 Cuba described in section 104(a) of this Act) must take and
 10 subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: ‘I
 11 do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and
 12 allegiance to the United States of America and will support
 13 and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States
 14 against all its enemies foreign and domestic’. The provisions
 15 of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be ap-
 16 plicable to the oath or affirmation required under this sub-
 17 section.”

18 JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES’

19 COMPENSATION ACT

20 SEC. 4. Section 106(c)(2)(A) of the Economic Op-
 21 portunity Act of 1964 is amended retroactive to January 1,
 22 1965, to read as follows:

23 “(A) The term ‘performance of duty’ in the Federal
 24 Employees’ Compensation Act shall not include any act

1 of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post
2 of duty, except while participating in an activity (including
3 an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such
4 post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and
5 supervision of the Corps.”

6 JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

7 SEC. 5. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act
8 of 1964 is amended by inserting the word “male” before the
9 word “enrollees” in the first sentence.

10 SEC. 6. Section 114(a) of the Economic Opportunity
11 Act is amended by adding a new unnumbered paragraph
12 following the end of subsection (a), as follows:

13 “For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen
14 of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a
15 nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1,
16 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5),
17 respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall
18 be considered a permanent resident of the United States.”

19 WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL
20 ASSISTANCE

21 SEC. 7. The first sentence of section 115 of the Eco-
22 nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out
23 “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking
24 out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

1 WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL

2 ASSISTANCE

3 *SEC. 8. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity*
 4 *Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting*
 5 *in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “or June 30,*
 6 *1966, whichever is later,”.*

7 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COM-

8 MUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

9 COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION

10 *SEC. 9. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity*
 11 *Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “and” at the end of*
 12 *paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of para-*
 13 *graph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”, and by*
 14 *adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:*

15 *“(5) which includes provision for feasible access of*
 16 *the public to information including, but not limited to,*
 17 *reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request*
 18 *of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable*
 19 *public access to books and records of the agency or agen-*
 20 *cies engaged in the development, conduct, and adminis-*
 21 *tration of the program, in accordance with procedures*
 22 *approved by the Director.”*

23 *SEC. 10. Section 205(a) of the Economic Opportunity*
 24 *Act is amended as follows:*

25 *Between the words “including” and “employment” in the*

1 *last sentence of subsection (a), insert the words: "but not*
2 *limited to".*

3 *Between the words "management," and "welfare" in*
4 *the last sentence of subsection (a), insert the words: "family*
5 *planning, consumer credit education, consumer debt coun-*
6 *seling,".*

7 *SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED*
8 *POOR*

9 *SEC. 11. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act*
10 *of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as sub-*
11 *section (f) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection*
12 *(d) as follows:*

13 *"(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under*
14 *this section for special programs (1) which involve activities*
15 *directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor*
16 *who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because*
17 *of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or*
18 *training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addi-*
19 *tion to other services provided, will enable such persons to*
20 *participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of*
21 *the community or area served by the program, including*
22 *without limitation activities which will contribute to the man-*
23 *agement, conservation, or development of natural resources,*
24 *recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government*

1 parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are con-
 2 ducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that
 3 the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent
 4 with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of
 5 employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay
 6 and other suitable conditions of employment.”

7 *GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—SELF-HELP*

8 *HOUSING REHABILITATION*

9 *SEC. 12.* Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 10 of 1964 is amended by adding the following new subsection:

11 “(e) In extending assistance under this section the
 12 Director shall also give special consideration to programs
 13 which will, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard
 14 housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated
 15 with such rehabilitation: Provided, That such programs will
 16 not result in the displacement of employed workers.”

17 *GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS*

18 *ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE*

19 *SEC. 13 (a)* The first sentence of section 208(a) of
 20 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
 21 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by
 22 striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

23 (b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesign-

1 nating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new
2 subsection (b) as follows:

3 “(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regula-
4 tions establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assist-
5 ance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such com-
6 munity action programs or components as have received
7 assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such
8 regulations.”

9 (c) Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by
10 subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the
11 end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The requirement
12 imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such
13 regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate estab-
14 lishing objective criteria for determinations covering situa-
15 tions where a literal application of such requirement would
16 result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent
17 with the purposes sought to be achieved.”

18 PARTICIPATION OF STATE ACTIVITIES

19 SEC. 14. Section 209(a) of the Economic Opportunity
20 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period the
21 following: “including, but not limited to, continuing consulta-
22 tion with appropriate State agencies on the development,
23 conduct, and administration of such programs”.

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1 ministering or conducting a community action program re-
 2 ceiving assistance under this part and whose salary is paid
 3 in principal part from funds appropriated pursuant to this
 4 part, shall be deemed to be an officer or employee of a State
 5 or local agency for the purposes and within the meaning of
 6 the Act entitled 'An Act to prevent pernicious political activi-
 7 ties', approved August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), as
 8 amended."

9 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS;

10 FEDERAL SHARE

11 SEC. 18. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity
 12 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year
 13 ending June 30, 1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and
 14 each of the two succeeding fiscal years,".

15 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER

16 TRAINING

17 SEC. 19. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity
 18 Act of 1964 is amended—

19 (1) by striking out "From the sums appropriated
 20 to carry out this title" in section 213(a) and inserting
 21 in lieu thereof "From so much of the sums appropriated
 22 or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved
 23 pursuant to section 218"; and

24 (2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219

1 and inserting immediately after section 217 the follow-
 2 ing new section 218:

3 “TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

4 “SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums
 5 appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any
 6 fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to
 7 provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to
 8 colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies,
 9 or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or
 10 organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or
 11 preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described
 12 in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any
 13 (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons
 14 undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director
 15 may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

16 VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

17 SEC. 20. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 18 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof, and by re-
 19 designating part D as part C and section 221 as section 220.

20 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO

21 COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

22 SEC. 21. In title III of the Economic Opportunity Act
 23 of 1964 in the heading “PART A—AUTHORITY TO MAKE
 24 GRANTS AND LOANS”, delete the words “GRANTS AND”

1 and the dash after the word "make" in the first subsequent
 2 sentence and the subsequent number "(1)".

3 COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO
 4 ASSIST MANUFACTURING

5 SEC. 22. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity
 6 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the
 7 period at the end thereof the following proviso: ": Provided,
 8 That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing
 9 used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, includ-
 10 ing dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing
 11 merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of
 12 a new or different substance".

13 ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED
 14 AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

15 SEC. 23. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 16 of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

17 "MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
 18 EMPLOYEES

19 "SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and
 20 implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to
 21 assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions,
 22 and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operat-
 23 ing programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily
 24 contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers

1 *and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of*
 2 *housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children."*

3 *SEC. 24. Section 331(c) of the Economic Opportunity*
 4 *Act is amended by striking the words "January 31, 1965"*
 5 *and inserting in lieu thereof the words "June 30, 1966".*

6 *AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM*

7 *SEC. 25. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act*
 8 *of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence*
 9 *thereof the following new sentence: "Workers in farm fami-*
 10 *lies with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be con-*
 11 *sidered unemployed for the purposes of this title.", and (2)*
 12 *by striking out of the last sentence the following: "for the*
 13 *fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,".*

14 *AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND*

15 *COORDINATION*

16 *VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF*

17 *OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS*

18 *SEC. 26. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the*
 19 *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking*
 20 *out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause desig-*
 21 *nation "(C)" and inserting in lieu thereof "in connection*
 22 *with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a*
 23 *character eligible for assistance under this Act."*

1 (b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read
2 as follows:

3 “(d)(1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to
4 an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104
5 (d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title
6 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to
7 such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in para-
8 graphs (2) and (3) of this subsection, volunteers shall not
9 be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subjct to
10 the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, in-
11 cluding those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation,
12 and Federal employee benefits.

13 “(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers
14 as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection
15 (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent
16 as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c),
17 and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the com-
18 putation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c)
19 the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that
20 received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the
21 Classification Act of 1949.

22 “(3) For the purposes of the Act entitled ‘An Act to
23 prevent pernicious political activities’, approved August 2,

1 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), a volunteer under this section shall
2 be deemed to be a person employed in the executive branch
3 of the Federal Government.”

4 NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

5 SEC. 27. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act
6 of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

7 “SEC. 605. (a) The President shall, during 1965, ap-
8 point a National Advisory Council on Economic Oppor-
9 tunity (hereinafter referred to as the “Advisory Council”)
10 for the purpose of reviewing the administration and opera-
11 tion of programs under this Act, evaluating their effectiveness
12 in furthering the purposes of this Act, and making recom-
13 mendations for the improvement of such programs, admin-
14 istration, and operation, including proposals for changes in
15 this Act.

16 “(b) The Advisory Council shall be appointed by the
17 President without regard to the civil service laws and shall
18 consist of twenty-one persons who shall be representative of
19 the public in general and appropriate fields of endeavor
20 related to the purposes of this Act. From among the mem-
21 bers of the Advisory Council the President shall designate a
22 Chairman, who shall not be a regular full-time employee
23 of the United States. The Advisory Council shall meet at
24 the call of the Chairman but not less often than twice a year.

1 *The Director shall be an ex officio member of the Advisory*
2 *Council.*

3 “(c) *The Advisory Council is authorized to engage such*
4 *technical assistance as may be required to carry out its func-*
5 *tions, and the Director shall, in addition, make available to*
6 *the Advisory Council such secretarial, clerical, and other*
7 *assistance and such pertinent data prepared by the Office*
8 *of Economic Opportunity as it may require to carry out*
9 *such functions.*

10 “(d) *The Advisory Council shall make an annual report*
11 *of its findings and recommendations to the President not later*
12 *than March 31 of each calendar year beginning with the*
13 *calendar year 1966. The President shall transmit each such*
14 *report to the Congress together with his comments and recom-*
15 *mendations.*”

16 *PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR*

17 *SEC. 28. Part A of title VI of the Economic Oppor-*
18 *tunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof*
19 *the following new section:*

20 *“PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR*

21 *“SEC. 610. It is the intention of the Congress that*
22 *whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor*
23 *shall be considered in the development, conduct, and admin-*
24 *istration of programs under this Act.”*

AFFIDAVITS

2 *SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of*
3 *1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof and*
4 *substituting a new section 616, as follows:*

"TRANSFER OF FUNDS

6 “SEC. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appro-
7 priations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per
8 centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any
9 appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to
10 carry out programs or activities under any such title may be
11 transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of
12 carrying out programs or activities under any other such
13 title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the
14 amounts otherwise available under any title by more than
15 10 per centum.”

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

17 *SEC. 30. (a)(1) The first sentence of section 131 of*
18 *the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-*
19 *ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.*

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$535,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the

1 *succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the*
2 *Congress may hereafter authorize by law."*

3 *(b)(1) The first sentence of section 220 of such Act*
4 *(as so redesignated by section 14 of this Act) is amended*
5 *by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".*

6 *(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to*
7 *read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title,*
8 *there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of*
9 *\$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and*
10 *the sum of \$880,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,*
11 *1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the*
12 *succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the*
13 *Congress may hereafter authorize by law; \$150,000,000 of*
14 *the funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1966 for the pur-*
15 *pose of carrying out the provisions of this title may be used*
16 *for the purposes of section 205(d)."*

17 *(c)(1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by*
18 *striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".*

19 *(2) The second sentence of such section is amended*
20 *to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this*
21 *title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum*
22 *of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,*
23 *and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June*
24 *30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and*

1 *the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated*
2 *as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”*

3 *(d)(1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act*
4 *is amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu*
5 *thereof “three”.*

6 *(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to*
7 *read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,*
8 *there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of*
9 *\$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and*
10 *the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,*
11 *1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and*
12 *the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as*
13 *the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”*

14 *(e)(1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is*
15 *amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof*
16 *“three”.*

17 *(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to*
18 *read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title*
19 *(other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving*
20 *fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby author-*
21 *ized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal*
22 *year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for*
23 *the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year*
24 *ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such*

1 *sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter*
2 *authorize by law.”*

3 *AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—*
4 *MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUN-*
5 *TEERS*

6 *SEC. 31. (a) Paragraph (2)(A) of section 205(b) of*
7 *the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C.*
8 *425(b)(2)(A)) is amended by striking out “or” before*
9 *“(iii)” and by inserting before the proviso and after “Peace*
10 *Corps Act” the following: “, or (iv) not in excess of three*
11 *years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer*
12 *under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of*
13 *1964”.*

14 *(b) The amendments made by this section shall not*
15 *apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this*
16 *Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.*

Passed the House of Representatives July 22, 1965.

Attest:

RALPH R. ROBERTS,

Clerk.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

[Report No. 599]

AN ACT

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

JULY 26, 1965

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare

AUGUST 13 (legislative day, August 12), 1965
Reported with an amendment

journalment of the Senate the Committee on the District of Columbia be permitted to file a report on the bill (H.R. 5688) relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. I also ask unanimous consent that the report be printed, together with supplemental and minority views.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] be added as a cosponsor to Senate bill 1676, to provide for certain reorganizations in the Department of State and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF THE UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT OF 1951, AS AMENDED

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 573, H.R. 10306.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 10306) to amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, as amended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate Committee on Armed Services unanimously reported Senate bill 2381. H.R. 10306 is identical with S. 2381, as amended. Since the bills are identical, I should like to make a statement on the pending bill.

The bill amends the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which appears in the appendix to title 50 of the United States Code, to include a clear statutory prohibition against any person knowingly destroying or knowingly mutilating a draft card. The existing law already provides prohibition against the altering of a draft card as well as a number of offenses connected with the selective service registration, but there now is no specific prohibition against the willful destruction or mutilation of a draft card.

Recent incidents of mass destruction of draft cards constitute open defiance of the warmaking powers of the Government and have demonstrated an urgent need for this legislation.

The criminal prohibitions instituted by this bill would be limited to willful incidents. The prohibition would not apply to instances where draft cards were destroyed or mutilated by inadvertence.

The President has acknowledged that our country is engaged in a war. Attempts to interfere with the Universal Military Training Act or service in the

Armed Forces constitute treason in time of war. Such conduct as public burnings of draft cards and public pleas for persons to refuse to register for their draft should not and must not be tolerated by a society whose sons, brothers, and husbands are giving their lives in defense of freedom and countrymen against Communist aggression.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 10306) was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to postpone indefinitely further consideration of Senate bill 2381.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of H.R. 8283.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and to enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I send to the desk certain amendments to the bill and ask that under the rule they be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments will be printed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business this afternoon, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE MISSILE SILO DISASTER IN ARKANSAS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD the text of Secretary Zuckert's report to the President upon our inspection trip to Searcy.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT FROM AIR FORCE SECRETARY EUGENE M. ZUCKERT

Yesterday, as you requested, I went to Searcy, Ark., to inspect the site of the Titan II missile silo disaster. I was accompanied by Senators MCLELLAN and FULBRIGHT and Congressman MILLS. We were met in Little Rock by Governor Faubus and the mayor of Little Rock, as well as by the representative of the mayor of North Little Rock.

The purpose of my visit was threefold: first, to express on your behalf and for the Air Force, our concern and deep feeling of sympathy for those who have lost loved ones in this tragic disaster; second, to insure that the investigation which is being conducted by the Air Force Inspector General's office under Brig. Gen. Charles B. Stewart will be thorough, critically objective, and that it will be completed without delay; and third, to ascertain personally that all possible aid and assistance is being afforded the survivors and relatives of the men who lost their lives in the disaster. I believe I can assure you, and Governor Faubus confirmed this in my conversation with him, that your wish to provide all possible assistance to the victims' families is being completely carried out.

General Stewart's investigation, while progressing on a round-the-clock basis, is still in the preliminary stage. Investigative experts, of many categories, from the Air Force and industry are being utilized, and, to the extent necessary, additional experts will be called in.

It should be noted at the outset that the accident took place under conditions and circumstances far different from normal operations and maintenance requirements. When the missile is on alert and undergoing normal maintenance, only a few men, usually 10 or less, would be engaged in work in the missile area.

This project required a large number of contractor personnel to be in the missile silo at one time. It was apparent to all of us visiting the silo that this is an inherently difficult situation for a large scale maintenance or modification effort. There are difficulties involved in a project of this type where a large number of men with their necessary construction equipment are required to work on the various levels of the missile silo in a confined and congested space already densely packed with the equipment.

A personal examination of the silo revealed that the fire damage was limited to a small area near the electrical control panels and the motor control center, resulting in a complete loss of lights and electrical power.

The cause of death was almost exclusively asphyxiation. A number of men had attempted to escape by the emergency ladder which apparently was blocked by two men who became jammed together in trying to pass simultaneously through a restricted area on the ladder, thus denying access to those on the ladder below them.

It is apparent that the investigators must examine the adequacy of the escape system and emergency equipment, the training and discipline of contractor personnel, and the emergency lighting and escape equipment during periods of unusually heavy maintenance or modification.

It is significant to note that 21 identical facilities have been modified by the same contractor. In some 206 days of work on this contract there had been no lost time injuries. The modification of the remaining 33 Titan sites has been suspended until the report of the investigating team is complete and the corrective action indicated by the investigators has been taken.

A BRIGHTER OUTLOOK FOR USIA

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, as the author of Public Law 402 of the 80th Congress which set up the legislative authority for the operation of our U.S. foreign information programs, as well as our exchange of leaders and peoples programs, and other media for presenting the truth about our country to people in foreign lands, I have always maintained a more than normal interest in the actual operations of these programs. It is for that reason that I have observed with pleasure the appointment of Leonard Marks as the new Director of the USIA and his announcement that he has selected Howard L. Chernoff of San Diego as his primary assistant.

I have long known both Mr. Marks and Mr. Chernoff, Mr. President. I regard them highly. It is true that they are new to the field of activities they will soon direct, but it occurs to me that there are many indications that these programs should be given a new look and a new approach. By proceeding positively and by being free to make the changes necessary, it is hoped and believed that these two able new leaders will greatly enhance the product and the productivity of USIA. I wish them well and have assured them both of my earnest cooperation in their new responsibilities.

Mr. President, I am happy to ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in my remarks a recent editorial in the daily Argus-Leader of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., endorsing these selections and appointments. The writer of this editorial knows both Mr. Marks and Mr. Chernoff personally and shares my high regard for them. His evaluation of their abilities is important and I want to have the Congress and the country share the observations of this important Midwestern newspaper.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus-Leader, Aug. 5, 1965]

A BRIGHTER OUTLOOK FOR USIA

The U.S. Information Agency is among our Government's most important facilities. In truth, the future course of events may depend to a material extent upon how well this agency projects our image throughout the world.

Unfortunately, the current image of the United States in many nations is a distortion—a distortion aided and abetted by instrumentalities of other countries eager to misrepresent our country.

And these hostile influences have been more potent for a number of years than our USIA. That may be due to circumstances beyond the control of our agency. But it may be due to a considerable extent to the fact that the USIA hasn't measured up to its possibilities and its opportunities.

Now a change has been made in the leadership of the USIA with the appointment of

Leonard Marks, of Washington, as its director. He is a man who has been prominent in the communications field and there is good reason to believe that he can make the USIA a more useful institution.

One reason for confidence in his leadership is the good judgment he employed this week in selecting Howard L. Chernoff of San Diego as his primary assistant. Chernoff is capable, energetic and knows how to get things done.

Chernoff's good qualities are, of course, well known to many in Sioux Falls because of his experience here as associate publisher of the Argus-Leader while John A. Kennedy was publisher and editor in chief. During that period he took a lively and productive interest in many local and State activities. A primary project instigated by him, for example, was the Great Plains Zoo—now a fine and splendid institution of which the entire community is proud. The quiet but effective way in which he developed it serves as an indication of what he can do.

It is entirely likely that the new leadership of the USIA will result in a fresh approach to its duties. One trouble in the past has been that the agency didn't seem to know precisely what it was doing or what it should do.

Marks and Chernoff, we are certain, will go forward in the realization that its duty is, so to speak, to "accentuate the positive" and present a report to the world of what is good about the United States. This doesn't mean distortion in any sense because our Nation is basically good and its purpose in world affairs is to promote that which is worthwhile. Certainly we have no territorial designs on other areas and no desire to impose our own ideas of government. We are eager to be a good neighbor and this impression should be adequately presented around the world. We like to believe that Marks and Chernoff can do it.

ANCHORAGE "ALL AMERICAN CITY," CONTINUES TO LIVE UP TO ITS DESIGNATION AS IT FORGES AHEAD

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the city of Anchorage, Alaska, some years ago was honored with the designation of "All American City." While I do not feel this recognition was premature, the strides which Anchorage has made in the past few years, particularly since the shattering earthquake of March 27, 1964, have been such that this remarkable city deserves new recognition and honors.

I must confess that when I walked the crevassed and debris-littered streets of Anchorage the day after the Good Friday earthquake, I certainly did not foresee anything like the reconstruction and construction which have taken place in this largest of Alaska's communities in the 17 months which have now passed.

One of the most heavily damaged buildings in Anchorage was the department store of the J. C. Penney Co. It had been completed only a few months earlier. The earthquake damaged this new building so severely that wreckers had to complete the destruction which was started by the earthquake and level the site. I am happy to report that a new, larger, and better store will be opened by the J. C. Penney Co. at Anchorage on September 1. While this is not the largest department store in the company's complex, I understand it is the largest store ever built by Penney prior to its opening. The other stores

which are larger have been made so by additions following the original construction. This evidence of faith by the national business community is heartening.

While the Penney building, because of the spectacular damage done to the earlier building, represents a fitting symbol of the renaissance of Anchorage, it is only one of the many impressive new structures which have risen in the city in the past year; others include, notably, the new Captain Cook Hotel, the First National Bank Building, and the building of Alaska Sales & Service. Together, these structures represent probably \$30 million in private comeback capital.

Long ago I ceased to permit myself to be amazed by the progress in Anchorage. It is an exciting place which keeps growing despite all problems and obstacles. The people of Anchorage deserve unbounded credit for their progressiveness, energy, diligence, and faith.

I am happy to be able to salute the wonderful city of Anchorage.

INVASION OF STATES RIGHTS

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, several days ago the Cleveland Plain Dealer carried an editorial under the title "New Attack on States' Powers," which I believe is worthy of consideration by Members of the Senate.

The editorial opposes the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, primarily on the basis that the repeal of the section would constitute an unwarranted invasion of States rights.

The editorial makes mention of the tremendous growth of the Central Government in Washington. It expresses the view that this is one field of activity in which the States definitely ought to have the right to determine for themselves what course they wish to follow on the issue of right-to-work. There is great strength in what the editorial has to say.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Aug. 4, 1965]

NEW ATTACK ON STATES' POWERS

The U.S. Senate should refuse to follow the lead of the House of Representatives in voting to take away from States the power to have right-to-work laws.

Ohioans made clear in 1958, by a 2 to 1 statewide vote, that they did not want such a law in this State. The Plain Dealer believes that this judgment by the voters of Ohio should stand.

But in 19 other States the people or their elected Representatives decided in favor of statutes or constitutional provisions outlawing the union shop.

For Congress to deny these States the power to have such laws is an unjustifiable intrusion by the Federal Government and a serious abridgement of States rights.

The growth of centralized government in Washington is a fact of life. In most instances this growth has been a necessity because of the increasing complexities of life in this automated age and the interdependence of people. But wherever possible—and

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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Issued August 17, 1965
For actions of August 16, 1965
89th-1st.; No. 150

CONTENTS

Appropriations...4,11,12,14	Fund adjustments.....12	Public works.....1,21
Checks.....9	Insecticides.....18	Recreation.....5
Consumers.....6	Lands.....10,26	Retirement.....23
Dairy indemnity.....25	Military leave.....23	Rubber.....13
Economic development..1,21	Moving expenses.....23	Soil conservation.....19
Farm income.....22	Organization.....24	Stockpile.....13
Farm program.....3,17,20	Pay.....9	Trade expansion.....28
Florida agriculture.....15	Payrolling.....9	Transportation.....7,16
Foreign aid.....8	Personnel.....9,23	Water resources.....27
Foreign trade.....3,28	Poverty.....2	Wheat.....3,17,20

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate concurred in House amendments to public works economic development bill. Senate debated bill to expand poverty program. Sens. Young, N. Dak., Mondale, and McGovern discussed and inserted items on wheat sales to Russia. House committee reported pay bill. Rep. Ryan opposed wheat provision of farm bill. Sen. Nelson urged increased efforts to solve rural poverty problems.

SENATE

1. PUBLIC WORKS; ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Concurred in the House amendments to S. 1648, the proposed Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 (pp. 19807-15). This bill will now be sent to the President. See Digest 148 for a summary of items of interest.

2. POVERTY. Began debate on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. pp. 19781, 19791-5, 19796-807, 19815-25

Sen. Nelson urged greater emphasis on solving rural poverty problems and expressed hope "that Mr. Shriver will work more closely with Mr. Freeman during fiscal 1966, making it possible to draw more heavily on Department of Agriculture personnel well acquainted with rural problems and rural people." p. 19774

Sen. Scott inserted an article critical of the poverty program, "Accentuate the Positive: The Pill for Poverty is Jobs." pp. 19765-6

3. WHEAT; FOREIGN TRADE. Sens. Mondale and McGovern criticized the policy that 50 percent of wheat sold to Russia must be carried in U. S. ships, contended that this resulted in Russia buying wheat from Canada and other countries, and inserted several items on the matter. pp. 19761-4, 19788-90

Sen. McGovern defended the wheat provisions of the House farm bill and criticized charges that such provisions would result in a "bread tax." pp. 19790-1

Sen. Young, N. Dak., stated that the biggest single impediment to selling wheat to Russia was the 50 percent shipping requirement on U. S. vessels and inserted an editorial, "Lost Opportunities in Wheat." pp. 19753-4

4. DEFENSE DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL. A subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee voted to report to the full committee this bill, H. R. 9221. p. D796

5. RECREATION. Sen. Williams, N. J., commended recent passage of H. R. 89, to provide for establishment of the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area. pp. 19759-60

6. CONSUMERS. Sen. Mondale commended a provision in the proposed Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 providing authority to pay all or part of the costs of consumer education programs under community action projects for low-income families and inserted two items on the subject. pp. 19772-3

7. TRANSPORTATION. Sen. Brewster spoke in support of a strong U. S. merchant marine and proposed that 75 percent (rather than the present 50 percent) of U. S. Government-generated cargo be shipped on American flag vessels. pp. 19825-7

8. FOREIGN AID. Sen. Morse reviewed the difficulties of the conferees in resolving differences of the House and Senate on the foreign aid authorization bill and stated that he "cannot vote in conference for the renewal of the old program." pp. 19829-30

HOUSE

9. PERSONNEL. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported without amendment H. R. 10281, the Federal pay bill (H. Rept. 792). p. 19746

Passed without amendment H. R. 6165, to repeal 5 U.S.C. 33, which gives department heads discretion as to whether to appoint women. pp. 19691-2

Passed without amendment S. 1309, to authorize checks to be drawn in favor of financial organizations for the credit of a person's account, under certain conditions (p. 19702-3). This bill will now be sent to the President. This bill authorizes Federal disbursing officers to make payment by sending

As former attorney general of the State of Minnesota, I know that there are a number of devious and sophisticated merchandising and sales practices that all too often deceive not only the low-income buyer, but also the intelligent and sophisticated middle and upper income purchaser. For example, the files of my consumer protection unit in the State of Minnesota, were filed with cases involving bait-switch advertising, referral selling practices, pyramid practices, misrepresentation of price and contract terms, and the use of fictitious selling prices. Many of these people are able to withstand the loss of tens or even hundreds of dollars. But the low-income families, earning less than \$3,000, need every cent for rent, clothing, and food. They can ill afford the opportunity to learn in the school of hard knocks and a sad experience.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report from Mrs. Peterson, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, as well as an article from the August 13 New York Times be reprinted at this point.

There being no objection, the report and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PANEL ON CONSUMER EDUCATION FOR LOW-INCOME PERSONS REPORT TO MRS. PETERSON

The poor pay more for comparable merchandise than people in middle income areas, a Panel on Consumer Educations for Persons with Limited Incomes reported today.

The panel, appointed last year to advise the President's Committee on Consumer Interests on consumer education for the poor, included representatives from business, labor, community organizations, and Government at all levels. In its report, it emphasized that it received no documentation to support the charge that businessmen and merchants deliberately charge more in low-income neighborhoods than they do in middle-income areas for the same or even inferior merchandise.

"No doubt there are some instances where such a situation occurs," the report states, but there is no documentation to indicate that this is a widespread practice on the part of business concerns." Nevertheless, the panel reports that stores which operate in poor neighborhoods only often charge their customers more and seldom have "one price" for high-cost items. The panel took special notice of a study of the buying practices of 464 families living in low-rent public housing made by David Caplovitz of Columbia University, in which he finds that the urban poor are victims of a merchandising system quite unlike the system that serves most Americans.

In his book, "The Poor Pay More," Caplovitz points out that in every city, some fringe operators profit by the special problems of the poor—their inability to obtain credit from conventional sources, their lack of knowledge and sophistication, and their eagerness to buy. Comparing the poorest families with those somewhat better off, Caplovitz points out that the poorest pay most for such commodities as TV sets, phonographs, and washing machines. This does not mean that they are buying better products, he says, it means they are paying more for what they buy.

In releasing the report, Mrs. Peterson praised the panel for shedding light on a relatively neglected subject. She emphasized the important part consumer education can play in overall poverty programs,

and supported the panel's view that consumer education for the poor should be included as an integral part of overall projects directed toward the poor. She noted that the Office of Economic Opportunity has included consumer education as eligible for funds under the community action program, and urged that communities throughout the Nation take advantage of this opportunity.

"The massive efforts to sell the products and services of our economy," Mrs. Peterson said, "affect the poor as well as the affluent. In addition, the poor are often the objects of offbeat marketing techniques in their neighborhoods. Door-to-door peddlers, marginal retail operators, and loan dispensers extend credit—at high interest rates—to those who can't afford to get credit 'uptown.' The poor are often the targets of 'bait and switch' merchandising and other devious schemes. Lack of knowledge and information often leads them to accept poor quality merchandise at high prices."

Mrs. Peterson said that President Johnson, in his message on consumer interests on February 5, 1964, directed the President's Committee on Consumer Interests "to develop as promptly as possible effective ways and means of reaching more homes and families—particularly low-income families—with information to help them get the most for their money."

"The work of the panel," Mrs. Peterson said, "should be considered a beginning, not by any means the last word on this challenging and difficult subject. It is our hope that the panel's report will stimulate further efforts in this field. Consumer education for the poor will be one of the high priority programs carried on by the President's Committee during the coming year."

Consumer education can help the poor get the most for what little money they have to spend, the report says. "Its object should be to subtract from poverty. On another level, it can help people understand the available choices, to balance preference against price and utility, and match quality against realistic expenditure. * * * The goal of consumer education is to achieve higher standards of living through more discriminating consumption."

The Panel warns that consumer education should not be considered a panacea for poverty. "Consumer education cannot cure poverty," the report states, "it can only ease the pain."

Among the report's recommendations are the following:

Federal, State and local governments undertake factfinding studies to identify the problems encountered by the poor in the marketplace.

Communities and appropriate civic, professional, and service organizations include consumer education as an integral part of programs designed to deal with the problems of poverty.

Consumer education be included as a component part of Federal programs directed at the poor, especially elementary and secondary education, adult literacy, Job Corps, public housing, and public assistance.

Grants be made available by the Office of Economic Opportunity for the training of teachers in consumer education.

Demonstration grant by the Office of Economic Opportunity to a university or other nonprofit making organization, for the development of a clearinghouse for low-income consumer education materials and techniques.

The stimulation of research by public and private groups to develop more and better education materials and techniques for low-income families.

The strengthening of existing government information and protection programs specif-

ically to deal with the problems of fraud and deception encountered by poor consumers.

Mrs. Peterson stressed that the poor comprise a significant and sizable market. She said that there are approximately 34 million individuals living in poverty in the United States. These people buy food, clothing, shelter, automobiles, appliances, and most of the other goods and services of our economy. "If consumer education is related to adult education, health and welfare programs, and other services," she said, "it will supplement the higher incomes these programs may bring about. It can also help prevent higher earnings from being eroded by poor buying habits, and help low incomes go a little further."

[From the New York Times, Aug. 12, 1965]
U.S. AGENCY PLANS TO INTENSIFY CONSUMER EDUCATION FOR POOR

WASHINGTON, August 12.—The Office of Economic Opportunity said today it was ready to finance a second front in the war on poverty.

Improving the earning power of the poor is not enough, according to Theodore Berry, the agency's Assistant Director for Community Action.

A second front, he said, would show the poor how to avoid hidden exploitation when they spend their meager earnings.

"Borrowing to buy coal and paying twice for it in interest is an example that can be multiplied a million times," Mr. Berry said, recalling his experiences as a lawyer for straitened consumers in Cincinnati.

His office has financed 17 consumer education projects at a cost of \$893,000, compared with total antipoverty outlays of \$113 million.

"We haven't begun to scratch the surface in this field," he said.

President Kennedy and President Johnson have voiced concern about consumer problems, but this is the first time that significant sums have been made available for consumer education.

Mr. Berry opened a 2-day consumer action conference sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the President's Committee on Consumer Interests.

Dr. Sanford Kravitz, chief of research and development for the Antipoverty Community Action Division, and Mrs. Esther Peterson, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs, are conducting the conference, which is attended by officials of community action programs, Government regulatory agencies, and consumer groups.

Dr. David Caplovitz of Columbia University, who wrote the book, "The Poor Pay More," said the marketplace for the poor is a commercial jungle in which exploitation and fraud are the norm rather than the exception.

Dr. Caplovitz described many of the gimmicks used by door-to-door salesmen and junk furniture stores to beguile the unsuspecting into signing contracts to pay twice as much money as they thought.

A store on East Harlem's furniture row, he said, offered three rooms of furniture for only \$149 or only \$199.

Investigation showed that these consisted of two flimsy bureaus and one bed frame, a fragile-looking sofa, and an unmatching chair. The spring and mattress were extra.

The unwary consumer, he said, ends up buying a \$400 set for \$600.

"Given their vulnerability to easy credit and the excessive burden of debt foisted upon by high-pressure salesmen," Dr. Caplovitz added, "it is not surprising that many of the poor find themselves overextended and unable to keep up the payments on their purchases. We found that one in every five families had experienced legal pressures because of missed payments."

ARMY CAPTAIN'S LETTER SUMMARIZES NEED FOR COLD WAR GI BILL

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, recently I received a letter from an Army captain stationed in Hawaii, which told the story of the educational disadvantages of our men in uniform with words of great human feeling and understanding. Illustrating his arguments with the statistics of the men in his company, this captain presents a strong case for the cold war GI bill, as well as concern for the future of the men who serve under him. The men in service need this bill. The 5 million cold war veterans represent only about 40 percent of the draft eligible men during the cold war or draft period, but the percentage of unemployed among the cold war veterans is double the percentage on the same age nonveteran group.

To illustrate the convincing evidence presented by the Army captain, I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing to thank you for your sponsorship of the cold war GI bill. There is a definite need for a measure such as this. Your predecessors saw the need for this legislation in World War II and during the Korean conflict. The need for such a measure is even greater now.

I am a 1962 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, having received my appointment from the then Senator Johnson. I am presently a company commander in the 25th Infantry Division in Hawaii.

There is certainly no disagreement that there is an increasing need for more education in today's technical society. Even a high school education is barely sufficient for the average worker. So many of the draftees and volunteers in my company have not completed their high school education for one reason or another. In my company, out of 150 men, 20 did not reach the ninth grade. An additional 20 did not complete high school. Another 10 men did not complete high school, but have received a diploma equivalent to a high school education from the U.S. Armed Forces Institute. This means that 50 out of 150 men have not completed a normal resident high school program. I feel that these statistics are valid on a wider level.

As you know, the Army is failing to retain between 75 and 80 percent of its first term volunteers and draftees. The administration and the Department of Defense seem to object to this bill because the bill would make it more difficult to retain personnel. To me, this line of reasoning belongs in the same category of illogic as that of paying a man only \$78 per month because he is obligated to the service and cannot get out, or paying an officer \$240 per month for the same reason.

In a statement to the House Armed Services Committee on June 16, 1965, Gen. Harold K. Johnson, in commenting on the failure of the Army to attract more than 82 of 5,500 Reserve officers invited to return to active duty said, in part, "It could also indicate that the Army needs to do a better job of describing the advantages of a military career, or it could mean that opportunities are inadequate in the Army. We

simply do not know the answer." Certainly no one knows the complete answer. However, the Armed Forces needs to develop a more competitive attitude in attracting quality personnel. What better attraction; what better selling point would the Armed Forces have for attracting good people than the prospect of aiding their further education? This asset would far outweigh any adverse affect from loss of personnel.

As to this later point, the threat of the loss of personnel due to the enactment of this bill—men make up their minds to stay in or get out of the service for far more fundamental reasons than this. The Armed Forces must begin to think positively about how to attract quality personnel and how to motivate them toward a career in the service. Positive steps must be taken. The service must be made attractive. The young man facing his service obligation should not look upon it as an unpleasant drudgery. It should appear as an opportunity to him. Failing to pass legislation similar to this prohibits the formation of that image which the service so desperately needs.

I do not believe that a limitation of service in combat areas should be placed on receipt of benefits under this bill. Every man in the service has the prospect of immediate deployment in a combat zone. Thousands of men are serving away from their families. All servicemen work extra hours, and in the field much of the time. To limit the bill to those serving in a combat zone would be an acknowledgment of only one of the many hardships which the serviceman experiences.

Almost all major industries presently have tuition assistance or other similar programs in effect. Thus this bill would not create a program unlike that of many civilian companies. The steady deterioration of service fringe benefits and the increase of similar benefits in private industry is well documented before both the House and Senate committees. The enactment of this bill would do much to arrest this deterioration and begin to put the Armed Forces on equal footing with private industry.

From an economic standpoint, this bill will pay for itself many times over. The income of the Federal Government in taxes alone from the increased productivity of the people who have participated in the program should reimburse the Government for its cost. The benefit to the Nation as a whole is unquestionable. I also have strong feelings as to the inadequacy of the U.S. Armed Forces Institute program, and how there would be no duplicity of expenditure between this bill and the USAFI program. However, I will not go into that in detail at this time.

I would appreciate any information you might be able to give me on this bill—its present status and its prospects of passing this session. Also, who might I write in Congress to most influence the passage of this bill?

Thank you very much for your indulgence.
Sincerely,

RURAL POVERTY EMPHASIS URGED

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the Economic Opportunity Act, which we are considering today, has been aimed for the most part at the poor in urban areas. This is because it is relatively easy to wage a war on poverty in our cities, which have large concentrations of poor people and groups that can work together in a coordinated way.

But we also should recognize that many of the poor in our urban areas are there because they literally were starved

out of their rural communities. For that reason it is just as important to fight poverty in rural areas and slow this movement of poor people to the cities.

It is disturbing to learn that of the 30 percent of our people living on farms or in small towns, about 46 percent have incomes of less than \$3,000 a year. This means the proportion of poverty in rural areas is twice as high as in the cities.

Unless more assistance is provided, a large portion of these rural poor families will be forced to move. If they do, they will join the already large numbers in the most impoverished slums of our large cities.

There are a number of Federal programs, including the Economic Opportunity Act, that can help rural people who are most in need. Yet we find that these programs are used much less by rural people, partly because they are spread out over several hundred counties and thousands of small towns and partly because branch offices of Federal agencies administering these programs do not reach into each rural area.

In view of the long history of inadequate service to rural areas, I have been disappointed to learn that the poverty program passed last year has made little impact in rural areas. The figures show that only slightly more than 5 percent of the money for community action programs had gone into rural areas by the end of the 1965 fiscal year.

Because of cooperation between the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Secretary of Agriculture, I understand this percentage is being improved. But I think the emphasis on solving rural poverty problems must be dramatically increased if we are to make any real headway in slowing this movement of poor rural families into our urban areas.

I would urgently hope that Mr. Shriver will work more closely with Mr. Freeman during fiscal 1966, making it possible to draw more heavily on Department of Agriculture personnel well acquainted with rural problems and rural people. I would urge Mr. Shriver to use all the provisions of the law authorizing him to work with other agencies so he can delegate both responsibility and poverty funds to the Department of Agriculture. It is essential that we do more to make sure that the rural poor are treated equally under the poverty program.

DREAMS COME TRUE

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, it is a wonderful experience for a man to live to see accomplished some of the good works he fought for in earlier years.

Such a man is I. B. Finkelstein, who now lives in the community of Arden near Wilmington, Del.

He was fighting for slum clearance and urban renewal in Wilmington long before such efforts had achieved the general popularity they enjoy today.

Bill Frank, whose column in the Wilmington Morning News is an institution in Delaware, commented the other day on Mr. Finkelstein's reaction to what has now been done in one former slum of Wilmington.

Judge Burnett, in other words—that the temper and personality traits of this particular trial judge were as well known before his appointment by the President and his confirmation by the Senate, as now, and therefore that must be what was wanted.

Let me say to the distinguished lawyer who made those remarks that "that" most certainly was not what was wanted, not by the Senate and certainly not by anybody concerned with the honor and fairness of our judicial system.

Let me say to the Senate that this man's term expires next year and that this Senator from Alaska is irrevocably committed to oppose any attempt by this man to seek another term on the bench of this or any other court.

His behavior, his inexcusable manner, his utter disregard for the interests of the children whose parents come before him—due apparently to his strange and pitiable obsession—make him unfit to wear the judicial robe.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will resume consideration of the bill.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Louisiana withhold his request?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I withhold my request.

UNTHINKABLE THAT THIS NATION WOULD DESTROY COMMUNIST CHINA'S NUCLEAR INSTALLATIONS

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I rise to comment on the statement made by the chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives in a speech he delivered recently in Connecticut. He asked a rhetorical question:

Should we use our atomic power to wipe out Red China's atomic capability?

Then he added:

We must get ready to do this very thing if we want to stop Red China. I will insist on

victory in Vietnam. Anything short of that would be treasonable.

In this same speech the gentleman also stated:

And even if we win the war in South Vietnam, I cannot help but think that we are merely postponing the final victory of Red China unless the Nation is prepared to risk the possible consequences of destroying her nuclear capability. And unless we make that decision, it is possible that all of our fighting in South Vietnam will have been in vain.

In other words this Member of the other body really outdid some hard-nosed militarists in our Armed Forces who in the past have been advocating preemptive war against the Soviet Union and in recent months have raised their voices advocating a sneak attack or preemptive war on Red China to destroy the crude nuclear installations of the Red Chinese. The very suggestion of this is so un-American as to be abhorrent. Yet, here is a Member of the other body occupying the position as chairman of one of the most powerful committees in that body advocating this procedure.

Mr. President, the facts are that I am a fervent believer in the seniority system. It is one of the advantages of our Congress that under that system, men who have served long years in the Senate and in the House of Representatives attain promotions within the committees of which they are members, and finally some of them with long years of congressional service become chairmen of committees. By and large, chairmen of all the committees of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States are eminently respected, are most knowledgeable, and deserve the promotion to chairmen by reason of the experience that they have acquired over the years.

Nevertheless, it is somewhat shattering to my faith in this seniority system to read of the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives advocating a suicidal policy on our part, and I feel obligated to speak out against this without delay lest in this country and overseas such a rhetorical question would be taken seriously.

That the person making this statement is chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the other body causes me to fear that in Europe and Asia, among the heads of states, it might be regarded as authoritative and that his views are respected and might be followed. Were we as a nation to undertake any such course, we could gain nothing except, at most, a very temporary advantage and at a great price—loss of respect and degradation.

Now let us consider the facts. No matter what single location or several locations we might bomb and utterly destroy into ashes within the mainland of China, that nation—Communist China—with its great population, its far-flung geographic area, and its scientists and scholars would retain the capability of very soon again producing even more nuclear weapons and far better and more powerful than the first crude warheads produced there. We should realize that

in this nuclear age of change and challenge even a small group of scientists are just as valuable or more valuable to any nation, to China and to this Nation, than any existing nuclear installations.

Assuming that we could destroy China's capability for producing nuclear weapons for a short time and that we did destroy all the existing nuclear installations, how could we possibly bar or prevent the access of the Chinese to the raw materials necessary for the production of fissionable nuclear charges? Assume we did hurl our air power over the Chinese mainland, as this gentleman suggests. Would we have our Air Force attempt to lay waste all of the factories that they beheld below them where they might suspect that some use was being made of raw materials to manufacture nuclear bombs? How could we do that anyway when it is readily possible for men of intelligence to disperse such installations and even locate them in cities in the midst of massive centers of population or underground in other sections of the country in such manner that our bombs could not destroy them?

Then, above everything else, it would not be possible for us with our missile power, air power, and land forces to kill all of those individuals who comprehend how atomic weapons are made. In other words, even now in a preemptive war in a day of infamy followed by other days of infamy, were we to destroy the lives of million of Chinese men, women, and children, we could not possibly kill off all the scientists.

I am mentioning this to state how foolhardy the gentleman's proposal is. Let us realize that China is a huge nation that has great diversity and a great quantity of natural resources; that there are 700 million men, women and children living within the borders of China; that China is a nation with a great history and its people have a tradition of being industrious. The Chinese are people of high intellectual attainments and business and scientific achievements. They have a great cultural background. It is obvious to all that China is now a great power and within 10 or 20 years it will be one of the three greatest powers on the earth.

We are proud of the American citizens we have in our midst, in Hawaii and elsewhere, men, women and children of Chinese descent. We have in this body as a U.S. Senator from the sovereign State of Hawaii Hiram Fong, one of the ablest and most respected Members of this body, whose father and mother and all his ancestors were Chinese and lived in China.

I advert to that fact to indicate another facet and to indicate how foolhardy that suggestion or rhetorical question was.

Furthermore, there is nothing Representative Rivers or anyone else can do to stop China's advance. Even the grossly inhumane use of atomic and bacteriological weapons could not do that. Let us hear no more about this rhetorical question. A proposal to do anything of this sort would be foreign to the American

way of life, foreign to the great history and noble traditions of our country from colonial days to the present time. Furthermore, it would be so inhuman and so callous that we as a Nation would be downgraded before all of the world, even to a greater extent than was Adolph Hitler's Germany.

The distinguished Congressman who made this bombastic speech gave little or no thought to the fact that were we to bomb the nuclear installations within the Red Chinese mainland, immediately Communist China with its population of 700 million and with its tremendously powerful land army would go to war against the United States, overrunning southeast Asia, and in doing this killing many thousands of American GI's.

Any self-respecting nation attacked in such a manner as was proposed in this Connecticut speech made by the gentleman from the other body would have no other course open to it. Furthermore, as certain as sunrise follows the sunset, the Soviet Union, obligated by its commitment and alliance to Communist China, and despite the fact that its leaders and the Russian people seek friendship and not war with this nation, would inevitably mobilize its forces and unleash its missiles, and the third world war—and this a war on annihilation—would begin.

Mr. President, this arm-chair militarist says:

I will insist on victory in Vietnam. Anything short of that would be treasonable.

It would be difficult to find anywhere a more bombastic statement than that. Unfortunately, this particular arm-chair militarist has the title of chairman of a powerful committee.

The President, who is Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, has repeatedly announced his desire and hope that representatives of the Vietcong and North Vietnam and other nations meet with us at a conference table, that we are glad to talk settlement and seek a ceasefire.

He has said time and time again—and that is our position at the present time, despite the bombast from the gentleman from the other body—that we should seek negotiations unconditionally, without any conditions whatsoever.

Our situation is bad in South Vietnam. It is far worse than it was a year ago or when President Eisenhower first committed our Armed Forces in South Vietnam. It is too late now for us to say a mistake was made, because we were committed in 1954 and we have been involved there since that time, and apparently things have gone from bad to worse.

Despite these statements that should never have been made—he said:

I will insist on victory in Vietnam. Anything short of that would be treasonable.

We Americans seek and hope for a negotiated settlement involving major concessions by both sides which will offer the Communists and Vietcong a reasonable and attractive alternative to military victory.

We seek a ceasefire and seek the time when the neighbors to the North and certain people in South Vietnam will

cease their aggression. Then we look forward to withdrawing our forces from southeast Asia.

Such a ceasefire or peace similar to that attained in South Korea is a consummation devoutly to be wished. Let us try to attain it.

I yield the floor.

UNIVERSITIES GROUP NOT IN COALITION

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, on July 7, I inserted in the RECORD—pages 15246-15247—an article from the Des Moines Register which purported to describe a coalition of organizations working together for legislative and partisan political purposes.

In a letter to the editor of the Register, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, one of the organizations included in the article, said the report as far as it was concerned was without foundation.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter, entitled "Universities Group Not in Coalition," from the Register of July 19, 1965, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, July 19, 1965]

UNIVERSITIES GROUP NOT IN COALITION TO THE EDITOR:

A July 6 news story by Nick Kotz [purported] to describe a "coalition" of interest groups "working quietly behind the scenes in Congress to reelect Democratic Congressmen and to lobby for Johnson administration legislation." The name of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges was included in the list of organizations which, Mr. Kotz says, have been "meeting regularly in Washington under the chairmanship of Donald Ellinger of the Democratic National Committee."

The article is completely without foundation as far as the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges is concerned. The association has not, does not, and will not participate in partisan political activity of any kind * * *.

With respect to education legislation, it has long been customary for organizations interested in this area to meet together with or without representatives of the administration currently in office * * *. At no time have I or members of my staff participated in meetings of this kind at which there was discussion of or plans for support of or opposition to candidates for public office, or of proposed legislation in partisan terms.

RUSSELL I. THACKREY,
Executive Secretary, National Association
of State Universities and Land-
Grant Colleges, Washington, D.C.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed on another subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection—

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, has the Senator in charge of the bill agreed to this?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Then I shall not object.

VIETNAM—THE REAL MEANING OF "UNCONDITIONAL NEGOTIATIONS"

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, ever since President Johnson's speech at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore on April 7, all kinds of interpretations have been made of the meaning of "unconditional negotiations"—the phrase which appeared in his address.

All peace-loving people are prayerful that there will be a prompt end to the war in Vietnam and that peace will come to that area. But few peace-loving people will tolerate an end to the war at the price of freedom or the profit for aggression. The national interest of the United States and South Vietnam—indeed the national interest of all nations, large and small, whose people live in freedom—repudiates a policy of peace at any price. There is a price to be paid for peace and it is only with a clear understanding of what that price is that those who speak of "negotiations" can speak meaningfully.

The President has emphasized on several occasions that the United States will take such action as is necessary to achieve our objectives in Vietnam. These objectives, he has pointed out, are to persuade the North Vietnamese to leave their neighbor, South Vietnam, alone—to cease and desist from directing, controlling, and supplying war materiel and manpower to the Vietcong military forces in South Vietnam; further, to assist the South Vietnamese in ending the attacks of the Vietcong so that the people can live in peace and freedom. This is the price of peace in South Vietnam.

These objectives could be achieved through peaceful negotiations—if the leaders in Hanoi were willing to pay this price. They understand very clearly that this is the price and they have to date been unwilling to pay it. They have chosen, instead, to pay a higher price by forcing South Vietnam and her allies to achieve these objectives in a war.

The President has said that "We do not intend to be defeated." This is another way of saying that we do not intend to fail in our military efforts to achieve our objectives.

The President has also stated a "win" policy for our war effort when he declared on June 1:

In the future I will call upon our people to make further sacrifices because this is a good program, and the starts we are making are good starts. This is the only way that I know in which we can really win, not only the military battle against aggression, but the wider war for the freedom and progress of all men.

Winning the military battle would naturally mean attaining our objectives.

I might point out that earlier this year Secretary of State Rusk stated that we are going to help the South Vietnamese win the war.

There are some who say that no one ever wins a war. While it is true that war brings great hardship and suffering, it is not true that the objectives stated by the President of the United States cannot be won. They are moral objec-

eries and the bakery unions, a "phoney" argument.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch calls the bread tax charge an exaggerated argument and suggests that one way or another, additional returns must be provided "if the Great Society is ever to incorporate its diminishing rural population."

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to include the two editorials in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, June 29, 1965]

BREAD TAX CHARGE

The attack against the wheat acreage diversion and price support program as a bread tax on consumers is one of the more cynical pieces of political demagoguery to be practiced lately. This program requires domestic processors of wheat to buy certificates worth 75 cents a bushel and exporters to buy certificates worth 30 cents a bushel. The certificates are given to farmers as a part of their payment for complying with acreage restrictions.

Since the certificate program began, the price support loan on wheat has been reduced from \$2 a bushel to \$1.25. The average "blend" certificate value, which depends on the ratio of domestic to export sales, last year was 43 cents and this year is to be 44 cents. The total support price to wheat growers this year will average \$1.69 per bushel, as compared with \$2 in 1962.

The domestic miller will pay about the same for wheat this year as in 1962, since the market price plus the certificate will cost about \$2 per bushel.

The "bread tax" charge is based on the fact that part of the price support cost now is paid by the public as consumers instead of taxpayers. The flour millers pass on the cost of the certificates in the price of flour.

The bread tax charge is cynical because everyone knows the price of bread is only slightly related to the price of wheat. The cost of wheat makes up less than 20 percent of the retail price of bread and other bakery products. About 80 percent of the price is made up of processing and marketing costs.

The total cost of wheat to flour millers is no higher than it was 3 years ago and is lower than it was in the early 1950's when price supports were higher. Yet the prices of bread and other wheat products are considerably higher because of increased labor and other manufacturing costs.

The price of white bread has risen every year since 1950 but not because the price of wheat went up. If the wheat program is extended by Congress and the administration recommendations are approved, the wheat certificates will be increased in value. Since the cost of wheat in a loaf of bread is around 2 cents, raising the certificate value to \$1.25 (a 20-percent increase in the total cost of wheat to the miller) could not justify as much as a 1-cent increase in the price of bread.

If this part of the subsidy is paid in the form of a charge on consumers instead of taxpayers, it cannot affect low-income consumers perceptibly.

Whether it is a good idea to raise the returns to wheat growers by any method is a separate question. But the method of a higher certificate value should not be discarded on such phony ground as the bread tax argument.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Aug. 10, 1965]

A RURAL RESCUE ACT

If the Johnson administration could apply the same consensus strategy to farm policy

that it has so successfully applied to several major new bills, the result would be a bold new farm program. But there is no consensus on farm policy.

Consequently Congress faces a fight over the administration bill reported by the House Agriculture Committee. The fight pits what Secretary of Agriculture Freeman calls the Bread Trust against what his opponents term a bread tax.

These charges focus public attention on only one aspect of the farm bill: the wheat provision. It would require wheat processors to buy certificates at \$1.25 a bushel, instead of 75 cents. The 50-cent increase, plus regular price supports at \$1.25, would give the farmer \$2.50 a bushel—or nearly parity.

No doubt the processors would pass the increased certificates charge on to consumers. So the processors, joined by the American Farm Bureau Federation, speak of a bread tax. It is an exaggerated charge. The Agriculture Committee majority doubts that the new costs to processors would add as much as a penny to their costs on a loaf of bread. The farmer receives only about 3 cents for the wheat in one loaf, and though the retail price has gone up 8 cents in recent years, the farmer has not had any share of the rise.

Secretary Freeman bases his counterattack partly on the fact that five major processors among 3,500 baking firms enjoyed 57 percent of the baking industry's profits (after taxes). His exaggerated talk of a bread trust does not prove, however, that a few companies set the price of bread. It does suggest the irony of such industrial giants suddenly rushing to the defense of the poor farmer and the poor consumer.

In all this flamboyant propaganda there is the question of the extent to which the burden of farm subsidies should be transferred from the taxpayer to the consumer. In theory, tax-supported subsidies are fairer. In practice, if the House committee and Mr. Freeman are right, the consumer should pay very little more for bread—while the Government saves more than \$150 million a year and raises wheat farmers' income by as much.

This will be a neat trick if it works, and it is worth a trial. It is worth a trial because the alternatives of no farm bill or of continued high Federal costs are unacceptable, and because a slight shift in the cost of food to the people who buy it makes some sense.

Primarily it is worth a trial because rural America lives increasingly close to poverty and needs help. Only 400,000 of 3 million farmers earn anything near parity income despite the flight from farm to city. We would prefer to see a farm program with payments graduated to individual need, but surely the Nation's food costs must be graduated to the needs of its food producers.

Today 8 percent of the population produces food for all the population. Despite this record of general efficiency, farm prices have dropped 15 percent in 17 years while living costs have increased 35 percent. America spends less on food, proportionately, than any other country, but farmers as a whole do not enjoy a proportionate share of the prosperity they have helped to create.

Well-fed Americans can afford to pay a little more for food. One way or another they will have to do so, if the Great Society is ever to incorporate its diminishing rural population.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, if America wants to continue to enjoy abundant food at the lowest real cost any nation ever enjoyed—less than 18½ percent of income—some consideration is going to have to be shown for the producers of that food.

The producers are not Kigmites.

If they continue to be treated as such, the day will not be far off that a few

huge corporations will control agricultural production, as they now control the bulk of baking, and food prices will, in my opinion, begin to rise substantially.

The Nation will then know what bread taxes and food taxes, assessed by a monopolistic food production industry, really are.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965".

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

Job Corps—Cuban refugees

SEC. 2. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States."

Job Corps—Enrollee affidavits

SEC. 3. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: "(d) Each enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of Cuba described in section 104(a) of this Act) must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic'. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection."

Job Corps—Application of Federal Employees' Compensation Act

SEC. 4. Section 106(c)(2)(A) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended retroactive to January 1, 1965, to read as follows:

"(A) The term 'performance of duty' in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps."

Job Corps—Enrollee work activities

SEC. 5. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting the word "male" before the word "enrollees" in the first sentence.

SEC. 6. Section 114(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by adding a new unnumbered paragraph following the end of subsection (a), as follows:

"For the purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States."

Work training programs—Limitations on Federal assistance

SEC. 7. The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out ", or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".

Work-study programs—Limitations on Federal assistance

SEC. 8. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out "or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Community action programs—Public information

SEC. 9. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and", and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(5) which includes provision for feasible access of the public to information including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director."

SEC. 10. Section 205(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended as follows:

Between the words "including" and "employment" in the last sentence of subsection (a), insert the words: "but not limited to".

Between the words "management," and "welfare" in the last sentence of subsection (a), insert the words: "family planning, consumer credit education, consumer debt counseling,".

Special programs for the chronically unemployed poor

SEC. 11. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (f) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection (d) as follows:

"(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under this section for special programs (1) which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addition to other services provided, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community or area served by the program, including without limitation activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment."

General community action programs—self-help housing rehabilitation

SEC. 12. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(e) In extending assistance under this section the Director shall also give special consideration to programs which will, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation:

Provided, That such programs will not result in the displacement of employed workers."

General community action programs—limitations on Federal assistance

SEC. 13 (a) The first sentence of section 208(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out ", or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".

(b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations."

(c) Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: "The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved."

Participation of State activities

SEC. 14. Section 209(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period the following: "including, but not limited to, continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs".

Disapproval of plans

SEC. 15. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is repealed. Subsection "(d)" is redesignated "(c)".

Notices

SEC. 16. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(d) When the Director receives an application from a private nonprofit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such community action agency of the receipt of such application. When the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that special cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency."

SEC. 17. Section 211 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is retitled to include the words "POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND" preceding the word "PREFERENCE".

Section 211 of such Act is further amended by inserting a new subsection (a), as follows, and redesignating existing section 211 as subsection "(b)";

"(a) Any person who is employed by any agency administering or conducting a community action program receiving assistance under this part and whose salary is paid in principal part from funds appropriated pursuant to this part, shall be deemed to be an officer or employee of a State or local agency for the purposes and within the meaning of the Act entitled 'An Act to prevent pernicious political activities', approved August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), as amended."

Adult basic education programs—Payments; Federal share

SEC. 18. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and each of the two succeeding fiscal years,".

Adult basic education programs—Teacher training

SEC. 19. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended—

(1) by striking out "From the sums appropriated to carry out this title" in section 213(a) and inserting in lieu thereof "From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218"; and

(2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following new section 218:

"Teacher training projects"

"SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine."

Voluntary assistance program for needy children

SEC. 20. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof, and by redesignating part D as part C and section 221 as section 220.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

SEC. 21. In title III of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in the heading "PART A—AUTHORITY TO MAKE GRANTS AND LOANS", delete the words "GRANTS AND" and the dash after the word "make" in the first subsequent sentence and the subsequent number "(1)".

Cooperative association—prohibition of loans to assist manufacturing

SEC. 22. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following proviso: "Provided, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance."

Assistance for migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees

SEC. 23. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"Migrants and seasonally employed agricultural employees"

"SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children."

SEC. 24. Section 331(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by striking the words "January 31, 1965" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "June 30, 1966".

AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

SEC. 25. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended (1) by

inserting after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: "Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title.", and (2) by striking out of the last sentence the following: "for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,".

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

Vista volunteers—Assignment; application of other provisions and Federal laws

SEC. 26. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designation "(C)" and inserting in lieu thereof "in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act."

(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(d)(1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

"(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949.

"(3) For the purposes of the Act entitled 'An Act to prevent pernicious political activities', approved August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), a volunteer under this section shall be deemed to be a person employed in the executive branch of the Federal Government."

National Advisory Council

SEC. 27. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 605. (a) The President shall, during 1965, appoint a National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity (hereinafter referred to as the "Advisory Council") for the purpose of reviewing the administration and operation of programs under this Act, evaluating their effectiveness in furthering the purposes of this Act, and making recommendations for the improvement of such programs, administration, and operation, including proposals for changes in this Act.

"(b) The Advisory Council shall be appointed by the President without regard to the civil service laws and shall consist of twenty-one persons who shall be representative of the public in general and appropriate fields of endeavor related to the purposes of this Act. From among the members of the Advisory Council the President shall designate a Chairman, who shall not be a regular full-time employee of the United States. The Advisory Council shall meet at the call of the Chairman but not less often than twice a year. The Director shall be an ex officio member of the Advisory Council.

"(c) The Advisory Council is authorized to engage such technical assistance as may be required to carry out its functions, and the Director shall, in addition, make available to the Advisory Council such secretarial, clerical, and other assistance and such perti-

nent data prepared by the Office of Economic Opportunity as it may require to carry out such functions.

"(d) The Advisory Council shall make an annual report of its findings and recommendations to the President not later than March 31 of each calendar year beginning with the calendar year 1966. The President shall transmit each such report to the Congress together with his comments and recommendations."

Programs for the elderly poor

SEC. 28. Part A of title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"Programs for the elderly poor"

"Sec. 610. It is the intention of the Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under this Act."

Affidavits

SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof and substituting a new section 616, as follows:

"Transfer of funds"

"Sec. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appropriations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to carry out programs or activities under such title may be transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of carrying out programs or activities under any other such title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the amounts otherwise available under any title by more than 10 per centum."

Authorization of appropriations

SEC. 30. (a)(1) The first sentence of section 131 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$535,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(b)(1) The first sentence of section 220 of such Act (as so redesignated by section 14 of this Act) is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$880,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law; \$150,000,000 of the funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1966 for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this title may be used for the purposes of section 205(d)."

(c)(1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the

succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(d)(1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(e)(1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUNTEERS

SEC. 31. (a) Paragraph (2)(A) of section 205(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C. 425(b)(2)(A)) is amended by striking out "or" before "(iii)" and by inserting before the proviso and after "Peace Corps Act" the following: ", or (iv) not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964".

(b) The amendments made by this section shall not apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment is open to amendment.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, only a year ago President Johnson signed the Economic Opportunity Act into law, and the war on poverty was officially declared.

When we began this endeavor to lift one-fifth of our Nation from the depths of poverty, we knew that success would not come quickly or be easily attained.

Yet we have made a beginning on an enterprise that is probably as difficult as any peacetime program this Government has ever undertaken.

Taking both the good and the bad, it is, I believe, a beginning that holds solid promise for the future.

The bill we now consider, H.R. 8283, does not greatly increase the scope of the legislation under which we are waging this war.

Nor does it make any major changes in the character or direction of existing programs.

It does, however, sustain the effort we have begun, and it reaffirms this Nation's commitment to prosecute the war on poverty with maximum effectiveness.

From a purely statistical point of view, the record of the first 9 months of operation under the Economic Opportunity Act is an impressive one.

It is a record that includes the establishment, from scratch, of 47 operating Job Corps centers with 10,000 assigned enrollees; the inauguration of 639 Neighborhood Youth Corps projects to provide work and training for close to 300,000 young men and women; the initiation of work-study programs for 54,000 low-income students in 648 colleges and universities during the first spring semester of operation; the making of 771 separate community action grants, and nearly 2,400 grants of Project Head Start for over half a million 4- and 5-year olds who are receiving special attention in 13,000 child development centers all across the country; the provision of basic rudimentary education for nearly 43,372 functionally illiterate, poor adults; the making of low-interest loans to 11,000 low-income rural families to improve their farms or to inaugurate or expand nonagricultural enterprises; the extension of housing, sanitation, day care, and education assistance to 75,000 migrant agricultural workers under 53 separate grants; the provision of constructive work training and other assistance to unemployed fathers and other needy persons through 164 separate projects serving 88,700 participants with 276,000 dependents.

These accomplishments, it seems to me, are even more impressive when one considers that in the short time this war on poverty has been underway, the Office of Economic Opportunity also had the task of recruiting and organizing a staff, of formulating these programs, and of developing the regulations and procedures for their administration.

Obviously, these accomplishments do not show ultimate success. The record does, however, show progress.

I am sure there have been mistakes. I am sure there have been administrative mishaps that occur even in well-established agencies, much less one that has been in existence only a few months.

But it is important that criticisms of the Economic Opportunity Act—and its administration—is placed in the proper perspective.

We cannot let sniping at the program overshadow the fact that, here at last, is a determined, concentrated attack on one of civilized man's oldest enemies—poverty.

To permit that would be to officially ignore the millions who live under poverty conditions and refuse to tackle the barriers that keep them and their children from enjoying our unprecedented prosperity.

Rather, we must constructively assist OEO in meeting the objectives set for it by the President and the Congress.

The record to date suggests that, if there are many problems still to be met

and considered, there are also a good many hard problems that are now behind us.

The bill before us is framed in this context.

The new authorizations that it would provide are generally somewhat below the amounts contained in the House passed bill, but essentially consistent with what the President has recommended as necessary to permit sound and prudent operations over fiscal year 1966.

In this respect, the bill is neither reckless, nor restrictive.

It is consistent neither with the view of those who contend that all of our present efforts are so small as to be insignificant, nor with the argument that because the road ahead is difficult we should stop short, turn back, and start over.

It is not designed to make speed an overriding goal. But it is designed to build upon and take advantage of what has already been accomplished.

Apart from providing new authorizations, the bill makes a number of changes in the existing provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Most of these are essentially technical or perfecting amendments, and I shall touch upon most of them only briefly.

The bill includes the various amendments recommended by the administration.

One would extend, for 1 additional year, the authority for 90-percent Federal funding of the work-training, work-study, and adult-basic education programs.

Another would expand authority to assign VISTA volunteers so that these unusually dedicated Americans could be employed and their talents used in support of any activity eligible for assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act.

Another amendment would provide Job Corps enrollees with Federal Employee's Compensation Act protection while they are on authorized pass or traveling to or from a Job Corps site, and provide more adequate benefits under that same act to VISTA volunteers as well.

An amendment would clarify the Director's authority to carry out effective programs to aid migrants and seasonally employed agricultural employees, and permit limited use of funds for the training of teachers or instructors in techniques of working with adults under the adult basic education program.

The bill also generally includes the several program amendments adopted by the House.

These would, for example, enable Cuban refugees to enroll in the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps and assure that workers in very low income farm families will not be excluded from work-experience projects under title V of the act.

In addition, the bill includes several amendments adopted by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare which merit special comment.

One of these authorizes special projects directed to the needs of chronically unemployed persons who have poor employment prospects.

These would be persons who, because of age or other reasons, are unable to secure employment or training under other programs.

They would work on projects contributing to such things as the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, parks, highways, and other lands.

These special projects would, of course have to be conducted in accordance with standards which will assure that they are in the public interest and consistent with the labor policies applied in connection with other programs under the act.

The committee believed that a substantial attack on the employment problems of these otherwise unemployable poor should be mounted as soon as possible. The bill accordingly contemplates that \$150 million will be used for this purpose during the first year.

The committee also deemed it advisable to remove from the act the present provisions giving State Governors the authority to veto local community action programs, adult basic education, and Neighborhood Youth Corps projects.

This does not reflect any belief that State governments, through appropriate State agencies, do not have an important role to play in the development and conduct of many antipoverty programs.

Obviously, many State agencies do have a proper and legitimate interest in these programs.

The committee did not believe, however, that such an interest is served by a provision that has no real precedent in any other legislation, which cuts across established governmental patterns at the State and local levels, and which confers upon Governors control over projects and activities for which they have no legal responsibility.

Such a provision, in the view of the committee, serves no program purpose and, in fact, does more to impede than foster the harmonious intergovernmental relations.

Finally, the committee has added an amendment which reflects its concern over the millions of elderly people who are living in poverty, and for whom poverty is especially difficult to overcome.

The plight of these elderly poor clearly deserves particular attention, and an amendment has been added to assure that the problems of the elderly poor shall be considered, whenever feasible, in the development of any program under this act that can contribute to meeting their needs.

It is the committee's belief that the bill before us will give the Office of Economic Opportunity the funds and other tools it needs to carry on the war against poverty.

I certainly urge its adoption.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that such additional staff members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare as it may be found necessary to have present in the Chamber may be authorized to have the privilege of the floor during this consideration of the bill, H.R. 8283.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the statement made by the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] in regard to the program on economic opportunity.

There is a need for this type of work. I have a very high regard for the Administrator of this national program.

I want to know if the distinguished chairman of the committee went into the possibility of obtaining closer local cooperation. I have had some contact with the matter. I have followed it with some interest.

I find that groups of private citizens, who have taken an interest in this field in various communities, seem to be ignored at the present time.

Has the chairman any suggestion on that?

Mr. McNAMARA. No, I do not have any suggestion as to how it might be improved. It has been the experience of the committee, through the hearings we conducted, that while there has been some competition among local groups for leadership in the program, there was no charge that local people did not have an opportunity to participate. I do not know where that situation prevails; therefore, I have no suggestion.

Mr. CARLSON. I am not criticizing the way the bill has been set up to carry out the program. My point is that we have citizens who for years have been interested in welfare programs. They know the conditions in their communities better than anyone else, and they should be allowed to participate.

Mr. McNAMARA. If the Senator will yield, the proposed act provides for participation of local groups. There is every indication that in the implementation of the act they have been consulted with respect to the program.

Mr. CARLSON. I thank the Senator for that information. I sincerely hope they will be. These people have been interested in the welfare of their communities and are still interested. That does not mean that there is nothing else that needs to be done, but I hope that those people will be tied into the program.

Mr. McNAMARA. I could not agree more with the distinguished Senator from Kansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment is open to amendment.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I know there are amendments at the desk. I know of none on the majority side. I suggest the absence of a quorum. I hope the staff will contact minority Members.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The committee amendment is open to amendment.

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may discuss a subject not immediately germane to the matter pending before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, on August 10 there was filed with the Senate a dissenting opinion concerning the wisdom of adopting the Consular Convention With the Soviet Union. This Consular Convention contains a provision that is unprecedented in the history of our country. The convention that is to be approved between the Soviet Union and the United States contains a provision granting complete immunity from criminal prosecution to consular agents of Soviet Russia in the United States and those of the United States in Soviet Russia.

The general practice has been that immunity from criminal prosecution is granted to consular agents only in regard to misdemeanors.

This convention goes beyond that and it, in effect, declares that no criminal prosecution shall be brought against a consular agent of Red Russia in the United States, even though he has committed a felony. It means that if proof is existent concerning espionage by a consular agent, let us say in Chicago or San Francisco, that agent is granted immunity from prosecution.

I repeat that it will be the first time we have ever entered into such an agreement. In the past the immunity has been limited against prosecutions for misdemeanors.

The minority views are signed by the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

It was the intention of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] that he would also be a signatory to the minority views. Inadvertently the name of the Senator from Kansas was omitted.

I ask unanimous consent that the minority views be printed in the RECORD, and that the name of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] be added as one of the participants in the minority views expressed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There being no objection, the minority views were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSULAR CONVENTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION—MINORITY VIEWS

We do not concur with the recommendation of the Committee on Foreign Relations that the Senate give its advice and consent to ratification of the Consular Convention With the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We believe that the disadvantages of the convention for the United States are sufficiently grave to outweigh the advantages which are claimed for it.

Our concern relates principally to the provisions in the convention under which consular officers and employees of the sending state are given immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state. This convention is the first to which the United States has been a party which provides for unlimited exemption from criminal jurisdiction for consular personnel. Previous consular conventions have provided for immunity from criminal jurisdiction for consular personnel with respect only to misdemeanors but not to felonies. We believe that if the provisions regarding immunity had not been included in the convention, the Soviet Union would not have agreed to it and that, in fact, these provisions were a principal Soviet objective. The testimony of witnesses from the Department of State has been contradictory on the question of whether the Soviet Union or the United States first proposed including these immunity provisions in the convention.

In any case, we believe that the extension of immunity to include felonies would open the way to espionage and other forms of subversion on the part of Soviet consular personnel. If this convention is ratified, and if the Soviet Union then establishes a consulate or consulates in the United States, the officers and employees of these consulates would be able to engage in espionage and subversion knowing that they will not be liable to prosecution but only to expulsion.

It is true that the establishment of a Soviet consulate or consulates would mean only a small increase in the number of Soviet officials with immunity from criminal jurisdiction (as of July 1, 1965, there were 249 Soviet officials and 150 dependents who enjoyed diplomatic immunity). We are convinced, however, that there is a predisposition on the part of Soviet officials to engage in espionage and subversive activities, a predisposition which is an important consideration regardless of the numbers involved. In this connection, it is important to recall the testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, before a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives on March 4, 1965. In a statement inserted in the record justifying the appropriations being requested for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Hoover said:

"In regard to the Communist-bloc espionage attack against this country, there has been no letup whatsoever. Historically, the Soviet intelligence services have appropriated the great bulk of official representation and diplomatic establishments in other countries as bases from which to carry on their espionage operations. Over the years, the number of such official personnel assigned to the United States has steadily increased."

In testimony relating to this statement during the March 4 hearing Mr. Hoover stated that "our Government is about to allow them [the Soviet Union] to establish consulates in many parts of the country which, of course, will make our work more difficult." Mr. Hoover then inserted in the record of the hearing several other brief statements. The first read, in part, as follows:

"The methods used to collect data sought by the Communist-bloc intelligence services are almost as varied as the types of data which they endeavor to collect. One of their mainstays is the collection of information—classified and otherwise—through espionage operations involving personnel legally assigned to official Soviet and satellite establishments in the United States. The focal points of these operations continue to be the United Nations and the Communist embassies, legations, consulates, and news or commercial agencies in our country. Such gathering of information is conducted by the Communist representatives using the

legal cover of their diplomatic or other official status to cloak their spying activities.

"Historically, the Soviet intelligence services have appropriated the great bulk of official positions abroad, primarily using their official representatives and diplomatic establishments in other countries as bases from which to carry on their espionage operations."

A second statement related specifically to the question of new Soviet consulates. It read as follows:

"Long seeking greater official representation in the United States which would be more widely spread over the country, a cherished goal of the Soviet intelligence services was realized when the United States signed an agreement with the Soviet Union on June 1, 1964, providing for the reciprocal establishment of consulates in our respective countries.

"One Soviet intelligence officer in commenting on the agreement spoke of the wonderful opportunity this presented his service and that it would enable the Soviets to enhance their intelligence operations.

"In involving the great bulk of their official personnel in intelligence activity in one way or another, the Soviets utilize to the fullest extent possible any and all official means such as the United Nations, trade delegations, and the like, as transmission belts to carry additional intelligence personnel into this country."

More recently, on July 14, 1965, Mr. Hoover, reviewing the major phases of the operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation during the past fiscal year, stated:

"The great majority of the 800 Communist bloc official personnel stationed in the United States, protected by the privilege of diplomatic immunity, have engaged in intelligence assignments and are a dangerous threat to the security of the United States."

We believe that these statements of the chief investigative officer of the United States should be given serious consideration. It is also worth looking at the record of the activities of Soviet officials in the United States. According to information supplied by the Department of State, since 1946, 27 Soviet Embassy and consular officers and personnel in the United States have been arrested or expelled for intelligence activity. These 27 included personnel assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, the Soviet consulate general in New York (which was closed in 1948), the Soviet mission to the United Nations, and the United Nations Secretariat. In the same period, 13 diplomatic, consular, and international organization officials from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania were expelled from the United States for intelligence activities.

There is another grave aspect to these immunity provisions, and that is the chain reaction that will be set off if this convention is ratified. The provisions regarding immunity will then apply not only to Soviet consular personnel but may also apply to consular personnel of the 27 other countries with which the United States has consular conventions or agreements which contain a most-favored-nation clause. These 27 countries include 2 other Communist countries: Rumania and Yugoslavia. As a practical matter, as there are no Rumanian consulates in the United States at present, there would not be any immediate increase in the number of Rumanian official personnel enjoying complete immunity from criminal prosecution. If any Rumanian consulates were established in the United States in the future, however, their consular personnel would enjoy such immunity.

We are thus opposed to the convention because we consider the provisions granting unrestricted immunity from criminal jurisdiction to Soviet consular personnel to be unwise. We believe that these immunity provisions will encourage Soviet subversion

by placing Soviet consular personnel outside the criminal jurisdiction of the United States. We also believe that it is not in the interests of the United States to extend this immunity to several hundred, perhaps as many as 400, persons which would be the case given the fact that most-favored-nation clauses are found in consular conventions and agreements the United States has with 27 other countries.

FRANK J. LAUSCHE,
BOURKE HICKENLOOPER,
JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
KARL E. MUNDT.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment is open to amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that the clerk report it, but what I should like to do is to have the amendment printed so that it will be available tomorrow for voting. I shall discuss it today, but I send the amendment to the desk for information at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator does not wish the amendment stated at this time?

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct. I send it to the desk for information.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the amendment to the committee amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment to the amendment is as follows:

On page 28, line 24, strike out "\$535,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$412,500,000".

On page 29, line 10, strike out "\$880,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$490,000,000".

On page 29, line 23, strike out "\$55,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$35,000,000".

On page 30, line 22 strike out "\$30,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$10,000,000".

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, inasmuch as I have the floor, I believe that I should say something about the amendment.

This amendment is similar to the one I offered in committee. It would control the spending on a program which is beset with difficulties, a program in which more was authorized last year than was appropriated, a program which has not been clarified so far as the administration and the good it is doing for the poor are concerned. Therefore, my amendment is designed to bring back to last year's authorization the proposed figures in this year's bill. In other words, I will be cutting back on the extension of the authorization from double last year's authorization to the same amount as last year's authorization.

I believe that I can do this in figures, for the information of Senators, by the chart which was before us during the executive committee hearings, showing what last year's authorization and appropriations were.

Mr. President, I hold this chart in my hand, and it shows that last year, for example, there was authorized for fiscal

1965, \$947.5 million. When the bill was studied by the Appropriations Committee, however, for last year, the total appropriation was \$793 million, or a total of approximately \$150 million less than was authorized by Congress.

Ordinarily, this would be considered normal in the first year of a program. Then I would say that in the second year of a program, as we start working out problems and trying to solve the unforeseen difficulties involved in a new program, we would probably add a little more money to it.

My purpose would be to bring the authorization for this fiscal year up to the same authorization as last year, plus an additional \$150 million which is called for under the so-called Nelson amendment.

Instead of the \$947.5 million, the committee reported a proposal which is \$1,650 million—more than \$700 million over what was spent last year when the appropriation was not as much as the authorization.

To me, it seems absolute nonsense to take a program which is so beset from the beginning to the end with problems on a nationwide basis, and say that we are going to double the amount of money involved in it.

Accordingly, my amendment, when it is reported and brought up for a vote—and I hope that it will be bought up for a vote—will have the purpose of cutting back the total authorization to \$947.5 million plus \$150 million for the Nelson amendment, which brings it to just slightly over \$1 billion, or at least \$600 million less than what was called for in the program.

Mr. President, I should like to be able to support H.R. 8283 because along with every other Senator in this body, regardless of political party, we share a sense of responsibility to the poor of America, and would like to do something which would enable us to provide a mechanism by which the poor themselves could get on their feet, regain their self-respect, and enjoy an economic livelihood. I cannot think of anything better than to be able to participate in the enactment of a bill which would begin a true war on poverty.

However, so long as the Great Society's efforts against poverty continue to be so blatantly political and so fraught with blunders, I cannot support a bill which would serve only to compound the errors and exacerbate the weaknesses of the existing laws. I am speaking particularly about the poverty program in this respect.

In order to implement debate and the functions of the antipoverty program in the Office of Economic Opportunity, I wish to review briefly some of the troubles of the poverty program in my own State of Colorado.

Colorado has been fortunate in that the poverty war programs in the State have not been hit by such horrible scandals as have occurred in Florida, Indiana, and elsewhere.

In that connection, I believe I should say at this point that the minority views detail the scandals. I believe that it is

worthwhile, for the purpose of making the record, to recite them once again.

On page 61 of the report, in the minority views, we state:

One of the best demonstrations of what can happen under the shoddy mismanagement of OEO is the fiasco that occurred in the St. Petersburg, Fla., Women's Job Corps Center. The troubles began when OEO picked as a site for the center a resort hotel in a quiet residential district. Residents of the area experienced some difficulty in adjusting to what an OEO spokesman described as "the animal spirits of the young."

Let me say at this point that what the residents described it as was a far cry from the innocuous statement of the OEO spokesman.

Continuing reading:

The enrollees, however, did not object to the hotel, remodeled for them at a cost of \$40,000, nor to the welcome they received from the 122 staffers employed to care for a student complement of 237. Even with this degree of supervision, trouble with the enrollees soon began. Eight girls were expelled for drinking, and one was described as an alcoholic. Another girl disappeared after writing that she was leaving the center because some girls were using narcotics and staying out overnight with male companions. As a result of the whole mess—

And this is the Florida situation, in St. Petersburg—

the local school board, which was under contract to help in administering the center, voted to terminate its contract with OEO as soon as possible.

Similarly, criticism has been voiced of a men's Job Corps training center in Indiana. A Columbus, Ind., newspaper reported that some of the trainees had attempted to purchase guns while on leave. Seven of the trainees were arrested for a sexual assault on a 17-year-old boy, but at least some of the seven were promptly bailed out and returned to the center. Following these incidents a military discipline was imposed on the boys, and they now are made to stand at military attention at 6:30 in the morning. Serious trouble also arose at a Job Corps camp near Astoria, Oreg. After a number of fist fights occurred at the camp, the U.S. marshal for the State of Oregon considered deputizing State and local police officers to control further outbreaks of violence.

This is only a part of the additional minority views that we have expressed, which show what has happened in some of these camps. I am sure that the proponents of the bill, those who are supporting the administration's policy, will say that these are isolated examples, and therefore we cannot criticize the whole management because of these examples. However, these are graphic examples of some of the problems that are occurring in the war on poverty.

What has happened in Colorado?

The problem in Colorado has been one of local dissatisfaction and opposition to the establishment of programs as well as an overall sense of frustration at the lack of results accomplished by the war on poverty.

In Denver, the capital and largest city in my State, there has arisen a consensus of opinion to the effect that little, if anything, has been done in the way of actual combat against poverty.

The Denver Post recently reported that 10 of the community action pro-

grams proposed for Denver had been lost in the shuffle of OEO in Washington. The newspapers said that much of the blame was due to Denver personnel, but added that "OEO's dealings with Denver have done very little to sustain the reputation of OEO Director Sargent Shriver as a man who can cut redtape, minimize delay, and get swift action."

As a result of the lack of progress of the antipoverty effort in Denver, there has developed within the poverty program a struggle to fire the present director, a former Democratic State legislator. I served with him while I was a member of the State legislature. This dispute has served to further check the efforts of antipoverty shock troops.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD at this point several articles from Denver newspapers which document this situation. In the process of doing this I should like to read a few headings:

Denver "Losing" War on Poverty.

Mayor Wants New Chief for Poverty/War. Valdez Favored To Head City's Poverty War.

That is another indication of the fight I was talking about with reference to who is to operate the program. Apparently Mr. Allen, the former State legislator, is about to be fired, even though I know his own heartsick attitude and his efforts in trying to do something for this program.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, June 20, 1965]

DENVER LOSING WAR ON POVERTY

For several months, this newspaper has been making a careful study of the problems of Denver's war on poverty, an organization which was formed nearly a year ago at the initiative of Mayor Currigan.

We have been attempting to find out why this organization, which was one of the first to start in the Nation, has had so little success in bringing the benefits of the Federal antipoverty program to the assistance of the poor in the Denver area.

As of this writing, none of the 10 community action projects proposed by Denver's war on poverty has yet won the approval of the Federal antipoverty agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington.

Most of these project proposals, involving about \$1.5 million, have been sent back to Denver for revision—some of them several times—and the revised versions are still stalled at various levels of the administrative machinery in Washington.

In addition, the Federal administrative grant, which has financed the operation of Denver's war on poverty to this point, is about to run out and the organization has not sent in its application for more funds in time to meet the deadline.

Only extraordinary action by the Office of Economic Opportunity can save the Denver organization from having to close down altogether for lack of funds.

The blame for Denver's poor progress in the poverty war, as this newspaper is able to appraise it, has to be shared by Washington and Denver, with Denver itself bearing the larger share.

The delays and confusion in the handling of Denver's proposals by OEO in Washington are, to some extent, understandable in a new agency just getting organized and deter-

mined to exercise caution in the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars.

But, at the same time, OEO's dealings with Denver have done very little to sustain the reputation of OEO Director Sargent Shriver as a man who can cut redtape, minimize delay, and get swift action.

The major trouble, however, has rested in Denver. The staff of Denver's war on poverty has been slow and inefficient. Its relations with the war on poverty board, and its chairman, have been unsatisfactory.

Project proposals have been poorly prepared and budgetary and administrative details have not been properly attended to. The work of the office has been poorly organized, and deadlines and priorities have been neglected.

This newspaper takes no pleasure in criticizing the hard-working and dedicated individuals who have labored unsatisfactorily in the poverty program to this date.

But we do fear that the poor of Denver will continue to be shortchanged unless the program can be put on a more efficient basis. Whatever the faults in Washington, the faults in Denver are badly in need of correction.

We believe the responsibility for getting the Denver poverty war back on the track rests with Mayor Currigan, whose alertness and enterprise brought Denver into the poverty field, in the first place, far ahead of other cities.

It is not the mayor's fault if the organization he brought into being has failed to do the job. But it will be mayor's fault if the existing inefficiency is allowed to continue and Denver's poor do not get the help they need.

[From the Rocky Mountain News, July 24, 1965]

MAYOR WANTS NEW CHIEF FOR POVERTY WAR (By Del W. Harding)

Mayor Currigan believes Robert E. Allen should be replaced as executive director of Denver's War on Poverty Inc. (DWOP).

Currigan was out of town Friday but his administrative assistant, Bill Miller, said "The mayor feels in 7½ months the program hasn't moved as it should."

Miller said Currigan believes problems with Washington, D.C., redtape also have slowed the local program, but said the mayor believes Allen's leadership at the local level has been indecisive.

Allen, 41, a former Democratic State senator, was named to the \$12,000-a-year post last December 15. The appointment was made by the DWOP board of directors, headed by Dr. James Galvin.

The board reportedly will meet soon to consider whether Allen should be retained. The mayor is on the 35-member board.

Miller said the mayor has suggested loaning Denver Welfare Manager Bernard Valdez to DWOP to act as temporary director if Allen resigns.

Allen said neither the mayor nor any other board member told him they are dissatisfied with his work.

He confirmed, however, that there has been friction between himself and Dr. Galvin.

He said he doesn't believe Dr. Galvin has given enough time to the chairmanship post that he should, and that the local program has suffered as a result.

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, July 23, 1965]

VALDEZ FAVORED TO HEAD CITY'S POVERTY WAR Mayor Tom Currigan said Friday he will propose that Bernard Valdez, director of the Denver Welfare Board, be named to replace Robert E. Allen as executive director of War on Poverty, Inc.

Currigan said he would be willing to lend WOP the services of Valdez for no more than

60 days until the 35-member board of directors can find a new executive director.

Allen said he will not give up his post without a fight.

Allen, 41, said he has allies on the WOP board to defend him against the attempted ouster.

One of his allies, he said, is Herrick S. Roth, president of the Colorado Labor Council.

Roth, said Allen, has prepared a letter for distribution among the board members saying that "our actions should not be based on the recommendation of the mayor or his citizen chairman (Dr. James Galvin)."

Roth was not available for comment on the letter which Allen claimed was given to him by Roth for his information.

"I am not at this moment of the opinion," Allen quoted Roth as stating in his letter, "that Bob Allen has been given the proper administrative opportunity to determine whether or not he can fulfill the responsibility of executive director."

DR. GALVIN BLAMED

Roth was quoted by Allen as urging the board members to "avoid political maneuvering" and instead "act on the basis of our own judgments."

There was no doubt that Allen blamed Dr. Galvin for instigating the move to remove him as executive director.

He said Dr. Galvin had never contacted him to notify him of any "dissatisfaction with my work."

The Denver Post also had been unable to contact Dr. Galvin. Attempts to reach him Thursday, when rumors of the movement to remove Allen became known, and again Friday, failed.

COULDN'T BE REACHED

"He's out of the city," a spokesman at the Job Opportunity Center, 1360 Speer Boulevard, said Friday when the second attempt was made to reach him.

Reports that Dr. Galvin would step down as board chairman accompanied those that Allen's ouster would be sought.

Allen claimed Friday that "dissatisfaction" with Dr. Galvin as chairman dated back to before he (Allen) became executive director last December.

He said Dr. Galvin, a Denver psychiatrist, had not given as much time to his job as he should because of "conflicting activities."

Dr. Galvin, in addition to conducting his private medical practice, also is a Currihan-appointed member of the Denver Board of Health and Hospitals.

"I believe it is up to the War on Poverty board to name a chairman who can give adequate time and leadership to the job," Allen said. "That leadership has been lacking."

Mrs. E. Ray Campbell, a member of the board, said she believed a stronger leadership is needed in the WOP staff—leadership to pull together the various elements in the community.

However, she said she was opposed to hasty action by the board in obtaining this goal.

One report that Allen had failed to communicate successfully with minority groups in formalizing WOP projects was denied by Rudolph (Corky) Gonzales, a member of the board and a spokesman for Denver's Spanish-American population.

HEAR BOTH SIDES

But Gonzales, like Mrs. Campbell, refused to take sides in the dispute.

"I want to hear both sides of the story before I make any comment," he said. "His administration capacity appears to me to be the only issue."

The move to seek the removal of Allen, the Post learned, began last Tuesday when Dr. Galvin and other members of the eight-member executive board called a meeting of the full board for Thursday night.

The board was to be asked to remove Allen and replace him with Valdez. However, the meeting was canceled after a check of the bylaws showed 7 days notice was required, it was learned.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I should now like to turn to some other problems Coloradans have had with OEO and the poverty program. I have received a great deal of mail from my constituents complaining of the bungling in many phases of the war on poverty. A resident of Boulder, Colo., wrote to tell me that he had applied for work on a Job Corps conservation camp in September of last year. On January 14 of this year I asked the Office of Economic Opportunity to inform me what action was taken on the application. On April 8, 1965, after I had again written demanding an answer, I received a letter with a one-sentence rejection of my constituent's application. I do not understand why someone applying for a simple staff position with the Job Corps should have to wait 7 months for the mere courtesy of a reply.

I have also received a number of letters vehemently opposing the establishment of Job Corps training centers in several communities in Colorado. Many residents of these cities and towns have read of the violence and immorality that have occurred in other Job Corps centers and so have put pen to paper to state their opposition to establishment of Job Corps centers. Many have done so even before there was any real movement underway to put such centers in their communities. They were afraid that the centers would move in whether they wanted them or not.

These letters thus point to the danger that, with the undesirable notoriety of the camps noted in the minority views, we may well find such widespread opposition to the Job Corps that no community will consent to the establishment of a center nearby.

As a final example of the problems that have arisen from the operation of the war on poverty by OEO, I should like to call Senators' attention to a letter written by a resident of Denver, Colo. She is well qualified to speak on the subject, for she was a member of VISTA, the domestic peace corps, until she resigned from the program in protest over the mismanagement. She gives a detailed and lucid account of the waste of enrollee's time and taxpayers' money in the operation of VISTA. These letters, written by a former frontline combatant in the war on poverty, should be read by all who have the responsibility of passing legislation on the war on poverty.

I ask that these letters be entered into the RECORD for all to read.

Mr. President, before doing so, I believe it would be interesting to read a few excerpts from these letters. The first one is dated July 2, 1965, and reads:

DEAR SIR: This may be a little different letter than you are used to getting, or again it may be often and gain nothing.

I'm wondering just how this war on poverty and the vista programs are supposed to be helping the war on poverty.

You see my experience is not just hearsay, I've been a part of both programs.

Denver's war on poverty is only a setup for a few high paid people to keep doing better for themselves both monetarily and politically, these 50 who were to get training to take jobs that never materialized, while just the money they were paid was enough to have kept a family for quite awhile. The big people of the program didn't give a darn whether it worked or not, in fact, to cite an instance, the first night of class I told Dr. Hyman for a couple of weeks I'd probably have to miss a couple of nights. His reply, "It really makes no difference to me. I'm an employee of the university."

The letter goes on in that style. When she went to Chicago to go into training she received the same sort of treatment. The letter is signed by Miss Dorothy Lindsay. I do not know her. I wrote Miss Lindsay and asked her whether I could use her letter publicly in the debate. She replied on July 20, 1965:

Mr. DOMINICK: Thank you for your letter of July 13. By all means use my letter. I am so tired of people griping about things as they happen but when they are given the opportunity to try and do something about it they lose interest, so please use it any way you think it can be of help.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DENVER, COLO.,

July 2, 1965.

DEAR SIR: This may be a little different letter than you are used to getting or again it may be often and again nothing.

I am wondering just how this war on poverty and the VISTA programs are supposed to be helping the war on poverty.

You see my experience is not just hearsay, I have been a part of both programs.

Denver's war on poverty is only a setup for a few high paid people to keep doing better for themselves, both monetarily and politically, these 50 who were to get training to take jobs that never materialized, why just the money they were paid was enough to have kept a family for quite awhile. The big people of the program did not give a darn whether it worked or not, in fact to cite an instance, the first night of class I told Dr. Hyman for a couple of weeks I'd probably have to miss a couple of nights, his reply "It really makes no difference to me I am an employee of the university."

Then there is VISTA, my—the money wasted. I am wondering how some of the group I was with in Chicago answered their applications. When I arrived there was such a lack of communication I missed a part of the first meeting. The desk clerk told me what room to go to, I went; the receptionist told me the room wouldn't be ready for an hour and I could wait in the lounge, there I sat about 45 minutes, then a group came out of a room, I noticed a VISTA folder, I asked if they were in VISTA. "Ha, ha" the little gal said, "We are VISTA," so I joined the group. Sixty people, one man 77, myself 41, the other 58 college kids, boy—they are having a ball in Chicago.

Assignments? You go around and talk to people, you draw a map. My assignment was a little different, I actually had a schedule 5 days a week. I did five different things, always being told to build friendships with these disadvantaged people. How, may I ask do you build friendships or even good will when you have been told to find out what these people need, write out your report, then you are told to "just put it in the drawer." Well, I know enough about the disadvantaged to know if there is anything they do not need it is more stupid, hollow promises.

Thursday in our group discussions I was finally able to get a straight answer from our group leader. I asked if all this mixup was lack of communication. "Yes," she said, "I think you've hit it on the head, the Friday before you all came we were told we'd have 8 people, then Saturday we were told 45, then finally we ended up with 60, so really we weren't ready for so many." Now maybe I don't know enough about Government spending but it seems to me it would have been much more efficient to have notified those volunteers to postpone their coming for a week or two to give the people in Chicago time to sufficiently prepare for them, than to set us up for the planning period.

I couldn't stand the inefficiency any longer, I asked to be relieved, I came home, others have the same idea. If there are 15 people who stick out their year I'll be very much surprised.

Now when I get back to Denver, I read in the paper the war on poverty heads are getting big raises, guess I'll go down Tuesday and try and get on the gravy train, if they ask for my credentials I'll tell them I have no conscience on accepting Government money.

Sincerely,

DOROTHY LINDSAY.

P.S.—I am sending copies of this letter to several people who I hope are interested enough to read it.

DENVER, COLO.,
July 20, 1965.

MR. DOMINICK: Thank you for your letter of July 13. By all means use my letter. I'm so tired of people griping about things as they happen but when they are given the opportunity to try and do something about it they lose interest, so please use it any way you think it can be of help.

I thought you might be interested in a paragraph from a letter I received from the OEO Office written by Gary L. Price:

"I am sorry that you found the training so disappointing and regret you did not stay on for the full 6 weeks. Often at the beginning of a program trainees are skeptical of the benefits to be derived. From my experience, however, I have found once training is completed the individual has a better perspective from which to evaluate the program. It is usually at this point that the benefits become clear."

Suppose I would have stayed, that would have been \$252 more of the Government money I could have spent, suppose 10 people drop out at the end of the 6 weeks, see what amount this would be. Of course \$2,000 or \$3,000 is really just a drop in the bucket to what is being spent on this program.

One girl was sent home from Chicago the end of the first week, out drinking every night and one night came in and vomited all over the elevator pilot.

I sent a copy of the first letter to Mayor Tom Currigan, parts of his letter in reply: "Your letter of July 3 was quite disturbing. I have taken the liberty of referring it to the board of directors of Denver's war on poverty. I have suggested to the chairman of the board, Dr. James Galvin, that perhaps the board would like to invite you to a meeting to see if there is not a solution to some of the shortcomings that you mentioned. I have great hopes for the war on poverty program. There is a great need in America today for the type of assistance available through war on poverty funds. Like you, however, I don't wish to see funds wasted. I am sorry you have become disillusioned with the program and I hope that our board of directors can help clear up some of the misunderstandings you have."

Mayor Currigan's letter was dated July 12 and as yet I have heard nothing from Dr. Galvin or the board of directors.

I am anxious for Denver's medical proposal to be funded, this is the one I became in-

terested in during the training program here in Denver. I personally think this project will help more on this war on poverty. You and I both know when a person is getting the medical attention they need they are more able to face up to their problems.

I hope some day in some way these things can be worked out and that people who want to do better for themselves will be able to do so.

Sincerely,

DOROTHY LINDSAY.

MR. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I believe this can be of great help in showing the problems of administration inherent in this program. It should be noted that the problems to which I have referred in my discussion today are by no means unique.

As I mentioned earlier, Colorado has been lucky enough not to have such difficulties as occurred in St. Petersburg, in Indiana, and in Oregon. The minority views submitted with the report on the bill point out some of the problems. The speeches in this and in the other Chamber in Congress further detailed them.

The great tragedy of this situation is that many of these problems could have been avoided when Congress first created the war on poverty or when the Office of Economic Opportunity first established the programs. These problems are not ones that will always be with us—they can be avoided.

A great deal could be accomplished merely by putting the structure of the OEO in some sort of order. Confusion in the ranks is to be expected when the \$1 billion war on poverty is directed by a part-time general. Again, as we said in our minority views, we are speaking of a program which is operated by a part-time general with a colossal number of brass hats, and with very few Indians to operate the program, with no tactical or visible successes, and with very little ammunition with which to shoot.

It seems incredible to me that we should have an organization in which the ratio of supervisors to workers is 1 to 18. In the Department of Agriculture the ratio is 1 to 500; in the Defense Department it is 1 to 1,000. But in the program about which we are speaking there is a ratio of 1 to 18. So, as I have said, there are more brass hats than Indians with which to fight the war.

Adding to the confusion is the large number of supergrade positions combined with a comparatively small staff. It is easy to see why the antipoverty program has run into trouble when we consider that a large part of the day-to-day work is done not by regular employees, but by highly paid consultants who are brought in to handle the burdens that the supergrade poverty czars seem too busy to handle.

I shall have a little more to say about the consultants at a later date. It is my recollection that there was one in the State of New Jersey who was being paid a consultant's fee of approximately \$100 a day while he was holding down two public service jobs for which he was receiving a salary. I shall document that case at a later date when I have the material again. I do not have it in front of me.

Speaking about New Jersey, while I am at it—and I do not mean to be kicking all the States around; what I am doing is talking about the OEO administration of programs within the States—the minority views, again on page 59, point out the following:

In New Jersey the State director of the Office of Economic Opportunity receives \$25,000 a year, a higher salary than is paid to any member of the New Jersey Governor's cabinet. One county in New Jersey received a grant of \$67,000, but unfortunately the poor did not benefit greatly from the grant. All but \$15,000 of the grant was earmarked for salaries and administrative expense.

So here we have a grant of \$67,000, \$52,000 of which goes for administrative expenses and salaries. It strikes me that if anyone could ever say that there is a program administratively designed to trickle down funds to the poor, the program about which we are speaking is certainly one of those.

Again the minority views state:

In Indiana OEO paid salaries 25 percent higher than those paid by the State for comparable positions in public schools. One final comparison should be drawn. One of two brothers from an Indiana community graduated first in his high school class. He is now serving under enemy fire in Vietnam for \$78 per month. The other brother dropped out of school, taking the occasion to beat up his mother and his teacher. He is now being paid \$200 monthly by the Job Corps for running a power mower.

I submit that that is a peculiar way in which to wage a war on poverty. In one case there is a young man who has done a fine job. He has gone through school and is now serving his country in Vietnam as an enlisted man, receiving \$78 a month. At the same time the Government pays to a dropout \$200 a month for the privilege of operating a powermower. If there is anything more inconceivable than saying that this type of program will cure poverty, I do not know what it is. What it really does is to provide an incentive for young people to drop out of school and do similar things, so that the dropout can get money under the program.

Many of these problems could have been avoided if only OEO had applied a little old fashioned commonsense. But I suppose it is difficult to ask OEO to use commonsense when Congress, at least in its committee work, has not displayed very much of it in dealing with H.R. 8283.

The action of the House of Representatives in providing for overriding the Governors' veto provision was very unfortunate. What the House did was to say that we are going to eliminate the Governors' veto. We will not eliminate it entirely. A Governor could veto the action of OEO, but the action would be only illusory because the Director could override the veto.

The Senate committee was not satisfied with that provision. The committee went further and eliminated entirely the provision for a Governor's veto. We cut it out. That action makes no sense. It was carried out in the face of a resolution adopted, with only one dissenting vote, at the Governors' Conference in Minneapolis, providing that the provi-

sion for a veto by the Governors as it was in the original law be left untouched.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Normally, the Governors' Conference, which the Senator has mentioned, is attended by practically all the Governors of the 50 States. Is that correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Do I correctly understand the Senator from Colorado to say that there came before the recent convention of Governors, made up of Republicans and Democrats, the issue as to whether or not the Economic Opportunity Act should contain a provision which would give the Governors the right to veto a program?

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What was the judgment of those Governors?

Mr. DOMINICK. If I may interpolate, what was done was to have a resolution submitted to the Governors urging Congress to retain the veto right which was in the bill before it was amended by the House, and before our committee worked on it. The judgment of the Governors, in assembly at Minneapolis, with only one dissenting vote, was that the original right of veto by the Governors should be retained. A copy of the telegram reporting the action was submitted to our committee, but the majority of the committee chose not to follow that recommendation.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Does the Senator from Colorado remember what the relative proportion of the political affiliation of the Governors of our Nation is at the present time?

Mr. DOMINICK. Speaking as a Republican, I am afraid that the proportion is heavier on the Democratic side than it is on the Republican side. The resolution was submitted by Governor Sawyer, who was, I believe, Chairman of the Governor's Conference. He is the Governor of the State of Nevada, and a Democrat.

Mr. LAUSCHE. My belief is that the overwhelming preponderance of Governors is on the side of the Democrats at the present time.

Mr. DOMINICK. I believe that is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. But whether they are Republicans or Democrats, all but one voted for the retention of the power to veto a program in the Governors.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is the information we have received by wire from Governor Smylie of Idaho.

Mr. LAUSCHE. My recollection is that it has always been felt by the Governors that programs of Federal aid are not to circumvent the duly selected governmental authority of a State, but should be channelized through the States. Can the Senator from Colorado tell me the reasoning that has been advanced for the retention of the veto power in the Governors?

Mr. DOMINICK. I believe that with accuracy, I can tell the Senator from Ohio, who is a distinguished friend, that

the main impetus of the proposal was the result of a fight between a particular Senator and a particular Governor.

The Senator and the Governor were from the same State. But the other argument that was raised, other than that, was that a Governor should not have any right to determine whether a Federal program should operate within his State.

This was the basis upon which the committee acted, I presume.

For the knowledge of the Senator and because it will add to the force of this debate, I shall read the resolution which was presented to the Governors' Conference and the telegram which was received by the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] as the ranking minority member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The telegram came from Governor Smylie, of Idaho.

The resolution reads as follows:

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

Whereas under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, although a number of antipov-
erty programs and projects bypass the State level, a substantial portion of such programs and projects require clearance through a Governor's office and are subject to the Governor's veto; and

Whereas the gubernatorial clearance and power to veto provide a measure of coordination and orderliness in the administration of those programs to which they apply; and

Whereas with respect to those programs and projects not requiring clearance through a Governor's office and not subject to his veto, negotiations and contracts are between the Office of Economic Opportunity or a delegate Federal agency and the local applicant, which may be a nongovernmental agency, thus producing conditions of chaos; and

Whereas legislation has been approved by the U.S. House of Representatives to permit the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to override a Governor's veto disapproving a program or project to be undertaken in his State by any public agency or private organization with respect to the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, the community action program and the adult basic education program, to all of which programs the veto presently applies, if, in the opinion of the Director, the application for the program is consistent with the law and would further the purposes of the act: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Governor's Conference express its firm opposition to any diminution of the power of a Governor to veto proposed projects and programs under the Economic Opportunity Act and respectfully request the Congress to preserve intact the relevant provisions of the current law; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to all Members of Congress.

We then received a telegram dated July 29, 1965, which reads as follows:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,
July 29, 1965.

Senator JACOB JAVITS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Governors Conference at Minneapolis adopted resolution by Governor Sawyer, of Nevada, expressing firm opposition to any proposal reducing the power of the Governor in acting on antipov-
erty programs.

There was only one dissenting vote.

Regards,

ROBERT E. SMYLIE,
Governor of Idaho.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. At the Governors' Conference, which I attended for 10 years, although not 10 consecutive years, the principle was constantly followed that as to Federal-aid programs the circumvention of a Governor or other State officer ought not to be tolerated.

The argument was that channeling the program through the State executive office would prevent duplication; that it would keep the central office informed and would prevent confusion.

That was the principle, and constantly the argument was made that the Governor should insist that the programs clear through the State office.

I observe that in the telegram it is pointed out—and it is a fact—that this program can be given to and directed by nongovernmental agencies.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. It can be given to municipalities and counties. Does it include also the States directly? I assume it does.

Mr. DOMINICK. The States do not operate directly in this field.

Mr. LAUSCHE. But the significant aspect is that it can go to existing nongovernmental agencies and even new ones formed to implement the program.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is exactly correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The telegram that was sent and the resolution that was adopted by the Governors point that out.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is true. Two factors make that clear.

The distinguished Governor of New York, Hon. Nelson A. Rockefeller, had to threaten to veto some of the programs in order to be able to have any voice whatsoever in determining how the program would be organized and how it would affect neighborhoods and communities within his State.

The same thing happened with respect to the distinguished Governor of Texas, Hon. John Connally. He, too, had to threaten a veto to maintain control of the program, so that it would have coordination and not be turned into a blatant political move. In many cases this is exactly what happened.

It will be noticed by reading the minority views that many Democratic mayors of cities have asked, "How are we supposed to run our cities when all these people are recommending to the poor that they should march on city hall?"

They wanted to prepare a resolution.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. SCOTT. We have had a somewhat similar experience in Pennsylvania. Some of the officials or other persons connected with the poverty program, including Mr. Charles W. Bowser, executive director of Philadelphia's Antipov-
erty Action Committee apparently felt it to be a part of their responsibility to exert pressure and organize a big march on the Governor of our State, whose record for progressive legislation in the public

interest is as high as that of any other Governor in the Nation.

As an article in today's Washington Post points out, Mr. Bowser, whom I respect personally, not long ago was extremely active in leading a band of petitioners to Harrisburg to object to the Governor's veto of two items in a welfare bill.

In Pennsylvania the Governor may exercise an item veto; that is, he has the right to veto separate items in an appropriation bill without invalidating the entire bill.

Mr. Bowser went to Harrisburg with many other people in buses, allegedly paid for out of antipoverty program funds, although that is denied by Mr. Sargent Shriver.

They held a caucus in the Democratic caucus room of the house of representatives in the State capitol. They prepared their protest there and, still politically motivated, moved in on the Governor, demanding, "Show your face," so as to create the impression that the Governor refused to see them. Actually the Governor had not even been asked to see them. He did agree to see representatives of the group, including Mr. Bowser, and saw them.

Their complaint was that the Governor had vetoed items providing \$10 million and \$7 million in the public assistance and child welfare areas, in which the Governor's program is and has been as generous as the constitutional limits allowed.

Under the Pennsylvania constitution, appropriations in excess of the constitutional bar of deficit spending are of doubtful legality, so the Governor felt obliged to veto those items.

As the Governor pointed out:

If I had the money for these programs, you could come back and talk about them.

I question whether or not the attempt to say that the buses were not paid out of poverty funds really holds water, because the way these activities are conducted is to advance the money from the poverty program. Funds are advanced on expense accounts to officials of the antipoverty program. Then, they can pay for the buses out of the expense account.

This may have been one way in which they did it. However, what they did was to confuse their responsibility under the poverty program with their political desire to embarrass the Governor of Pennsylvania. The difficulties that we have had with the program—and I have supported the program—is the problem of getting the money to the poor.

Under the Poverty Act, in effect the money goes to the poor by way of the politicians. Anybody knows that, if it is a program to help the poor by way of the politicians, the politicians will scrape as much of the cream off it as they can. Anybody holding a job, that I know of—and I do not know them all—is holding his job under the program at a considerable increase in the amount of money over what he received in his previous job. They are all politicians.

I stated to a labor meeting today, "You supply the assistance to the Democrats in

Philadelphia, particularly by your votes. However, when the poverty program comes along, do you get the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, or sixth jobs?" No, Mr. President, the jobs are given to political hacks, except for the top man, Charles Bowser. Mr. Bowser is doing a good job. However, he should not have gone up to Harrisburg to embarrass the Governor of the State and confuse his poverty program responsibilities and his political desires.

The poverty program does not require that one be a Democrat or Republican. It requires that one be poor.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, the people who are supposed to get the jobs, do not get them. I appreciate the contribution that the Senator has made to the discussion today.

The minority report again points out, as I mentioned before, and want to verify, that:

Time and again we have heard protests that the Office of Economic Opportunity was bypassing either local governments of the poor in establishing local programs. Early in June of this year a group of big city mayors attempted to get the U.S. Conference of Mayors to approve a resolution highly critical of OEO. The proposed resolution would have accused OEO of "trying to wreck local government by setting the poor against city hall." The resolution, drafted by two Democratic mayors of big cities, was stopped at the last minute at the urging of the administration. The mayor of Syracuse pointed out that in addition to his other problems the poor in that city were being "urged to storm city hall."

These are some of the problems that we are facing. I believe that what the Senator just said with respect to the head man in Philadelphia is applicable to what has been going on in Denver.

We had in charge of the program there, as I said earlier, a former State legislator, a Democrat. I know him quite well. He is a highly dedicated man for this type of work. However, with all the people he has working with him, he has not been able to put together a single program that has been worth a hoot. They are yelling for his head. He is the one who will be kicked out.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator. The purpose of the antipoverty program is to help the poor. One of the ways to help the poor is to make jobs available to them. Another way is to work with the city, the county, and the State administrations in administering other programs of assistance.

The provision for turning over the administration of the program to local, nongovernmental agencies is having the effect of freeing those agencies from any responsibility to governmental units. They are deciding, with some irresponsibility, I believe, to use that freedom from responsibility to storm city hall, to storm State legislatures, and to storm the Governor's office in each State with a politically conceived protest march that may be suggested to them.

They are harming the poverty program. They are showing the whole country that they are more interested in political advantage and political jobs for political hacks than in carrying out the responsibilities under the program.

When I support a program in a State, I support it in the belief that it will be honestly implemented and fairly administered, and that it will be done without political overtones. That has not been the activity pursued in the poverty program. I am raising a warning signal at this time.

If the distinguished Senator from Colorado would permit me, I should like to make a unanimous-consent request at this time.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is perfectly agreeable.

POVERTY AND POLITICS

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have printed at this point in the RECORD the article to which I alluded earlier entitled "Inside Report: Poverty and Politics," written by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak and published in this morning's Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INSIDE REPORT: POVERTY AND POLITICS

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Just how antipoverty funds can find their way into partisan political action can be seen in a seemingly trivial incident recently outside the office of Gov. William Scranton in Harrisburg, Pa.

While the legislature debated a motion to override the Governor's veto of an appropriation in an adjoining wing of the capitol, 200 demonstrators supporting the bill were stationed at the door of the Governor's office chanting: "Show your face, show your face."

What makes this demonstration far from trivial in importance is the fact that the leader of the demonstrators (all of whom had bussed their way to Harrisburg from Philadelphia) was Charles Bowser—the aggressive head of the Philadelphia antipoverty committee.

Poverty officials in Washington had no knowledge whatever that Federal poverty funds were used to pay for the buses. But in Harrisburg, several of the demonstrators openly admitted that the Philadelphia antipoverty committee financed the political expedition.

Strangely enough, the target of this particular lobbying expedition was the "item veto" by the Governor of an issue that had no connection whatever with the Federal antipoverty program. The two items vetoed by the Governor, adhering to a constitutional ban on deficit spending, were \$10 million for public assistance and \$7 million for child welfare.

For months the Governor and Democratic State legislators had jockeyed back and forth over these and other appropriations. The Democrats stayed up nights seeking some way to embarrass Scranton politically and make him look like an ivy league scrooge.

When Scranton confronted the Democrats with his veto, the antipoverty fighters in Philadelphia organized their excursion to Harrisburg to coincide with the legislative debate to override the veto.

Significantly, the demonstrators' first stop in the capitol was not the Governor's office but the Democratic caucus room. They held a rally there and heard Democratic representative Joshua Ellberg, the house majority leader, deliver an emotional attack on Scranton.

The demonstrators next moved into the ornate, mahogany corridor outside the Governor's office and began chanting, "Show your face."

In due course, Bowser and a couple of other demonstrators were invited into Scranton's

ton's office (actually they never had asked for an appointment). Scranton again explained the constitutional reasons why he had to veto the two items. Whereupon the buses were loaded and returned to Philadelphia.

Sargent Shriver, the antipoverty chief, knew nothing about this until he received a telegraphed complaint on August 3 (the day of the demonstration) from Pennsylvania's secretary of State, John K. Tabor.

Acting on Scranton's orders, Tabor declared:

"We fully support the right and duty of the people, rich or poor, to support or oppose any State action, but we strongly object to antipoverty personnel, paid with Federal funds, mobilizing and leading such an effort."

Tabor noted that Shriver's own regulation No. 23 prohibits the use of poverty funds, "for any partisan political activity or to further the election or defeat of any candidate to public office."

Shriver's answer to Harrisburg, sent last Tuesday (August 10), denied that antipoverty funds financed the bus trip. Poverty dollars had been requested for the buses, his telegram said. This was rejected, he continued. Shriver stated strongly that he never would condone such use of poverty money.

But his reply skirted the question of Bowser's leadership in the demonstration. Bowser (who gets \$17,000 a year) clearly was violating Shriver's regulation No. 23. (Bowser said privately later he felt it was his duty to lobby against the veto.)

Shriver, of course, cannot be held responsible for every infraction of regulation No. 23 in hundreds of projects in progress all over the country.

That's just the point. Both in the congressional act authorizing the program and in the administrative policy of Shriver's office, the dogma of "local control" is enshrined. Local leaders, sagacious or not, are given a free hand in dispensing a major Federal program. The ludicrous political expedition from Philadelphia to Harrisburg once again shows the danger of this policy.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania who has added a great deal to the colloquy.

For the benefit of our colleagues, I hope that they will study with some care the serious problem that we have outlined. I have tried to be as dispassionate as I can. I may say to the Senator from Pennsylvania that, in discussing some of these things, I have tried not to make any accusations that have not been documented by something in my file. However, I shall say something that has not been documented as yet.

I was told on the telephone that the mayor of the city of Los Angeles has indicated that a part of the problem involved in their perfectly ghastly riot at the present time has been generated in part by activities of this nature under the program.

I shall try to obtain some verification of the mayor's accusation before I am through.

Many Governors have said that they must have the veto power in order to force the OEO to consult with appropriate State agencies before going ahead with these programs. They felt that the provision for the veto was the only means to obtain cooperation between the OEO and State agencies.

This phase of the argument concerning the veto was also brought up before the committee, but it was apparently overruled.

There is no reason why the veto power should be eliminated. The vast majority of the Governors want it. It is said that it is necessary in order to coordinate the program. There is objection to the action that has been taken by the House in overruling their right to a veto. Now, we have eliminated it entirely despite the wishes of the Governors of the 50 States of the United States.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I should think that the administrators and the sponsors of this program would want to provide for the intervention at some point of some responsible persons—in this case, the Governors—to keep such a program on the track. If I were among those responsible for this program, I should be very much afraid that the scandals and the marches and protest demonstrations which have occurred so far would cast such discredit on the program that it might have difficulty in being approved substantially in the form which the administration desires. This program is loaded with further possibilities for scandal. I predict that in the rest of this year and the coming year throughout the United States, in many large cities especially, there will be revelations of the most scandalous ineptitude, or worse, in the administration of this program.

Senators who are in charge of managing the bill ought to be very much concerned about having some right on the part of State Governors, or at least some agency, to step in and say, "Let us be very careful with what we are about to do." If that is not done, the poor will be set against the politicians. That is the last thing politicians want, because if the poor are set against them, the politicians will stop getting rakeoffs. As Montaigne said, "I speak truth, not so much as I could, but as much as I dare; and I dare more as I grow older."

We all know, as statesmen and politicians, if I may use the word in a reasonable sense, what is happening to the antipoverty program. Our warnings and cautions will be remembered next year as scandal after scandal will be written about on the front pages of newspapers, where, in this city or that city, all sorts of collusion, racketeering, high salaries paid, patronage feeding, and the promotion of hacks and incompetents, are going to lead the persons responsible for this program along a very stormy path. I promised Sargent Shriver, whom I know, that I would help with the program if it were made certain that politicians would be prevented from being put in the way of the poor. I plead with him, if he wants my help, to stop the headlong charges that people who criticize aspects of the program are necessarily obstructionists or that they do not have to pay attention to them.

Numbers are not so important, but there will be a time when they will be greater than some wish, and at that time the opportunity for correction in behalf of the people may have passed. I make these suggestions, not as one who is

against the program, but as one who supports it.

The Senator from Colorado is right in pleading for the right of Governors to have the right of veto.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I have listened to the Senator's speech with interest. It has been highly informative.

I voted for the Economic Opportunity Act because I believed as I believe now, that such a program is necessary to train and educate the young, and those who are older, to enable them to break from the cycle of poverty.

I shall vote to extend the program, but I will vote to amend the bill so that it will be more effective.

The Senator has detailed abuses. There have been failures in administration and some gross abuses. I do not believe we have experienced in Kentucky the type of abuse which has occurred in other States referred to by the Senator from Pennsylvania, and the Senator from Colorado. There has been complaint in Kentucky about the establishment of so many offices and the selection of too many officials at high salaries. Also, the establishment of inflated wage levels by the Department of Labor is not good for recipients or the communities. It could remain in the programs, instead of moving into productive employment, and it could work hardships on community organizations wishing to participate and meet local needs.

The purpose of the program is good. What is needed is a willingness on the part of the administration to correct abuses and waste.

I would like to say to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle that they should recognize mistakes and help to correct them.

If the President, the Congress, and Mr. Shriver do not make every effort to make these corrections, it will be tragic, in terms of waste of money. But most tragic will be the loss of a great opportunity for thousands of people, young and old, to break out of the awful cycle of poverty into the full stream of life.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Nelson amendment, which adds \$150 million to title II, is designed to take those who are chronically unemployed and put them to work in gardening and landscape work not only in their local communities, as nearly as possible, but also to give them an opportunity to move outside. This is a program which I do not happen to be opposing in my amendment. The proposal deals with a part of the program which the Senator was discussing but it did not provide for any particular training. The Senator from Kentucky may have read, as I have, the recent article in Life magazine, in which industry itself has been having people from the welfare and unemployment rolls put through a training course for work in which they can engage as a result of their previous experience and degree of education, to try to give those people a motivation to support themselves and

their families. They have not been completely successful, but, particularly in the Berkeley area of California, they have done a good job. It has been tried. This makes sense to me. It is not a program in which we are going to put \$1,650 million of the taxpayers' money into programs that have been discredited in many places.

Mr. COOPER. I have read the Nelson amendment. It needs to be discussed. We need more information. But it is a public works amendment, as I see it.

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator has discussed ably some of the defects in the program. I would like to have the Senator's judgment about the programs themselves—whether he considers them good programs, in substance and objectives, as I believe them to be.

For example, I refer to the community programs providing preparation for education for younger students, the work study program for students in college, and especially the work training program for high school students in their areas of residence.

Mr. DOMINICK. It is an excellent program, but I have some doubt about paying for it out of Federal funds. If it is designed to help the children continue their education, it is difficult for me to see why jobs should be made on campuses by way of picking up sticks, which is a part of the program, or cleaning latrines, which is another part of it, and paying them a dollar and a quarter an hour, as requested by the Department of Labor, and then requiring the schools to falsify their records submitted to the Government.

What they say now is, "You must pay \$1.25 an hour for the work they are doing, but when you publicize what you are doing, include within it the number of hours when they are actually training and not being paid for work, and then you will reduce the total pay, so that it will come down to about 90 cents an hour, which is what you are paying ordinarily, and then you will not be driving out the people hired at that level."

Mr. COOPER. I am familiar with the practice. I raised the question with the Department of Labor, and was informed about the arrangement, which does not settle the problem and is not a faithful representation of the facts.

Mr. DOMINICK. I think it is plainly deceitful, and I said so.

Mr. COOPER. To go back to the programs, let me refer to the Head Start program, the work training program, and the work study program. The first is designed to help a child with no training at all—who is not prepared—to start school under equal circumstances. The work training and work study programs give young men and women an opportunity to stay in school or college. I do not see anything wrong with these programs. I believe they are good.

Mr. DOMINICK. Let me tell the Senator what happened on the Head Start program in my own county in Colorado. Since no one had initiated any program, the county commissioners and the public school authorities got together and sent in an application for Head Start program work in the county.

Almost immediately, the Democratic district attorney, the only Democratic officeholder in my county, filed an application with someone else who was willing to come in on it with him, also a Democrat, not an officeholder but with some influence in the community. Because of filing this conflicting application, no money of any kind is going into our county for this Head Start program. This is one of the problems I am talking about in the way of administration.

Mr. COOPER. I know. As to the substance of these programs, if properly administered, does not the Senator believe them to be helpful.

Mr. DOMINICK. Certainly I do.

Mr. COOPER. I believe they can be of great value.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. COOPER. I should like to have the Senator's judgment as to the Job Corps.

Mr. DOMINICK. I cannot say that the Job Corps is a good program. I feel this way about the Job Corps and I am speaking frankly to my friend the Senator from Kentucky: I do not see how we can take a person who has problems because of his local environment and his educational ability and move him into a camp, train him for 6 months on how to saw wood, how to live in the open air, how to make trails through the forest, and then, when he returns to his home, expect him, by virtue of those 6 months or a year in the camp, to be able to pull himself up. I do not believe this is solving the problem.

Mr. COOPER. I am sure that the Senator remembers the Works Progress Administration program and the old CCC camps.

Mr. DOMINICK. Indeed, I do.

Mr. COOPER. I was a local official in Kentucky at that time, and during the depression, I had the opportunity to observe the CCC program. Many boys went to the camps and came back interested in finding gainful employment and being good citizens. It seems to me that if the Job Corps program were followed by the other training programs taking boys and girls from the Job Corps who had been rehabilitated, and had developed incentive, the first stage in the Job Corps would then have valuable purpose and effect. I do not know whether an effort is made to follow through with boys and girls when they complete the course at the Job Corps centers. It is a little bit too early, probably. I doubt that many have completed their Job Corps enrollment at this time.

Mr. DOMINICK. Not very many, but the Senator has read examples in the minority report, and heard some of the things I mentioned in my talk today. The difficulty and the difference between this program and the CCC camps is that the latter were started when there was a massive unemployment situation and had a great number of young men and women who were perfectly fine persons, and educated, but who were simply unable to find a job. They were getting some training and some discipline and some motivation behind them.

At the present time, what we are dealing with is not a case of massive unem-

ployment all over the country. I believe the Labor Department stated that we had the lowest unemployment rate, or the highest employment rate—I have forgotten which—in a long time; so we are dealing with a group which is of a somewhat different caliber from those who went to the CCC camps.

Mr. COOPER. That is correct. I believe that the situation today is that some of those out of work are not prepared for work, either because of lack of education or character traits and that a program like this, properly administered, is necessary and can be very helpful; but it seems to me, that from this discussion—and the Senator from Colorado has rendered a fine service in provoking this debate—we have agreed that it demands better administration and a correction of abuses.

Mr. DOMINICK. I sincerely appreciate the contribution made by the highly distinguished Senator from Kentucky. It will be most helpful, I know, in general action on the amendments that will be proposed from time to time.

I do wish to point out quite clearly that in my amendment which I have sent to the desk, I have not tried to "gut" the program in any way whatsoever. What I have proposed is to hold the amount to last year's authorization for another year, before we again increase it, and to try to correct some of the problems while we are doing it. Last year's authorization still being \$150 million more than what the actual appropriation was. Thus, we have much room to try and keep the program growing, even if the amendment should be adopted.

Mr. COOPER. I was very much interested in reading in the report, and also noted in the bill, the amendment which had been proposed, I believe by the Senator from Vermont, which was accepted by the committee, to create the advisory committee. The chairman would not be connected with the poverty administration, but would be an independent chairman, and would continuously oversee the program. I assume that one of those functions would be to discover abuses in administration, and also to determine whether it was actually working well or not. I see hope in that amendment, if it is finally accepted, and I hope very much that it will be.

Mr. DOMINICK. I would hope so, too. I was happy to support it. I may have another amendment, which would be most useful. I suspect that it will be presented by a member of the minority, in which, again, the effort will be to try to make the director of the program a full-time instead of a half-time director; namely, to have Mr. Shriver be either the head of the Peace Corps or the poverty program, but not both.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. PROUTY. I am glad that the distinguished Senator from Kentucky made reference to the Advisory Council. I speak as a friend of the program. I wish it to succeed. I wished it to succeed last year. I expect to support it again. However, there are many examples of mal-

administration. The program is being used primarily for political purposes in many areas of the country. Some of us who support the program in principle wish to bring an end to this kind of administration. That is what we are trying to do.

Sometimes the suggestion is made that if we were to appropriate \$2 billion instead of \$1 billion, we would be able to do twice as good a job; and that if we were to appropriate \$3 billion, it would be three times as good. Obviously, that is not true. The program has not been underway long enough to eliminate many of the "bugs" in administration. Thus, there is justification for restricting the funds to a level which can be spent efficiently.

Let me read from the last issue of the U.S. News & World Report, a quotation by a spokesman for the Illinois Farmers Union, which administers the antipoverty summer work facilities in 32 Illinois counties.

This spokesman said:

A spokesman for the Illinois Farmers Union, which administers the antipoverty summer-work programs in 32 Illinois counties, said on August 10:

"We definitely tried to go too fast on the thing. We put too many to work too fast. We put far too many to work in some places. There definitely was a misunderstanding on the local level."

Said J. M. Watson, Illinois coordinator of the Neighborhood Youth Corps:

"There was some political favoritism."

The youths were being paid \$1.25 an hour for 32 hours of work a week, the national rate in the Youth Corps.

A prominent Negro educator, Lester B. Granger, of Dillard University, New Orleans, called the antipoverty program a "slaphappy, sloppy, wasteful procedure." Mr. Granger told the National Urban League convention:

"The fat should be taken out of it. We are going to waste two-thirds of the funds going into it, just like the New Deal. This doesn't mean I don't support it. If we get even one-third out of it, it would help."

Obviously these people are interested in making this program a success. I believe every Member of Congress should take that approach. Those of us who offer amendments are not trying to destroy the program. We are trying to strengthen it and make it work in order that it may achieve the objectives for which it is designed.

Mr. DOMINICK. I appreciate the contribution of the Senator from Vermont, who has put in a great deal of study and effort on this program and who, I know, will be offering some amendments in an effort to accomplish what he has referred to. Originally we were discussing the veto power. I should like to say a few words on that subject.

Despite the vote of a majority of the committee to eliminate the veto power on the ground that this was necessary, the fact is that the veto power has been used only four times in the lifetime of the war on poverty, and on two of those four occasions the veto was used to prevent the achievement of programs under contract with the National Farmers Union.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield. Mr. GORE. The able Senator is citing the infrequency of the use of the veto power granted the Governors as a justification for its retention.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct. I was trying to show that the veto power has not been used by the Governors for the purpose of hampering the administration of the program, but has been used by the Governors, or the threat of the veto has been used in their efforts at coordination of existing local and State programs with the Federal program.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. GORE. Rather than using the number of times that the veto has been threatened to thus coerce action, or the number of times it has been actually used, would not a better measure of its advisability be the soundness in principle of granting to the Governor of a State a power heretofore unprecedented, of vetoing a project of the Government of the United States within that State? It seems to me that the latter test is the proper one.

Mr. DOMINICK. One difficulty with that argument—and I said that was the basis used in committee, or at least I thought it was one of the basis, because there were others—is that this would be true if there were a Federal program with Federal direction all the way through. We are not dealing with that situation. We are dealing with local community groups, in many instances creating their own organization, and then obtaining Federal funds directly to support themselves. It seems to me that it is necessary to have some power by which a coordination of these programs can be required. If we do not have that there will be even more chaos than we have at the present time.

I hope the Senate will stand up for the principle of doing something to strengthen local-State government in this country.

We have been for far too long going in exactly the opposite direction. We are centralizing the Government in Washington and eliminating the State function. For instance, if someone wishes to get help on a sewage problem, he can go directly to the Cabinet officer instead of going to the local counsel. That is absolute nonsense.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I regret that our committee circumscribed the veto power of the Governors of the States. The Senator from Colorado presents at least in part my feeling on this subject. He will recall that we voted together on this issue.

Mr. DOMINICK. We are very happy to have the Senator's support.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I feel just as strongly today as I did during the consideration of the bill within the committee, that the exercise of the veto by a Governor in the administration of this program, which I endorse, is important

to the cooperative and coordinated effort in this Federal-State effort to provide worthwhile work projects and to provide employment for needy persons. It is my belief that in the Senate we should have an opportunity to vote again on that matter, just as we did in the past and recently in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. DOMINICK. I appreciate the help and support that we had on this matter from the Senator.

Mr. President, this bill has reached the floor of the Senate with a somewhat less than distinguished record of careful consideration by the Congress. The House hearings were only a farce. Only 1 out of the 10 antipoverty programs created by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was discussed at any length. Moreover, in the hearings on this one program many accusations of confusion and political favoritism were brought up, whereupon the hearings were abruptly ended. The minority views submitted in the House summed the situation up in this way:

The hearings were abruptly halted—over the protests of the minority members—on the grounds that time was of the essence. The chairman then proceeded with all deliberate speed to postpone executive sessions twice, presumably while conferring privately with the czar of all the impoverished. It was the publicly announced position of the chairman that drastic changes were required in the act.

These changes were not forthcoming. Instead, the chairman received two letters from Mr. Sargent Shriver outlining administrative procedures to be followed by OEO which allegedly would give the poor adequate representation on the political-social committees which run community action programs and restrict excessive salaries. Presto chango—no changes need to be made now in the act; we have encountered the newest wrinkle in Great Society government: legislation by letter.

The sorry truth is that a great congressional committee has betrayed the legislative process and in doing so has turned its back upon Americans who have been led to hope that a determined and imaginative war on poverty would be waged.

The Senate record is little better. The bill was reported on the Senate floor at noon on Friday last. On Friday afternoon it was made the pending business of the Senate. The committee print of the bill was not available until Saturday morning, or almost a day after the bill became pending business. The committee report, with its somewhat extensive minority, individual, and supplemental views, was not even made available to Senators until this morning. This is a highly important and controversial bill, and I fail to see why Senators should not be given an opportunity to review the bill and its report in order to prepare remarks and amendments.

This is the reason why I am glad to have had the discussion, because it has given us an opportunity to bring out many facts. I am not criticizing the chairman of the committee. I am somewhat disturbed over the speed with which the measure was reported and made the pending business before we had the bill or the report to read.

The U.S. Senate has been called the greatest deliberative body in the world. Its Members should at least be given the opportunity to see H.R. 8283 and its report in order that they be sufficiently informed to conduct the careful and extensive debate that this bill should receive.

The war on poverty has also been hidden behind a veil of bureaucratic secrecy. When we have tried to get anything done to improve the administration of the program, many of us have been derided as being in favor of downgrading the poor. It would be easy to sit back on this side of the aisle and rest easy while we put the proposed legislation through. It would be easy to sit back and wait, as my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania said, while the increasing scandal and political influence charges are brought up in the daily newspapers and the magazines. It would be easy to do nothing now and to reap political benefits when the poverty program blows up, as it inevitably will, unless there are changes in the program. But on our side, we believe in the fulfillment of our responsibility as legislators, and we shall propose a number of amendments to correct defects noted in the minority views. I hope that the majority will give the amendments the consideration which they deserve and will adopt some of them.

The dangers involved in continuing the poverty war in its present form are so great that the country can expect no less than full and careful review of the program and deliberate efforts made to try to improve on it.

One of the things that I cannot see is why in the world the Congress of the United States should double the amount of money involved in a program which is under attack from all corners, from Republicans and Democrats alike. If my amendment should be adopted, we would provide \$150 million more than was authorized last year. I am sure I shall be accused of trying to gut the program. What I am saying is "Do not spend \$1,650 million; spend \$1,100 million. Cut half a billion off the program until we can have these problems ironed out."

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I now yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER. I thank the Senator from Colorado. I should like to ask him several questions.

First, will the Senator tell us the amount of the appropriation for the Office of Economic Opportunity for the current year?

Mr. DOMINICK. The appropriation was \$793 million for fiscal 1965.

Mr. MILLER. Will the Senator tell us the amount recommended by the administration early this year in its budget?

Mr. DOMINICK. I believe it was \$1,500 million.

Mr. MILLER. I understand that that is absolutely correct.

In what amount is the proposed authorization now pending before the Senate?

Mr. DOMINICK. It is \$1,650 million.

Mr. MILLER. So not only does the bill before the Senate propose to authorize even more than the administration asked for at the time the budget was submitted to the Congress early this year, but more than twice as much as the program authorized for the current year. Is that correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. The amount is more than twice as much as was appropriated for fiscal 1965.

Mr. MILLER. But we are talking about money that was actually appropriated for the current program.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct.

Mr. MILLER. Compared with that, the bill before the Senate would not only authorize more than the administration asked for last year but twice as much as was appropriated this year.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. MILLER. Much has taken place since the administration submitted its budget. For one thing, the war in Vietnam has become worse, and the administration has been forced to come to Congress and ask for additional money.

Only the other day, following the President's decision to call up 50,000 more troops to go into South Vietnam, Congress was asked for an additional \$1.7 billion for the war in Vietnam.

It seems to me that, of all times, this is the worst time to come before Congress and persist in increasing the amount presently appropriated for this activity. If anything, the program should be cut back; but failing in that, the program should be left where it is, and money that would go to this program would be used to provide proper equipment and support for our troops in Vietnam. Does not the Senator from Colorado agree with that?

Mr. DOMINICK. I certainly do. The amendment I sent to the desk would do just that. It would reduce the amount to last year's authorization—not the appropriation, but last year's authorization.

This would save \$600 million that could be used to buy equipment which the Secretary of Defense has failed to supply up to now, in terms not only of our situation in Vietnam but of other sensitive spots around the world.

Mr. MILLER. I am pleased to learn of the amendment of the Senator from Colorado, and I shall support it.

I wish to reemphasize that I believe it is about time for Members of this body, if not the administration, to recognize that if we want to provide the morale and equipment and war materiel for our troops in South Vietnam to carry out successfully their very miserable undertaking, it would mean a great deal to them to know that we are giving priority to them, as distinguished from priority to an increase in what is being spent for this domestic program.

It is about time for us to recognize that we cannot fight a war in Vietnam and at the same time have all the other programs, let alone increase them, if we are to be successful in either case.

I hope the amendment of the Senator

from Colorado will be offered; and I shall support it.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. DOMINICK. I appreciate the helpful comments of the Senator from Iowa. He has done much work in a review of the difficult monetary situation that exists in this country.

I was interested in the comment of the Senator from Iowa on the Vietnamese situation. The minority views, on page 60—I referred to this in my earlier remarks—tell of one boy who finished first in his class at high school and is now serving in Vietnam for \$78 a month. His brother, who was apparently a different breed of cat, beat up his mother and his teacher, dropped out of school, and is now in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, getting \$200 a month. This is the most ridiculous thing of which I could possibly conceive. It is not only ridiculous; it makes me boil to think of it.

Mr. MILLER. That type of example has been repeated in newspaper columns in the past several months. This is another way in which the program will have an adverse impact on the morale of members of the armed services.

It is bad enough when they realize that they will have to leave their loved ones at home and subject themselves to imminent death, fighting a war far away from our shores—and it is a war in every sense of the word. Nevertheless, it is difficult for them to understand how the people back home, who were supposed to be supporting them, can tolerate such a program as will lead to an example such as the Senator has referred to.

But quite apart from that, assuming that the program was operated in a way in which there would be no waste, no extravagance, and no adverse impact on the morale of our Armed Forces because of the disparity between the pay received by them in Vietnam and the salaries of some of those who participate in this program, the fact remains that we cannot adequately support the military forces in South Vietnam and at the same time conduct programs like this.

I believe it would be a strong shot in the arm for our boys in South Vietnam if Congress were to decide that we are going to keep the poverty program where it is until the war in South Vietnam is over, and that then and only then would we properly consider increasing it along the lines of the bill now before the Senate proposed.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator from Iowa. Since I was talking a while ago about objections in Colorado to the poverty program, I thought the Senator from Michigan might be interested in a letter from the publisher of the Denver Blade, the largest Negro newspaper in Colorado. Mr. Joe Brown, the publisher, wrote the letter to President Johnson, Representative POWELL, Councilman Caldwell, Mayor Currigan, Attorney Moore, four State legislators, both U.S. Senators, Representative ROGERS of Colorado, and State Senator George Broun. The letter is dated August 12 and reads.

THE DENVER BLADE,
Denver, Colo., August 12, 1965.

To President L. B. JOHNSON, Hon. ADAM C. POWELL, Councilman ELVIN CALDWELL, Mayor TOM CURRIGAN, Attorney ISAAC MOORE, Hon. PALMER BURCH, Hon. EUGENE FOLEY, Hon. DAN GROVER, Hon. JOHN A. LOVE, Hon. GORDON ALLOTT, Hon. BYRON ROGERS, Hon. PETER H. DOMINICK, Senator GEORGE BROWN.

GENTLEMEN: Please rescue us from this Denver war on poverty. We, the Greater East Denver merchants, submitted a proposal for a small business development center over 2 months ago. We met on several occasions with Mr. Charles Bishop, who helped us rewrite the proposal. We have sat down with Mr. Clifford Rucker, of SBA, on two or more occasions. We are now told that both the board chairman, Dr. Gelvin and the Denver director of the program are either asked to resign or are going to be fired but won't quit, or that no one knows what to do.

We can't find either of them regardless of what time of day we call. The office under Mr. Allen is a maze of confused office help, all of which sounds like anything but efficiency.

Someone, somewhere please let us exercise some type of legal benefit from this program. My people represent the most depressed business area of the city. We are now told that the Denver war on poverty is holding our proposals, perplexed.

If you ask me, we shocked the city by taking the initiation. Can we have relief?

Help. Help. Give us a way out.

Very sincerely,

J. BROWN,
Publisher.

On August 8, Mr. Brown wrote an editorial. In sending the editorial to us, he wrote in large handwriting, at the top of the page, "Help." The editorial is entitled "Woes of Poverty," and reads as follows:

WOES OF POVERTY

In the last couple of months we have heard cries of "Hang the mayor" coming from the Denver Democratic camp. We have read criticism of the poverty program, we have even read a dynamic absurd account of the program's progress in a local newspaper, and it appears to us that surely there must be something wrong when everybody is in a state of crossfire and different opinions about the program.

We have tended to criticize not only the program, but we go further, we don't even like the way the program is progressing. Never before have so few faked out so many and gotten away scot free. The citizens of Greater East Denver in an attempt to take the business initiative, submitted a SBDC proposal, a plan for the erection and functioning of a superbusiness, that in time would make all East Denver businesses successful. Not only has the program never reached Washington, the best comment on the subject has the proposal downtown in the Denver war on poverty director's desk, 2 months after the law said that the program had to be in Washington. We have cried for this program, we have written over 20 letters to Washington to everybody who has even a tinge of responsibility about their public life, yet nothing has happened; the mayor can't even fire the director. There is a limit to this phoney "pork barrel" and we think that the mayor is going entirely too far in allowing the "ole crowd" to gain control of the destiny of his political career again.

We say, "oust Allen" as director, clean that Denver war on poverty office out and do it now. And if someone else is really the mayor, just give us his name and we will

make the same recommendation to him. Can't we get the plain and simple message through the heads of these Democratic poverty chiefs downtown, that there is a new order in our community and we will decide what is to happen to our progress.

Any attempt to steal our plans and install a "stupid politician" in the small business development center will be met with a protest and we mean a protest led by this institution. We think the mayor should oust the whole crowd and put the war on poverty in the hands of people for whom it was intended. Hell, the East Denver community can't even take the initiative. There are no other SBDC proposals in the western region, what are we waiting for, war on poverty, someone else to develop one?

I state to the chairman of the committee, with all due respect, that this is the type of reaction the war on poverty is receiving in our State. This concerns the most depressed area in our city-county government.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, to make the record complete, on page 38 of the report on the hearings, there is a recitation of the cost per person of teaching men and women in the Job Corps.

I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado whether it is his understanding that, for a 9-month period, the cost to teach each student in a conservation center is \$4,482.65.

I am reading from a paper which was submitted to the committee by the officials of the Economic Opportunity Administration.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is my understanding. I have been exaggerating the figure. I have been saying that the figure is \$4,500, which is \$18 more than the amount discussed, I believe.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the cost to teach one male student at an urban center is \$4,377.95.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct. In most colleges we can send a student for 4 years for that amount of money.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The cost to teach a woman in an urban center is \$4,483.37.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I am grateful to the Senator for bringing these points up. This is a part of what I was trying to say to the Senator from Kentucky when he asked me whether I was in favor of these programs. I kept trying to say to him that I like the principle of the programs, but I do not like in any way the manner in which they are being operated. There is no excuse, evident to me, for obtaining that kind of a result from the expenditure of that much money.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I have had a tabulation prepared of the cost of teaching a student in various Ohio colleges.

This tabulation covers Antioch, Ashland, Baldwin-Wallace, Bluffton, Bowling Green, Capital, Case, Central State, St. Mary's, Wooster, Defiance, Dennison, Fenn, Heidelberg, Hiram, Kent State, Kenyon, Mount Union, Muskingum, Oberlin, Ohio Wesleyan, Otterbein, Western University for Women, and Western Reserve.

It is shocking to see that we can send a student to one of these universities in Ohio at a cost, I should say, on an average of 50 percent of what it would cost to send a dropout to a job center.

Antioch College is rather widely known throughout the country. The cost of tuition there is \$1,400. Board is \$288. Room is \$228. Books and supplies amount to \$350. Extras amount to \$56. I have not added those figures, but they would amount to approximately \$2,300.

I shall take samples of the cost of each, and I shall mention those institutions of Ohio higher learning that are rather widely known throughout the country.

I mentioned Ohio Wesleyan, which is at Delaware, Ohio.

At Ohio Wesleyan, the tuition is \$1,300. Board and room amounts to \$800. Books and supplies amount to \$75. That is a total cost of \$2,200 to be taught at one of the outstanding colleges in the United States.

The cost at Kenyon, an institution that is probably 130 years old, and known for the excellence of its teaching and its facilities, is \$1,400 for tuition, \$510 for board, \$320 for room, and \$100 for books and supplies, and \$100 for extras, making a total of \$2,430.

I wish also to mention Oberlin College, which is considered one of the five best in the United States; at least, it is one of the five best in Ohio. The tuition is \$1,350; board, \$500; room, \$400.

I shall not go through all the others except to mention Western Reserve University, which is nationally known. The tuition there is \$1,050. Board is \$510. Room is \$340; books and supplies, \$75.

Mr. President, back in April of this year, I made a statement of the costs of sending a girl to Radcliffe, compared to the cost of sending a dropout to one of the job centers. My figures were challenged by Sargent Shriver. I also mentioned the costs at Harvard. The result was a dispute, in which a statement was made by Harvard spokesman William Pinkerton. He challenged Shriver's figures. I read:

After a bit of detective work he reported that the tuition for a year at Harvard is \$1,760, room and board \$1,130. Personal expenses could add another \$460. This total would be way below Shriver's claim that the cost of sending a student to Harvard was \$6,410.

Pinkerton of Harvard made it clear, however, that Harvard wants no quarrel with Shriver, whose famous brothers-in-law, named Kennedy, are distinguished alumni.

My point is that the cost of sending a girl to Radcliffe or a boy to Harvard falls far below what it costs the taxpayers of the United States to manage and administer one job at one of these Job Corps centers.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the tabulation of Ohio colleges, together with a recitation of figures dealing with Mt. Holyoke, Radcliffe, Harvard, Wellesley, and Vassar be included in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

	Tuition	Board	Room	Books and supplies	Extras	Total
Antioch.....	\$1,400	\$288	\$228	\$350	\$56	
Ashland.....	992	750		100	80	
Baldwin Wallace.....	1,056	420	270	75	75	
Bluffton.....	770	370	240	100	54	
Bowling Green.....	400	700		100	25	
Capital.....	900	450	270	80	50	
Case.....	1,400	600	300	50		
Central State.....	70	426	300			
St. Mary's.....	600	550	250	100	80	
Wooster.....	1,320	500	340	80		
Defiance.....	915	432	180	80		
Denison.....	1,200	440	330	75	150	
Fenn.....	980	510	288	30	45	
Heidelberg.....	1,100	445	325			
Hiram.....	1,090	445	360	100	155	
Kent State.....	336	420	234	75		
Kenyon.....	1,400	510	320	100	100	\$2,430
Mount Union.....	1,125	450	300	80		
Muskingum.....	1,090	510	220	100	70	
Oberlin.....	1,350	500	400	100	92	
Ohio Wesleyan.....	1,300	800		75		
Otterbein.....	850	450	250	40	110	
Western (Women).....	1,375	1,100		150	25	
Western Reserve.....	1,050	510	340	75	59	+400-500
Harvard.....	1,520	620	475	100		2,715
Mount Holyoke.....	2,750	Included	Included		400	3,150
Radcliffe.....	1,760	1,170	Included	100	115	3,145
Wellesley.....	2,800	Included	Included		400-500	3,600
Vassar.....	1,500	1,300	Included	100	50	2,950

¹ And up.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, let me say to the distinguished Senator from Ohio that perhaps the reason why Mr. Shriver quoted Harvard as being that high is that he went to Yale Law School at the same time I did. I know him very well. He is a highly distinguished man.

I also point out to the Senator from Ohio that one of the highest costs in college is in medical school. The cost at a public medical school is \$3,200. At a private medical school it is \$3,981—well below what it would cost to send a youngster to the Job Corps. It still does not make any sense to me to have to pay so much money, so disproportionate to the result.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I think it can be said that it costs the taxpayers about \$4,400 a year to teach one of the dropouts in the job centers for 9 months, as embraced in the bill. That sum would, of course, be shocking to the ordinary citizen—\$4,400 to teach a dropout is unbelievable.

PUBLICATION OF NAMES OF OWNERS OF RENTAL PROPERTIES UNDER TITLE I OF THE HOUSING ACT OF 1949

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, before I yield the floor, I send a bill to the desk for proper referral which has some bearing on the subject we are dealing with now. It is a thought which I have had in mind for some time. It is a bill which, if adopted, will require that the names of those who own property for rent in slum areas must be published at least once a year in a public newspaper before they are entitled to any funds under title I of the Housing Act. I believe it is a good bill. It will encourage improvement in slum housing by making public the names of the landlords responsible for these horrible conditions. Up to the present time, the promotion of more effective building codes and code enforcement, as well as various tax reform studies, have been the primary weapons employed against urban blight.

I support these measures, but I believe that the fear of widespread public notoriety will provide tremendous further impetus toward the goal of eradication of both urban and rural slum housing conditions.

Slum housing is sapping the strength of this country as a result of its impact on juvenile delinquency, discontent, racial strife, and social disintegration. Because of the low tax base in these areas, many communities are hard pressed to provide adequate utilities, streets, parks, schools, playgrounds, and other services. It is a national disgrace, and the landlords who are getting rich at the expense of literally millions of helpless tenants must be brought to the light of public scrutiny. According to the 1960 census of housing, there were about four and three-quarters million substandard housing units occupied by renters and over three million of these units were occupied by families with incomes of less than \$3,000 a year. These people simply do not have the resources or facilities to overcome this problem alone; and despite the millions of dollars spent by the Office of Economic Opportunity and other agencies in the ill-managed and ill-considered war on poverty, not much of a dent has been made in the elimination of slums. My bill, by publicizing the names of the persons responsible, would bring to bear the full weight and pressure of the entire community against the offending landlords. These owners and landlords themselves, have a responsibility to improve their properties so that they meet the standard of the law as well as the standard of normal decency, that the community at large expects and demands.

Many landlords have neglected to meet their responsibilities simply because they knew that they were safely hidden from the public's eye. No one would know that the filthy, rat-infested tenement or shack over on the other side of the tracks belonged to one of the pillars of the community, or perhaps to a respected officeholder.

My bill provides that a locality must

require that the names of all owners of rental properties used for residential purposes be published at least annually in a local newspaper before that locality would be eligible for a loan or grant under title I of the Housing Act of 1949. This would include the names of owners of both legal and equitable interests; the officers and directors of corporations which own such properties, as well as any person owning 15 percent or more of the stock of such corporations; both the trustees and beneficiaries where the owner is a trust; and the names of all partners, general and limited, where the owner is a partnership. There is no doubt that my bill would have a salutary effect in many of the problem areas of our communities. I sincerely urge prompt consideration and passage to help out on the problem with which we are faced and which we are dealing with in this and another bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2419) to make assistance to localities under title I of the Housing Act of 1949 contingent upon the publication of the names of the owners of rental properties in such localities which are used for residential purposes, introduced by Mr. DOMINICK, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1648) to provided grants for public works and development facilities, other financial assistance and the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions, which was, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That this Act may be cited as the "Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965".

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. The Congress declares that the maintenance of the national economy at a high level is vital to the best interests of the United States, but that some of our regions, counties, and communities are suffering substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment; that such unemployment and underemployment cause hardship to many individuals and their families, and waste invaluable human resources; that to overcome this problem the Federal Government, in cooperation with the States, should help areas and regions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment to take effective steps in planning and financing their public works and economic development; that Federal financial assistance, including grants for public works and development facilities to communities, industries, enterprises, and individuals in areas needing development should enable such areas to help themselves achieve lasting improvement and enhance the domestic prosperity by the establishment of stable and diversified local economies and improved local conditions, provided that such assistance is preceded by and consistent with sound, long-range economic planning; and that

under the provisions of this Act new employment opportunities should be created by developing and expanding new and existing public works and other facilities and resources rather than by merely transferring jobs from one area of the United States to another.

TITLE I—GRANTS FOR PUBLIC WORKS AND DEVELOPMENT FACILITIES

SEC. 101. (a) Upon the application of any State, or political subdivision thereof, Indian tribe, or private or public nonprofit organization or association representing any redevelopment area or part thereof, the Secretary of Commerce (hereinafter referred to as the Secretary) is authorized—

(1) to make direct grants for the acquisition or development of land and improvements for public works, public service, or development facility usage, and the acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion, or improvement of such facilities, including related machinery and equipment, within a redevelopment area, if he finds that—

(A) the project for which financial assistance is sought will directly or indirectly (i) tend to improve the opportunities, in the area where such project is or will be located, for the successful establishment or expansion of industrial or commercial plants or facilities, (ii) otherwise assist in the creation of additional long-term employment opportunities for such area, or (iii) primarily benefit the long-term unemployed and members of low-income families or otherwise substantially further the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964;

(B) the project for which a grant is requested will fulfill a pressing need of the area, or part thereof, in which it is, or will be, located; and

(C) the area for which a project is to be undertaken has an approved overall economic development program as provided in section 202(b)(10) and such project is consistent with such program;

(2) to make supplementary grants in order to enable the States and other entities within redevelopment areas to take maximum advantage of designated Federal grant-in-aid programs (as hereinafter defined), direct grants-in-aid authorized under this section, and Federal grant-in-aid programs authorized by the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (68 Stat. 666, as amended), and the eleven watersheds authorized by the Flood Control Act of December 22, 1944, as amended and supplemented (58 Stat. 887), for which they are eligible but for which, because of their economic situation, they cannot supply the required matching share.

(b) Subject to subsection (c) hereof, the amount of any direct grant under this section for any project shall not exceed 50 per centum of the cost of such project.

(c) The amount of any supplementary grant under this section for any project shall not exceed the applicable percentage established by regulations promulgated by the Secretary, but in no event shall the non-Federal share of the aggregate cost of any such project (including assumptions of debt) be less than 20 per centum of such cost. Supplementary grants shall be made by the Secretary, in accordance with such regulations as he shall prescribe, by increasing the amounts of direct grants authorized under this section or by the payment of funds appropriated under this Act to the heads of the departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the Federal Government responsible for the administration of the applicable Federal programs. Notwithstanding any requirement as to the amount or sources of non-Federal funds that may otherwise be applicable to the Federal program involved, funds provided under this subsection shall be used for the sole purpose

of increasing the Federal contribution to specific projects in redevelopment areas under such programs above the fixed maximum portion of the cost of such project otherwise authorized by the applicable law. The term "designated Federal grant-in-aid programs," as used in this subsection, means such existing or future Federal grant-in-aid programs assisting in the construction or equipping of facilities as the Secretary may, in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, designate as eligible for allocation of funds under this section. In determining the amount of any supplementary grant available to any project under this section, the Secretary shall take into consideration the relative needs of the area, the nature of the project to be assisted, and the amount of such fair user charges or other revenues as the project may reasonably be expected to generate in excess of those which would amortize the local share of initial costs and provide for its successful operation and maintenance (including depreciation).

(d) The Secretary shall prescribe rules, regulations, and procedures to carry out this section which will assure that adequate consideration is given to the relative needs of eligible areas. In prescribing such rules, regulations, and procedures the Secretary shall consider among other relevant factors (1) the severity of the rates of unemployment in the eligible areas and the duration of such unemployment and (2) the income levels of families and the extent of underemployment in eligible areas.

(e) Except for projects specifically authorized by Congress, no financial assistance shall be extended under this section with respect to any public service or development facility which would compete with an existing privately owned public utility rendering a service to the public at rates or charges subject to regulation by a State or Federal regulatory body, unless the State or Federal regulatory body determines that in the area to be served by the facility for which the financial assistance is to be extended there is a need for an increase in such service (taking into consideration reasonably foreseeable future needs) which the existing public utility is not able to meet through its existing facilities or through an expansion which it agrees to undertake.

(f) The Secretary shall prescribe regulations which will assure that appropriate local governmental authorities have been given a reasonable opportunity to review and comment upon proposed projects under this section.

SEC. 102. (a) In addition to the assistance otherwise authorized, the Secretary is authorized to make grants in accordance with the provisions of this title to those areas which the Secretary of Labor determines, on the basis of average annual available unemployment statistics, were areas of substantial unemployment during the preceding calendar year.

(b) Areas designated under the authority of this section shall be subject to an annual review of eligibility in accordance with section 402, and to all of the rules, regulations, and procedures applicable to redevelopment areas except as the Secretary may otherwise prescribe by regulation.

SEC. 103. Not more than 15 per centum of the appropriations made pursuant to this title may be expended in any one State.

SEC. 104. No part of any appropriations made pursuant to this title may be expended for any project in any area which is within the "Appalachian region" (as that term is defined in section 403 of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965) which is approved for assistance under the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

SEC. 105. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to carry out this title not to exceed \$500,000,000 for the fiscal year ending

June 30, 1966, and for each fiscal year thereafter through the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969.

Financial assistance for sewer facilities

SEC. 106. No financial assistance, through grants, loans, guarantees, or otherwise, shall be made under this Act to be used directly or indirectly for sewer or other waste disposal facilities unless the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare certifies to the Secretary that any waste material carried by such facilities will be adequately treated before it is discharged into any public waterway so as to meet applicable Federal, State, interstate, or local water quality standards.

TITLE II—OTHER FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Public works and development facility loans

SEC. 201. (a) Upon the application of any State, or political subdivision thereof, Indian tribe, or private or public nonprofit organization or association representing any redevelopment area or part thereof, the Secretary is authorized to purchase evidence of indebtedness and to make loans to assist in financing the purchase or development of land and improvements for public works, public service, or development facility usage, including public works, public service, and development facility usage, to be provided by agencies of the Federal Government pursuant to legislation requiring that non-Federal entities bear some part of the cost thereof, and the acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion, or improvement of such facilities, including related machinery and equipment, within a redevelopment area, if he finds that—

(1) the project for which financial assistance is sought will directly or indirectly—

(A) tend to improve the opportunities, in the area where such project is or will be located, for the successful establishment or expansion of industrial or commercial plants or facilities,

(B) otherwise assist in the creation of additional long-term employment opportunities for such area, or

(C) primarily benefit the long-term unemployed and members of low-income families or otherwise substantially further the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964;

(2) the funds requested for such project are not otherwise available from private lenders or from other Federal agencies on terms which in the opinion of the Secretary will permit the accomplishment of the project;

(3) the amount of the loan plus the amount of other available funds for such project are adequate to insure the completion thereof;

(4) there is a reasonable expectation of repayment; and

(5) such area has an approved overall economic development program as provided in section 202(b)(10) and the project for which financial assistance is sought is consistent with such program.

(b) Subject to section 701(5), no loan, including renewals or extensions thereof, shall be made under this section for a period exceeding forty years, and no evidence of indebtedness maturing more than forty years from the date of purchase shall be purchased under this section. Such loans shall bear interest at a rate not less than a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury taking into consideration the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States with remaining periods to maturity comparable to the average maturities of such loans, adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum, less not to exceed one-half of 1 per centum per annum.

(c) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary

approved for financial assistance under section 181, 201, 202, or 403, which shall be kept available for public inspection during the regular business hours of the Department of Commerce. The following information shall be posted in such list as soon as each application is approved; (1) the name of the applicant and, in the case of corporate applications, the names of the officers and directors thereof, (2) the amount and duration of the loan or grant for which application is made, (3) the purposes for which the proceeds of the loan or grant are to be used, and (4) a general description of the security offered in the cause of a loan.

Records and audit

Sec. 714. (a) Each recipient of assistance under this Act shall keep such records as the Secretary shall prescribe, including records which fully disclose the amount and the disposition by such recipient of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance is given or used, and the amount and nature of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

(b) The Secretary and the Comptroller General of the United States, or any of their duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipient that are pertinent to assistance received under this Act.

Conforming amendment

Sec. 715. All benefits heretofore specifically made available (and not subsequently revoked) under other Federal programs to persons or to public or private organizations, corporations, or entities in areas designated by the Secretary as "redevelopment areas" under section 5 of the Area Redevelopment Act, are hereby also extended, insofar as practicable, to such areas as may be designated as "redevelopment areas" or "economic development centers" under the authority of section 401 or 403 of this Act: *Provided, however*, That this section shall not be construed as limiting such administrative discretion as may have been conferred under any other law.

Sec. 716. All financial and technical assistance authorized under this Act shall be in addition to any Federal assistance previously authorized, and no provision hereof shall be construed as authorizing or permitting any reduction or diminution in the proportional amount of Federal assistance to which any State or other entity eligible under this Act would otherwise be entitled under the provisions of any other Act.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Michigan.

The motion was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the bill (S. 1309) to authorize checks to be drawn in favor of financial organizations for the credit of a person's account, under certain conditions.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill

(H.R. 7765) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes; that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 23, 41, 47, 49, and 50 to the bill, and concurred therein, and that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 1 to the bill and concurred therein, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8639) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. ROONEY of New York, Mr. SIKES, Mr. SLACK, Mr. SMITH of Iowa, Mr. FLYNT, Mr. JOELSON, Mr. MAHON, Mr. BOW, Mr. LIPSCOMB, and Mr. CEDERBERG were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9947) to amend the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1959, to provide for reimbursement of transportation expenses for Members of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.

U.S. POSITION IN REGARD TO ENFORCING ARTICLE 19 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, this afternoon, Ambassador Goldberg presented to the Committee of 33 at the United Nations a statement setting forth the position of the United States in regard to enforcing article 19 of the United Nations Charter.

This article provides that when a member becomes 2 years in arrears on assessments it shall lose its vote in the General Assembly.

The Ambassador's statement says, in effect, that we will not attempt to force a vote on France and Russia for their refusal to pay assessments levied for the purpose of maintaining a police force in the Congo, an operation to which both nations objected.

The fact is, it is doubtful whether the United States could force a direct vote on this issue, but, if we could, it is quite certain that our effort would be heavily defeated with many of our closest allies voting against us.

It should furthermore be understood that should article 19 be literally enforced, France and Russia would lose only their vote in the U.N. General Assembly, a body of 114 members.

Neither country would lose its seat in the General Assembly nor in the United Nations.

Neither country would lose its place on the Security Council nor its veto power in the Council.

It must also be recognized that if the United Nations should attempt to assess

us for the cost of maintaining armed force in the Western Hemisphere, we would probably refuse to pay.

Since the prospect of either collecting these assessments from France and Russia or of punishing them for a violation of the charter is virtually nil, the United States was put in the position of either facing certain defeat in the General Assembly or accepting the fact that from now on the United Nations will be largely financed on a voluntary basis for, if action cannot be taken against Russia and France for nonpayment of assessments, it certain should not be taken against the smaller, poorer nations.

The question is whether the United Nations is worth keeping as an international organization.

It is obvious that it cannot continue under rules to be observed by part of the membership and ignored by the rest.

Therefore, in announcing that the United States would no longer be bound to observe the provisions of article 19, Ambassador Goldberg took the only practicable course left open; the alternative would be to withdraw completely from this world organization.

It was not an easy decision to make. It does not by itself guarantee the effectiveness of the United Nations in the future.

It will be found thoroughly unsatisfactory and will be condemned by many people, some of whom are opposed to international organizations in principle.

It does, however, offer an alternative and perhaps the only alternative to a growing world crisis which could conceivably end in human disaster.

Mr. President, I appreciate very much that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] yielded to me in order to make these remarks.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, numerous complaints have been stated as to the administration of the program by OEO. Much of the criticism is directed toward specific incidents of alleged maladministration. It would not be possible, nor in my opinion appropriate, for me to attempt to answer these statements. However, I should like to point out that this is a new agency in operation less than a year, designed to meet a gigantic problem—that of reducing poverty in the United States. To expect that there would not be problems in administration would be unreasonable. During the hearings, the Director, Sargent Shriver, and other OEO officials, gave us every assurance that this problem is recognized and every effort will be made to correct it.

Although I do not intend to minimize these statements, it does seem to me we

should look to the achievements of the new agency, which was funded less than a year ago.

I thank the Senator from Colorado for yielding to me.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON] and myself—and the Senator from Wyoming is necessarily absent today—I send to the desk for reference and printing an amendment that we intend to offer to the pending bill.

The amendment merely reaffirms and strengthens the provision in title I of the bill, which would prohibit activities of the Job Corps when the effect would be to displace employed people or take over services which were being accomplished by private enterprise firms.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be received and printed, and will lie on the table.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, in 1919, the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt said:

Every one of us would like to see a state of perfection on earth; but we know that every great reform takes time and good judgment, and that too great haste often defeats its own ends.

Seventeen months ago the President of the United States announced a program to eradicate poverty in America. One year ago Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to put that program into operation. Now, after the expenditure of nearly \$800 million, Congress should pause to take stock of its creation.

The basic underlying principle of the war on poverty is sound—and it is in the best tradition of the American people. It is not the principle of charity, nor of patronizing benevolence. It is not the principle of the freeloader and the dole. It is the principle that it is right—and wise—for Americans to help their fellow Americans to help themselves.

President Johnson recognized this when he said, in his initial message to Congress:

The war on poverty is not a struggle simply to support people, to make them dependent on the generosity of others. It is a struggle to give people a chance. It is an effort to allow them to develop and use their capacities, as we have used ours, so that they can share, as others share, in the promise of this Nation.

Walter Heller, then Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, put it this way:

The essence of the President's attack on poverty is the creation of new economic opportunities, a chance for the poor who are able to do so to earn their way out of poverty.

There is scarcely an American today so callous, so ruthless, so flinthearted, as

to repudiate this principle embedded so deeply within us as a people.

The great national debate on the poverty program today is not a debate on the merits of its fundamental principle. As so often occurs in American society, the debate rages over the means by which those in power seek to translate that principle into action. The issue before the Congress today is, simply, this: In view of the magnitude of the poverty problem in America, and in view of the resources committed to overcome it, has the war on poverty been a success?

Any attempt to answer this query must necessarily result in a balancing of positive and negative accomplishments. The administration and the Office of Economic Opportunity have emphasized the positive achievements of the war on poverty, and their arguments are not without merit. Because of the war on poverty, for example, 561,000 young Americans are being introduced to the world of learning through Project Head Start. Eighty thousand young men and women have had the opportunity to earn the money they need to stay in college. Nearly 90,000 unemployed heads of families have received work training and experience that will help them to become producers instead of public charges. Ten thousand men and women in rural areas have received loans that will give them a new incentive to improve their incomes and standards of living.

Nor has the Office of Economic Opportunity rejected every criticism that has been made of the program. Commendably, the Office has candidly admitted that in some areas serious difficulties have developed. In view of the magnitude of the poverty problem in America, in view of the depths of its roots and persistence of its causes, some failures were inevitable. The Congress has no right to expect perfection from the administrators of its programs.

Yet, when all this is said and done, when every reasonable allowance has been made for extenuating circumstances, when the benefit of many doubts has been generously granted, the fact remains that this so-called war on poverty has exhibited classic examples of administrative bungling, haphazard haste and costly waste, shoddy coordination, bureaucratic secrecy, excessively high salaries, heavy-handed dictation, ugly politics and—worst of all—botched opportunity.

Let us examine the various charges brought against the operation of the war on poverty:

THE POVERTY ARMY IS LED BY A PART-TIME GENERAL

There is scarcely a position in Government more demanding of full-time attention than that of Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Yet, the present Director must devote part of his time and energy to the task of running the Peace Corps. In view of the present administration's predilection for appointing four where two could serve, it is truly surprising that here it has appointed only one to do what is admittedly the job of two. The sooner the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Peace

Corps get separate, full-time Directors, the better it will be for both.

A. COMPARISON OF PREDICTION AND THE RESULTS SHOW A SIGNIFICANT PERFORMANCE GAP

When the poverty legislation was before the Congress last year, we were told how many people the various programs were to benefit in the first fiscal year of operation. In one program—the Neighborhood Youth Corps—the stated goal of 200,000 has been exceeded, with 277,000 young people employed. In view of the simple nature of this program, its success in reaching its numerical goal is not surprising.

Other programs, however, have been less successful. Last year it was estimated that 140,000 youths would benefit from the college work study provisions. At the close of the fiscal year the actual number was around 80,000. Even doubling the spring semester recipients to account for the fall semester of 1964, when the program was not yet in operation, the total would be only 114,000, far below the goal.

Last year it was estimated that 130,000 persons would be enrolled in the work experience programs under title V. At the close of the fiscal year 88,700 had been enrolled.

Last year it was estimated that 40,000 Job Corps men would be in the program by the first year. The actual number at the close of the fiscal year was only about 10,000.

Last year it was estimated that 1,000 VISTA volunteers would be in the field at the end of the fiscal year, provided only that enough young men and women stepped forward to enroll. Fifteen thousand did step forward to enroll—and as of June 30 a total of 202 were actually in service.

And even some of these OEO figures are open to question. Jack Steele of the Scripps Howard Newspaper Alliance gave a progress report on the war on poverty as of the end of its first fiscal year.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from an article entitled, "Troubles, Delays, and Confusions—Poverty War Ends Year of Crisis," written by Jack Steele in the Washington Daily News of July 1, 1965, be printed at this point in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[Excerpts from Washington Daily News, July 1, 1965]

TROUBLES, DELAYS, AND CONFUSIONS—POVERTY WAR ENDS YEAR OF CRISIS

(By Jack Steele)

Bitter political warfare—still largely unsettled—has stymied the community action program in most of the Nation's big cities. This program is the keystone of the antipoverty war since it will provide the machinery for helping the poor. In rural areas, lack of community initiative has delayed the CAP program even more.

VISTA, the so-called Domestic Peace Corps, was originally supposed to enroll 5,000 volunteers to help the poor by June 30. As of yesterday it actually had 203 such volunteers working in the field and 842 more in training.

The Job Corps, which Mr. Shriver told Congress last autumn would have 30,000 to 40,000 teenage dropouts in some 75 camps by June 30, actually had 8,345 in 48 camps as of Tuesday. And more than 15 percent of those sent to Youth Corps camps had already quit the camps.

GLOSS OVER

Mr. Shriver and his battery of public relations experts have managed to gloss over most such lags and failures in the antipov-erty program. Here's how they've done it.

In recent weeks, OEO officials have worked day and night to allocate funds for antipov-erty projects and thus use up all the \$793 million Congress appropriated last year for the program and clear the way for passage of this year's \$1.5 billion fund request. Much of this money won't be spent—or the projects even started—for months.

Mr. Shriver listed 265,000 enrollees in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. But the 100,000th enrollee was inducted at a White House ceremony on June 11, less than 3 weeks ago. And Neighborhood Youth Corps officials, after whirling their computers, came up yesterday with a top enrollment estimate of 175,000—including 70,000 in a special summer "leaf-raking" project. The first-year goal for this program was 200,000.

Mr. Shriver's list included 88,000 in a so-called work experience program run by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. But HEW officials yesterday reported the program had 15,240 actual enrollees in 59 projects now in operation.

The OEO Director also listed 600,000 direct beneficiaries of community action programs. Yet most of the CAP projects approved thus far are so-called planning or demonstration grants which provide help or employment to relatively few of the poor. And only a few of these are yet off the ground.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, a striking exception to the performance gap is the administrative costs of the program. The OEO Director said last year that his administrative budget would be about \$3.5 million and that he would employ 300 to 700 people. As of June 30, 1965, the amount obligated for administrative expenses of the Office was over \$6.1 million, and the number of employees was hovering around the thousand mark.

What has caused this gap between prediction and performance? Two answers suggest themselves: A lack of clear understanding of the complexities of creating these new programs, resulting in euphoric election-year predictions unrelated to reality; or administrative confusion and chaos in the implementation. The true answer is probably a combination of the two.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY HAS BEEN A SORRY STORY OF DELAY AND BUNGLING

The war on poverty has been a god-send to those mild mannered little fellows who take secret satisfaction watching the high and mighty goof up the works. Not even OEO has yet paid anyone to add up the inches of newspaper lineage that have been used to describe the fumbling and bumbling of the poverty administrators, but it is said that around Washington one can get 3 to 1 that the stories laid end to end would reach from the White House Rose Garden to Catocin, Md., and part way back.

In my own State the local Democrat in charge of the poverty program at the State level has assailed OEO for "inex-

cusable delays." He told how the Washington poverty warriors put on the heat to get all program applications submitted before the fiscal year deadline—then were unable to tell him the status of the projects thereafter. "There is no person or place we can go to get a reading on the status of our own programs," he said.

Just the other day, testifying before the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee, Dr. Murray Grant, Health Director of the District of Columbia, stated that the District had applied for public welfare funds about 9 months ago, but the application was still pending. He went on to say that the District government had made repeated inquiries since that time as to when the money might be forthcoming, apparently with no success. There is now a 2-month backlog of cases. Space, and perhaps the resources of the Government Printing Office, do not permit a complete listing of all such interesting examples, but the man so rash as to suggest these instances are uncommon has not yet stepped forward.

If unprocessed applications were negotiable, like bank drafts, I would advocate putting a strict security guard around the Washington poverty headquarters; for within those walls reposes what is probably the most massive collection of ignored, forgotten, and bogged-down applications known to the Western World since the halcyon days of the great South Seas bubble.

An otherwise sympathetic observer, Eve Edstrom of the Washington Post, characterized this abysmal situation succinctly when she reported:

The confusion caused by the law itself has been compounded by the turmoil that exists at the Office of Economic Opportunity. "We operate from crisis to crisis," one Federal antipov-erty worker said "We're always in perpetual motion but I'm not sure where we're going."

HEAVYHANDED DICTATION FROM WASHINGTON STIFLES LOCAL FLEXIBILITY AND INITIATIVE

One of the great virtues of the anti-poverty program, as conceived a year ago, was that it was designed to allow maximum latitude for experimentation at local levels. True, there has been a great deal of experimentation—one Mississippi Head Start center has experimented with eliminating bookkeeping controls on a \$1.2 million project, and the Memphis Neighborhood Youth Corps has experimented in requiring kickbacks from corpsmen to pay unauthorized supervisors. But in many cases the bureaucrats on top have squashed local initiative by laying down impossible requirements and meddling with even the smallest details.

Typical of this malady is the situation at that boon to antipov-erty critics, the St. Petersburg Women's Job Corps Center. At this establishment, so I am told, no officer may talk to the press without reporting by long-distance telephone to Washington the substance of the conversation. These phone calls probably add up to quite a sum, since Washington may have a hard time getting the message over the rumbling of hot rod exhausts, the continuous rock-and-roll

parties, the omnipresent police sirens that rise to a crescendo whenever an inmate makes a break for it, and, more recently, the angry mutterings of the local citizens. Pinellas County's assistant school superintendent, struggling to make this center less of a disaster, says:

We were so deluged by so many people from Washington giving us information and advice on community relations, public health, and home and family living that it was just plain confusing.

In my own State of Vermont, the acting State director of economic opportunity has had occasion to state that local volunteer agencies have "done everything but stand on their heads. They've formed programs, then changed them or scrapped them to meet the Federal suggestions."

And yet, at the time of his statement, the applications were bogged down somewhere in OEO.

It is always necessary in a Federal grant program for the administrators to stay close enough to the various situations to see that proper procedures are carried out, and that Federal funds are not expended without justification. But this sort of intelligent supervision, in the hands of a zealous bureaucrat, can easily shade into the tyranny of centralized direction that stifles local programs. Happily, the European Communist world is learning this, and is decentralizing all but the most basic economic decisions. One hesitates to say that OEO should profit from this trend in the Communist world, but the point should be clear.

HASTE AND WASTE—THE ROMULUS AND REMUS OF OEO

According to legend, the great empire of Rome had its beginning in the birth of the brother's Romulus and Remus, suckled by a she-wolf on the banks of the Tiber. The analogous allegory for the economic opportunity empire would have to be "haste and waste," suckled to a sleek corpulence by the American taxpayer.

Haste holds sway whenever a well-intentioned project flounders due to inadequate preparation. The deft touch of haste appears behind the screening procedures that send a girl 5 months pregnant to the Women's Job Corps, accompanied by another who was emotionally ill, 2 who refused to heed curfews and no-drinking rules, and 20 who did not much care about the whole project.

Waste rears its ugly head when seamstresses are hired to remake clothes for Job Corps girls who are supposed to be learning to sew, maids are hired to make the beds of Job Corps girls who are supposed to be learning practical home-making, and construction gangs are hired to spruce up abandoned forest camps for boys who are supposed to be learning basic job skills in carpentry and plumbing.

Waste gloats gleefully in city after city, including the Nation's Capital, where formerly anonymous political coadjutors emerge at succulent salaries of \$18,000 and even \$25,000. And it chortles with pleasure as OEO functionaries crawl over each other trying to find out what they are supposed to be doing, while the

administrative budget continues its incessant march skyward.

THE RULES OF THE ROAD—AVOID STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS, KEEP LOCAL PEOPLE IN THE DARK

One well-documented example is sufficient to exemplify the way the "poverty-crats" prefer to deal with local officials and citizenry. The pattern was set when the very first Job Corps camp location was announced—at Yorktown, Va.—before any local people had been consulted. This excerpt from a statement by Congresswoman CATHERINE MAY, of Washington, shows how the concept has been honed to near perfection in the months since.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD Representative MAY's observation.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE CATHERINE MAY, REPUBLICAN, OF WASHINGTON, BEFORE THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, JUNE 16, 1965

The first situation I would like to discuss is the announced establishment of a Job Corps conservation center to be located on the Yakima Indian Reservation near the small community of White Swan.

The official announcement concerning this Job Corps camp was contained in a press release from the Office of the Secretary of the Interior which detailed the locations of 14 Job Corps camps in 10 States to be activated early that fall. The Secretary's announcement states, "Each of these camps will also be a great community asset." This press release, which was received in my office on August 19, 1964, the date it was to be released, was the first notification received by me of this project and was, in fact the first official notification received by the people of White Swan, a community of approximately 200 inhabitants and approximately 2 miles from the announced site of the camp.

From information I was able to piece together later, it became evident that a great deal of secrecy had surrounded the circumstances in arriving at the selection of this site for a Job Corps camp. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, once a decision had been made, consulted only with the Yakima Tribal Council and it is my understanding the Bureau told the tribal council that Indians would be put to work and that the work to be accomplished would be in the nature of work which would benefit the Indian reservation. The Secretary of the Interior's announcement of August 19, 1964, in fact, stated: "The enrollees will be concerned primarily with timber and range conservation practices such as timber thinning and construction of fire roads and trails."

It is not difficult to understand the immediate reaction of the people of White Swan who naturally were concerned over the effect on their community of the arrival of as many Job Corps "guests" as there are inhabitants. Urgent requests for complete information on the impact of such a facility were made to my office. I point out again that no such information had been volunteered either prior to or following the brief original announcement. Inquiries were initiated by my office to the Bureau of Indian Affairs because the Office of Economic Opportunity advised they had no information with which to respond to the community concern. To give an example of this kind of bureaucratic attitude, we were told by a spokesman of the Bureau of Indian Affairs that "If a community wishes to protest it should do so to the Yakima Indian Agency

superintendent." On August 28, 1964, we were also advised that this was only a "proposed" establishment since Congress had not as yet appropriated the money to establish any of the Job Corps centers. This fact brought out yet another interesting point because I was later informed that even prior to the August 19 announcement work crews contracted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were busy clearing a site for the proposed establishment. I still do not know the source of the funds for this preliminary work.

On August 28, 1964, I asked Sargent Shriver, Director of the President's Task Force on the War on Poverty, to arrange for a public hearing on the announced establishment of a Job Corps camp near White Swan. I advised Mr. Shriver that since the August 19, 1964, announcement of the location of the camp a number of residents of nearby communities had indicated their concern over the location of such a camp in their area and that many of these individuals were asking questions which deserved factual answers. I advised Mr. Shriver that I had discussed the situation with the Governor's representative appointed to handle antipoverty programs in the State (who incidentally had not been provided answers to the questions being asked) and that we both agreed that a full public hearing should be held in the area as soon as possible so that all the individual citizens would have all the facts upon which to base opinions. On September 2, 1964, I was advised by the Governor's representative that the Bureau of Indian Affairs regional office had notified him that they would hold a public meeting in the White Swan High School on September 9 to inform the community of plans for the proposed Job Corps camp. I initiated telephone calls to the Office of Economic Opportunity to ask whether this meeting was in response to my request for hearing and was advised that a representative of Sargent Shriver's office would attend the meeting. I did not receive any written response to my letter requesting a hearing.

The meeting was held in the White Swan High School the evening of September 9, 1964. I was subsequently advised that only written questions were allowed from an audience of about 350 persons and no oral discussion was permitted. One gentleman stood up and demanded that he be heard and was given the opportunity to make a brief statement. This, Mr. Chairman, was not the kind of hearing I had requested, although I was given to understand that generally speaking the audience seemed to be satisfied with the answers received to their written questions, mostly handled by the representative from Sargent Shriver's office.

The then Governor of the State of Washington subsequently approved the camp. It was about this time that a local attorney for a group of White Swan residents protested to the Office of Economic Opportunity the establishment of the camp, contending that work planned by occupants of the camp would benefit Yakima Indians only and therefore was discriminatory against non-Indians. The attorney based his contention on the Civil Rights Act passed by Congress in 1964. The General Counsel for the Office of Economic Opportunity advised the local attorney, "We are acquainted with no law or policy against discrimination on the basis of race which is violated by the operation of a conservation center on the Yakima Indian Reservation Center." The General Counsel went to state in his letter, "Government policy against discrimination, whatever source, does not generally prevent the expenditure of money to benefit Indians on an Indian reservation." The local attorney said he could not agree and that he would seek a Federal injunction to stop the establishment of a camp. The

new Governor agreed that before he would approve the camp that assurance would have to be given that the general public would have access to and use of facilities constructed by the Job Corps. There the matter rested for many months. However, as recently as early this month, Otis A. Singletary, Director of the Job Corps, said in a letter to the local newspaper in Yakima, Wash., the largest nearby community, that he was holding up approval of the White Swan Camp because of "poor community attitudes." Apparently recognizing the former Governor's approval of the site and not waiting for the new Governor's recommendation, Dr. Singletary indicated in his letter that the Office of Economic Opportunity had every legal right to proceed with the camp, but the delay was "based solely on my concern for the enrollees."

In the meantime, the new Governor, continuing to be concerned over the two questions, that of community acceptance and that of general public use of an access to the facilities, obtained from local communities assurances that public opinion had gradually changed to favor the camp and new letters were received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Yakima Tribal Council giving assurances the public would have access to and use of the facilities after all. The Governor just last week wrote to the Office of Economic Opportunity approving the location of the camp and this last Friday evening, June 11, my office was called by the Deputy Director for the Job Corps to be advised that that office would now proceed with the camp.

I might say parenthetically that when I asked the Office of Economic Opportunity last Friday evening for details I was advised they had none. They assumed the camp would be established as originally proposed, but that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would have to provide the details. Once again, Mr. Chairman, the local citizens found themselves "in the dark" as to details of the situation.

I will not dwell long on the second Job Corps camp proposal in my district.

This is a camp to be administered by the Bureau of Reclamation to be located on the Columbia Basin reclamation project. In February of this year it was announced by the Bureau of Reclamation headquarters on the project that the Office of Economic Opportunity had requested a recommendation for a location of a Job Corps conservation center on the Columbia Basin project. This was undertaken and on April 27 of this year the President announced a number of new Job Corps conservation centers, including one on the Columbia Basin project. Accompanying the White House announcement was a detailed fact sheet which stated that the Columbia Basin center would be located on land owned by the city of Ephrata. The announcement went on to state, that two buildings consisting of a two-story dormitory building and a former messhall will be made available by the city of Ephrata. The city of Ephrata was delighted by this announcement because the people of Ephrata had actively sought the center and the Ephrata location had received a favorable recommendation from the Bureau of Reclamation.

Within a matter of hours after the President's announcement, however, the announcement was withdrawn, insofar as exact location is concerned, and I received from the Ephrata Chamber of Commerce an urgent letter wanting to know what had happened and reaffirming its wishes for the center. My office, Mr. Chairman, made repeated calls to the Office of Economic Opportunity from Dr. Singletary on down and about all we could learn was that the Office of Economic Opportunity thinks it will establish the Job Corps center at Larson Air Force Base near Moses Lake, Wash., instead of Ephrata. As nearly as I can tell, no local

request for establishment of the center at Larson Air Force Base or at Moses Lakes was ever made. The people of Ephrata are understandably angry, especially because the center was announced for their town and then the announcement withdrawn. No one in the Office of Economic Opportunity has ever explained to me why the announcement was made for Ephrata in the first place and, as a matter of fact, they won't even admit that it was announced for Ephrata even though I have a copy of the announcement in my possession. This, Mr. Chairman, strikes me as a prime example of the right bureaucratic hand not knowing what the left bureaucratic hand is doing.

Again, Mr. Chairman, one would think the people in the Office of Economic Opportunity would have learned from the White Swan situation, but experience made no difference in the case of the Columbia Basin center. What I am afraid of now, Mr. Chairman, is that the Ephrata people will be hostile to the project and will not be in a mood to cooperate with the trainees. Ephrata is only 26 miles from Moses Lake.

RAISING FALSE HOPES

Mr. PROUTY—

I'm worried about a possible loss of interest and enthusiasm on the part of the people who have worked so hard on a volunteer basis to get this program started—

So spoke Vermont's director of economic opportunity when the program in our State came almost to a standstill because of delays in Washington.

Thousands upon thousands of eligible Job Corps youths across the land are disenchanted. Billboards, diskjockeys, and poverty missionaries have assiduously spread the word that "the Job Corps needs you"; yet, with 228,000 inquiry cards received, only about 16,000 corpsmen had been accepted and assigned at the end of the first fiscal year. What of those others, who seized the initiative—perhaps for the first time in their lives—to seek the help of the Job Corps in getting themselves out of the morass of poverty? What is the effect on them, in real, personal terms, of one more apparent rejection—this one after having been led on by all the OEO ballyhoo? If the poverty people are going to lure youths into the gingerbread house, they should be prepared to hand out cookies, not waiting room numbers.

Similarly, false hopes have been raised among the elderly. The Office of Economic Opportunity has not been able to find any way to focus on the needs of our older citizens. In desperation, faced with congressional murmurings, the Director has belatedly established—on June 14 of this year—a special task force to try to come up with something. In the meantime the elderly—a group for which poverty is both prevalent and serious—can hope only to catch on in some other program not designed to help them or meet their specific needs.

Nor was it fair to the elderly for the Director, a special assistant to the President of the United States, to come before the committee and express his support of my proposal to substantially increase the monthly social security benefits. Later, when the 1965 Social Security Amendments were before the Senate, the administration forces battered down my proposal by an overwhelming margin.

OEO'S COAT OF ARMS; DUPLICATION RAMPANT ON A FIELD CHAOTIC

A good summary of the ineffectiveness of coordination of the Federal anti-poverty effort is provided in an article from the Wall Street Journal of June 9, 1965.

This article by Jerry Landauer in my judgment is quite objective, and I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OVERLAPPING UPLIFT—WAR ON POVERTY SPILLS OVER INTO MANY FEDERAL AGENCIES

(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON.—It's been 6 months since Congress voted the first funds for the new Office of Economic Opportunity but Sargent Shriver's researchers haven't identified yet all the existing Federal activities that conceivably could fall under his sway as generalissimo of the antipoverty crusade.

Admittedly the tabulating task is tough. The Library of Congress, restricting its count to those offering aid to State or local governments, cataloged 115 such programs or "closely related groups" last year; if "sub-categories" are included the total swells to 216.

For sheer scope, these figures suggest Mr. Shriver's job is matched by none save the President's and the Defense Secretary's. Furthermore, his congressional mandate to "coordinate the antipoverty efforts of all Federal agencies" will become more demanding before, if ever, it becomes more manageable. The Library's count didn't include all 17 sizable programs enacted in the 88th Congress, nor, of course, the dozens more enacted or pending in this Congress. "We're starting to run out of new stuff to propose," one policymaker concedes.

No wonder. Nowadays a school dropout can get help from the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a variety of welfare programs and, at the option of local citizens' groups or school boards, from Mr. Shriver's community action grants and from the new billion-dollar school aid law.

Fifteen programs authorize aid for acquiring teaching equipment, nine provide teacher training, and four, all enacted since 1962, include funds to promote basic adult literacy. Needy students can reach for loans or scholarships offered by eight, not including President Johnson's higher education bill.

Overlap obviously isn't a new problem in big government. "Believe me, it's long been a department head's biggest headache," says the top assistant to a member of the Kennedy Cabinet. Democrats assert, moreover, that for all its talk of bringing businesslike techniques to Washington, the Eisenhower regime left scant dents in the many-layered bureaucracy. (To this observation must be added the fact that for all but 2 of his 8 White House years Ike faced a Democratic Congress.)

President Johnson, of course, wants efficiency and he's taken some small steps toward it, among them reorganization plans to tidy up the Customs Bureau and merge the Weather Bureau with the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Another proposal, an old one, to upgrade the Housing and Home Finance Agency to Cabinet status, is similarly billed as an efficiency move.

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY

Yet, in greater measure than he can hope to untangle jurisdictional conflicts by such

steps, the President contributes to overlap by dividing responsibility among his top men for the panoply of old and new programs designed to uplift poor people and renew poor places.

Rather than shake up a limping agency or beef up an existing endeavor, the White House piles on a new program. "If we don't catch 'em with one we'll catch 'em with another," according to a congressional aid who has helped write several administration bills. In this sense, Lyndon's administrative style is reminiscent of Franklin Roosevelt's.

Few who've heard Mr. Johnson, his voice wavering, recall desperate men garbage grubbing for grapefruit rinds in depression days doubt his fidelity to the poverty-conquering cause; nothing less than total war on poverty, or at least the appearance of it, satisfies the restless Chief Executive. So he applies several plows to the same sod.

Look at regional renewal. Deeply disturbed by rural distress, Agriculture Secretary Freeman first expanded his domain to embrace every poor person, whether farmer or not, who happens to live in a rural place, and he set his sights on 8 million new jobs in rural America. To reach that target his Department increasingly promotes industrial development, helps search for minerals, issue loans for industry-serving utilities, looks for tourists, and helps develop water sources for factories.

But with hardly a glance at Agriculture-sponsored renewal, the White House redesignated Commerce as the chief renewal agency. The Appalachia program authorizes Secretary Connor to approve and help finance local development districts in 11 States. And the administration's big public works and development bill would have him designate, and funnel aid to, a continent-spanning network of redevelopment areas and larger economic development districts containing "economic development centers." Higher up, he'll work with regional action planning commissions embracing at least two States.

Mr. Connor's areas and districts will criss-cross many of the 2,000 county-based rural areas development committees already prodded into existence by Secretary Freeman. It's hoped that those of Mr. Shriver's community action groups functioning in rural spots will cooperate with Mr. Freeman's network of county committees (in a few places the two are identical) and where possible, with Mr. Connor's redevelopment areas.

As part of regional renewal the Government launched a pilot project in four distressed Indiana counties to speed the development of industry, land, water, mineral resources, recreation, and tourism. This sounds like something the Commerce Department's development planners might be trying; in fact, though, it's a Freeman project.

The troubles policymakers encounter just in thinking up names for the agencies they'd like Congress to establish reflect how tough it is to sort out clear lines of authority for the uplift effort, particularly in the unclaimed land between cow country and outward-creeping city.

Awhile back, Mr. Freeman set up what was called the Office of Rural Areas Development, a new agency offering advice and technical help to his Department's county committees. Now, asking Congress for money to establish small branches in 20 or more States, he wishes the agency to be known as the Rural Community Development Service. Note how "rural community" suggests a concentration of population more dense than "rural area" but less populous than "urban area."

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Last year, hoping to sidestep smalltown Congressmen's fears that giving HHFA Cabinet rank would enlarge big-city influence, policymakers dropped the word "urban" from HHFA's proposed name; they suggested calling it the Department of Housing and Community Development. But this year, enjoying bigger majorities in Congress, the White House stopped fiddling around; now it's proposed to baptize HHFA as the Department of Housing and Urban Development, thus leaving inbetween "community development" to Mr. Freeman.

Understandable, then, is the wary eye Housing Administrator Robert Weaver's people cast at Mr. Freeman. Shortly after Agriculture asked for a \$350 million fund to insure rural housing loans, the Federal Housing Administration sent word to its local offices that "no community should be considered too remote or too isolated for FHA to serve in a prompt manner."

Apart from big government's build-in overlap, believers in tidiness confront Lyndon Johnson's unique personality. He's just as determined to project a glowing record of economy as he is to lead the costly antipoverty crusade. The result is compromise. Rather than be selective among the 34.6 million Americans deemed "hard core poor" by Mr. Shriver's statisticians, the Government spreads money and effort every which way, boosting overhead, generating more overlap and, so critics claim, assuring mediocre results.

As always, politics plays a part. At least for the first year, all 1,000 counties that had been eligible for special subsidies from the spectacularly unsuccessful Area Redevelopment Administration can knock on Secretary Connor's door for similar help after the bigger development bill becomes law. And, to mobilize maximum congressional support for the billion-dollar-a-year bill to help "educationally deprived" children, Johnson men concocted a formula spreading whatever an eager Congress appropriates to all but 6 percent of the Nation's 3,000-odd counties.

Yet, months before Mr. Johnson ceremoniously signed the school aid bill outside his Texas boyhood schoolhouse, Sargent Shriver's office embarked on its own education program, intended for much the same purpose. Among other grants, antipoverty money went to Lansing, Mich., for remedial schooling; to Washington County, Va., for preschool training, and to Detroit for "expanded educational services."

Several parts of the antipoverty package are new. But Mr. Shriver also exercises partial responsibility for a batch of overlapping "delegated" programs which established bureaucracies manage: For small business loans; for rural loans, hitherto a Freeman preserve; for adult literacy, an ingredient of three existing programs; for "work study," launched in 1963 and assigned to HEW's vocational education administrators; and for "work experience," started in 1962 as part of the HEW's assignment to reduce relief rolls. Intruding into Interior Secretary Udall's reservation, Mr. Shriver operates a special program to help Indian tribes, many of which are also eligible to knock on Secretary Connor's development door.

A SHINY NEW PACKAGE

If the old programs were deemed insufficient the White House could have sought more money directly for them; or, if their results were disappointing L.B.J. could have replaced the administrators or sought revisions in the governing statutes. Instead he bundled them into a shiny new package for presentation to a cooperative Congress.

What with upward of 70 agencies operating several hundred programs to uplift people, communities, or regions, official Washington keeps hoping that Mr. Freeman's committees, Mr. Shriver's community action out-

fits, Mr. Connor's redevelopment areas, and the metropolitan planning agencies promoted by Mr. Weaver will somehow wrap all the available aid from all the sources into an uplift package that makes sense.

By shifting more responsibility for coordination to recipients of their grants, loans, and technical help, the Feds further hope to spur local initiative. Already the Agriculture Department professes to see a "real revival" in long-lagging rural places, with "people sitting down together as never before."

Another advantage of the "do it down there" approach is that it enables Federal administrators to hold down the roster of Federal employees. The directors, planners, and technicians hired by the 600 community action groups Mr. Shriver hopes soon to see functioning won't be added to the Government's employee rolls, although they'll be paid almost exclusively with Federal taxes. The staffs of Mr. Connor's redevelopment areas similarly won't be counted.

But few local politicians or planners willingly forgo rummaging in Washington's big kit for the tools allotted to them by law or for those to which they can stake reasonable claim. It was, for example, a rare locally drawn "overall economic development program" under ARA that didn't include a vocational school or an industrial park.

Still, it's widely believed here that reliance on local coordination will help untie Washington's tangled jurisdictions and slice through the overlap.

LETTING THE FARMERS FEND FOR THEMSELVES

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, not only have the elderly been left off the poverty bandwagon, the citizens of America's rural areas are also missing their fair share of participation.

Title III, of course, is directed at rural people, and loans pursuant to those provisions have helped some 10,000 persons make a new start toward economic self-sufficiency. But America's rural citizens are entitled to full participation in all programs for which they are eligible, and here they are decidedly on the short end.

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman has estimated that rural communities are getting only about 5 percent of the money doled out by OEO for community action programs. As of last April, Mr. Freeman estimated that while over 90 percent of the Nation's cities with populations of 50,000 and above have community action programs in progress, only about one-third of the Nation's rural counties have programs underway.

The August 5, 1965, rural areas development newsletter of the Department of Agriculture reports that \$9.5 million had been allocated to 202 rural community action programs, as of June 30. By contrast, 569 grants totaling \$127.6 million were approved for urban and suburban areas.

Representative CARL PERKINS, Kentucky Democrat and an original backer of the antipoverty legislation in the House, laments:

I am certainly not satisfied as to the assistance that the rural communities have received throughout the Nation.

Secretary Freeman sorrowfully takes the view that—

I am afraid that the going, for a long time, will be mighty slow.

One reason for this inattention to our rural areas is the admitted difficulty in constructing an ineffective community action program when the "community" is

spread out over miles of farmland. But a more serious problem appears to be the lack of interest in rural areas among the antipoverty warriors, almost all of whom come from big-city backgrounds. In addition, it is not without some significance that the heaviest concentration of voting power for the administration's party finds itself in and around the large cities of every State.

The time for procrastination is over. The rural citizen of America, already beset with so many problems from other Federal programs and from the trends of the farm market, should be given full opportunity to take part in programs now so eagerly constructed for the benefit of his urban fellow citizens.

A CASE STUDY IN HOG TROUGH POLITICS

"Giant fiestas of political patronage"—those are the words used by Chairman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL of the House Education and Labor Committee in describing the actual operation of the war on poverty.

"A prize piece of political pornography" says veteran antipoverty fighter Saul Alinsky.

The records are full of direct political patronage.

Adds Rev. Lynward Stevenson, head of a local community organization in Chicago.

How do you think we (poor) feel when we know that men who drive Cadillacs, eat 3-inch steaks, and sip champagne at luncheon meetings, discuss our future while we are pushed off the highways of self-help and told to keep our hats in hand.

It would serve no purpose to prolong this laundry list of horrors. From the day that the administration delivered to each Democratic Representative's office a "poverty kit" for use in the 1964 elections, the antipoverty effort has been political in conception, gestation, parturition, and infancy. Americans who sincerely want the war on poverty to live up to its lofty purposes—and that certainly includes the great majority of Americans of both political parties—must firmly insist that the Director and his staff leave no stone unturned to insure that the program not be, to paraphrase Chairman POWELL, seduced by politicians hoping to use the reservoir of poverty funds to feed their political hacks at the trough of mediocrity.

ACTIONS BY THE COMMITTEE

1. A SNEERING SLAP AT THE NATION'S GOVERNORS

Perhaps the most serious action taken by the committee was to strike from the act the Governor's veto provisions of section 209(c). This section provided that no community action program, adult basic education program, or Neighborhood Youth Corps project could be undertaken in a State if the Governor of that State disapproved the program within 30 days of its submission to him.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, to its credit, did not urge this change. The Senate, last year, endorsed the Governor's veto provision by a vote of 80 to 7. The Governors of the 50 States—who were present at the last Governors' Conference—have, with only one dissenting vote, urged the retention of this provi-

sion in the strongest possible terms. Yet, now, by the action of a one-vote majority of the Select Subcommittee on Poverty, the Senate will consider a bill to strip from the Governors the one meaningful tool they have for preserving a strong Federal-State relationship, integrating the Federal antipoverty programs into their own State efforts, and protecting the best interests of the citizens of their States.

One liberal Democratic Governor has written me:

One crucial issue at stake here is meaningful Federal-State partnership. This partnership can survive only if the States maintain a dynamic posture with respect to their responsibilities. And such a posture requires action by the Governor as the focus of political power and administrative coordination.

Another northern Democratic Governor writes, in support of the veto:

Even though the act provides for a direct relationship between the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity and the local entities in most cases, it is highly advisable to allow the States to play some role in the organization and initiation of the Economic Opportunity Act projects.

One midwestern Republican Governor writes:

Although it has not been necessary to exercise the veto, due to the fact that our Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity works closely in an affirmative way with the local organizations in the development of programs, I do feel that the Governor's veto power is a necessary deterrent to ineffective or wasteful uses of public funds.

A western Republican Governor writes:

[My opposition to repeal of the Governor's veto] is based on the conviction that removal of this authority from the Governor of the States would remove also the opportunity for strong leadership and direction of economic opportunity programs statewide. Such action would also weaken community interest in developing programs that can be enabled by this law, and for which the Economic Opportunity Act is designed.

These comments, representatives of the positions of the overwhelming majority of Governors of both parties and all sections of the country, show why it is important to continue to give the Chief Executive of a State some effective leverage with respect to these parts of the poverty program.

The drive for repeal of the veto provision derives not from an objective case study of the use of the veto during the act's first year of operation. Indeed, as of July 26 the veto had been used only 4 times—once each in Florida, Alabama, Texas, and Montana—while nearly 1,500 projects were started. The Office of Economic Opportunity has not been willing to say that the Governor's veto has been an impediment to the proper functioning of the poverty program. The real motivation for repeal of the veto power comes principally from the forces that would undermine and destroy effective State government in this country, expand and strengthen the bureaucracy at the Federal level, and consolidate their own political empires through the generous application of antipoverty funds. It is my hope that the one-vote majority of the subcommittee which struck the Govern-

nor's veto from the act will be overturned by a substantial margin on the Senate floor.

2. EVEN OLEO FEARS DUPLICATION IN NELSON AMENDMENT

The committee added to the bill an amendment proposed by Senator NELSON to provide work experience programs to chronically unemployed poor adults with poor employment prospects. As adopted by the committee, this new program will be included in title II—A community action programs and will cost \$150 million.

The Office of Economic Opportunity did not favor the adoption of this amendment. It argued, rightfully, that the proposed Nelson amendment program would duplicate the existing title V work experience programs, which attempts to do almost exactly the same thing.

"A work experience program," according to OEO, "provides up to 100 percent funds for projects to help unemployed parents and other needy persons gain work experience and job training interwoven with adult education toward basic literacy instruction. It is directed primarily toward jobless heads of families in which there are dependent children."

If the Nelson amendment is retained by the Congress, we will be treated to the spectacle of two nearly identical programs administered separately by the same Administrator. What is needed is not a proliferation of new programs, but a weeding out of the present multitude of programs and some sensible coordination between them.

According to OEO, it would not be necessary to make any statutory changes to accomplish all the objectives of the Nelson amendment under the existing title V of the act. If there is any doubt on this point, title V could be amended to provide that a person need not be from a family receiving aid to dependent children to qualify for the work experience training. I would have no objection to such a change. But I believe the committee erred in accepting this "gimmick" amendment, when sound policy would dictate a strengthening of existing programs instead of the creation of substantially identical programs in new places under new names.

3. A BLOW TO THE BUREAUCRATS' "RIGHT OF SECRECY"

Due to the efforts of Senator JAVITS, the committee broadened the language in H.R. 8283 providing for public access to information about the community action programs. The present form of the Javits-Reid amendment (after Republican Congressman OGDEN REID, of New York, who secured its adoption by the House) requires a community action program to provide for feasible public information, including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director.

It is hoped that this new language will

put an end to the almost neurotic secrecy practiced by officials of community action programs in some places. If a Federal program is going to come into a community and stand it on its head—as has happened in a number of cases—the citizens of that community should have a right to find out exactly what is being done, by whom, for whom, and at whose expense. The Javits-Reid amendment is a long step toward meeting this need. It deserves the support of the Senate.

4. MURPHY-PROUTY POLITICAL ACTIVITY AMENDMENT WILL CAUSE LOUD LAMENTATIONS IN BIG CITY POLITICAL CLUBHOUSES

Those who have been trying—with conspicuous success, in some cases—to subvert the antipoverty program for their own partisan political advantage will take a body blow from Congress, if it enacts the Murphy-Prouty political activities amendment, adopted by the committee.

The Murphy-Prouty amendment brings under the Hatch Act two groups of people not previously covered: Employees of private organizations conducting community action programs, whose salary is in principal part paid from Federal funds; and VISTA volunteers, including those referred to State, local, and private antipoverty agencies and those assigned to work on Federal lands and on federally supported projects.

This amendment will not affect teachers, nor will it affect employees of organizations conducting antipoverty programs, whose salaries are paid from other than Federal funds.

The whole purpose of this amendment is to prevent unscrupulous political bosses from enlisting antipoverty fieldworkers and VISTA volunteers into a battalion of partisan precinct workers.

The Hatch Act already covers the employees of State and local governments who administer programs financed by Federal funds. These provisions were added to the Hatch Act in 1940, when the idea of Federal grant programs bypassing State and local governments was still in its infancy. The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, of all the recent Federal grant programs, introduced a new factor into the picture. Now, for the first time, person paid from Federal funds but not directly on any public payroll are assuming the functions traditionally performed by the old-time ward bosses to help—and win the political allegiance of—the poor.

Take the man who is a neighborhood social worker for a private organization conducting a community action program. He is a resident of the neighborhood, familiar with its people and their customs. His job is to serve them—to help them press for the correction of housing violations, straighten out public assistance problems, enroll their children in special programs, solve their home economics and consumer credit problems, and get jobs and keep them. He is truly the link between the poor families of his neighborhood and the whole "outside" world of local and State agencies, schools, employment services, and

host of other bodies, the workings of which often seem mysterious and incomprehensible to those at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder.

Now, if a local politician were seeking an efficient, respected, aggressive man or woman to organize a ward, how could he do better than the local poverty fieldworker? How could he do better than persons with built-in status among the residents, persons who do the multitude of favors and services that have always been the stock in trade of the ward leader? Similarly the VISTA volunteer, immersed in service to the poverty-stricken neighborhood, is a prime candidate for recruitment by a political machine.

Nor is it merely a question of local politicians trying to recruit poverty workers into their organizations. In case after case it has been shown that local politicians are intent on placing their own trusted lieutenants in these crucial community organization positions. Once it was necessary to support ward heelers from graft and local government payrolls. Then, with the advent of this new direct Federal-local war on poverty, it became possible, indirectly, to put ward heelers on the Federal payroll as well.

The Murphy-Prouty political activity amendment will be greeted with outcries and expletives from those whose dreams of political empire must crumble before its prohibitions. But, it will be welcomed by all Americans who believe that the war on poverty is too important to perish at the hands of the political hacks who seek to subvert it for their own pernicious purposes.

5. NOW, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE PROMISE OF AN EFFECTIVE POVERTY WATCHDOG

I applaud the action of the committee in accepting my amendment to revise, expand, and strengthen the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity.

Basically, there are three principal kinds of advisory groups or councils in Federal agencies.

The first is the interagency coordinating council, composed of operating agency heads or their delegates. These groups attempt to work out maximum coordination of effort when related programs are carried out by more than one agency. Section 604 of the Economic Opportunity Act entrusts this function to the Economic Opportunity Council.

The second is the in-house advisory committee, composed of persons with high professional or technical qualifications, which exists to assist the administrator in making policy decisions, issuing relations, and so forth. These are, in effect, part-time staff groups attached to the administrator of the program. Section 602(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act authorizes the Director to establish such groups "to advise him with respect to his functions under the Act."

The third is the "overview" type of advisory council, composed of knowledgeable and respected citizens, which exists to review the operation of the program and make recommendations to the Administrator, the President, and Congress for its improvement. The National Advisory Council on the Educa-

tion of Disadvantaged Youth established by section 212 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Advisory Council on Vocational Education, established by section 12 of the Vocational Education Act of 1963, are examples of this type of council.

Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act authorized a national advisory council which at first glance resembles this third kind of advisory council. It is charged, "upon request of the Director," with reviewing the operations and activities of the Office and making such recommendations to the Director as are appropriate.

Upon close inspection, however, it became obvious that this Council as originally created could not possibly fulfill the true function of an independent, conscientious overview of the war on poverty program.

Unlike advisory councils established by other acts for this purpose, this group was by statute "in the Office" of Economic Opportunity—and thus not an independent body.

Unlike the other councils, this Council had as its Chairman, by statute, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity—the very person whose activities the Council was supposed to review.

This Council could meet only at the request of its Chairman, the Director of OEO.

There were no provisions for any investigatory, clerical, or secretarial assistance. The Director-Chairman could provide as much or as little as he saw fit. Unfortunately, the bureaucrat probably has not yet lived who is eager to allocate staff and resources to a body charged with making a thorough and independent review of his activities.

The Council, unlike every other council I have been able to discover, was not responsible for making a report of its findings and recommendations to anyone but the Director of OEO, who was under no obligation whatsoever to make any such report available to the Congress or the American people.

In view of these rather singular facts, it is natural to raise the question. What does this so-called advisory council do? If the minutes of the Council's only two meetings to date are indicative, the answer is little more than fun and games.

The first meeting, on February 3, 1965, seems to have been a question and answer session, with various OEO functionaries helping to get the Council members squared away. Mr. Olivarez, of Phoenix, for example, was advised that noncitizens could participate in adult basic education programs. One Mr. Gilgoff, of OEO, announced that its research, program planning, and evaluation group was developing "an index of poverty oriented toward people," whatever that may be. When it became apparent that the full agenda could not be covered, Mr. Shriver said he would call another meeting in 30 days. "This suggestion," we are advised, "met with an enthusiastic response." This meeting culminated with a White House tea with Mrs. Johnson.

What is the Director-Chairman's view

of the function of this "Advisory Council?" According to the minutes of the first meeting, Mr. Shriver indicated that one of the most meaningful jobs the Council could undertake would be to interpret and explain the war on poverty program to the American people. The Council was asked to keep OEO informed of any major criticism of the program which crossed their [sic] paths. At the second meeting, the minutes tell us:

Mrs. Robert S. McNamara asked what the members of the Council can best do to help. Mr. Shriver pointed out the most important things are to help get "the word" around the country, to take an interest in specific parts of the program, and to generate new ideas.

What does all this mean? It means that this impotent Council is little more than a public relations transmission belt designed to propagate the opinions of the Director of OEO and his associates.

Enactment of the new language adopted by the committee will, I hope, pave the way to the establishment of a new Council which is designed to conscientiously fulfill its overview functions.

The new Council will be an independent body of distinguished citizens representative of the general public and of appropriate fields of endeavor related to the antipoverty program.

The President is directed to appoint 21 members to the Council during 1965, with the Director of OEO as an additional member ex officio. The membership of the Council was increased from 15 to 21 (plus the Director) to comply with the administration's request for a larger and presumably more representative body.

The new Council, no longer "in the Office" of Economic Opportunity, is charged with reviewing the administration and operation of programs under the act, evaluating their effectiveness in furthering the purposes of the act, and making recommendations for the improvement of such programs, administration, and operation. The intent of these provisions is that the new Council should provide a conscientious, critical overview of the entire antipoverty program to insure that every dollar spent makes a maximum contribution toward reducing poverty in the Nation, and that the administration of the war on poverty is continued on a sound, effective, efficient basis.

In the hope of guaranteeing a truly independent Council, it is required that the Chairman not be a regular, full-time employee of the Federal Government. The Council is required to meet at least twice a year, and to make an annual report to the President for transmittal to Congress. Statutory provisions for staff assistance follow those of the Advisory Council on Social Security Financing, established by the Social Security Amendments of 1956, and replicated in several other acts since.

But it should be emphasized that the mere revision of this Council, salutary as it is, will mean little unless the President appoints to it persons genuinely interested in carrying on a conscientious, independent review of the whole poverty program. In looking over the biogra-

phies of the present 12 appointees, one looks in vain for any person known to be publicly critical of the war on poverty program and its administration. I hope that President Johnson, who will presumably reappoint the present Council members to the new group, will also appoint nine new members of equal distinction who will make the Council truly representative of all the American people, not just those who are enthusiastic

supporters of the administration's anti-poverty program.

6. HOLDING THE LINE ON BUREAUCRATIC APPETITES

The pecuniary progress of the war on poverty can be seen by a table which I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Pecuniary progress of the war on poverty

(Dollars in millions)

	Authorized for fiscal year 1965	Appropriated for fiscal year 1965		Fiscal year 1966 authorization, H.R. 8283		
		Amount	Percent	Senate		House
				Amount	Percent	
Title I.....	\$412.5	\$371.5	100.0	\$535	100.0	\$825
I-A.....		183.0	49.3	235	44.0	
I-B.....		132.5	35.7	240	44.9	
I-C.....		56.0	15.0	60	11.1	
Title II.....	340.0	259.1	100.0	880	100.0	680
II-A.....		240.1	92.9	700	79.3	
II-B.....		19.0	7.1	30	3.4	
Nelson amendment.....				150	17.3	(?)
Title III.....	35.0	40.7	100.0	55	100.0	70
III-A.....		25.7	63.1	35	63.6	
III-B.....		15.0	36.9	20	36.4	
Title V.....	150.0	112.0	100.0	150	100.0	300
Title VI.....	10.0	9.7	100.0	30	100.0	20
Administration.....		6.5	67.0	10	33.3	
VISTA.....		3.2	33.0	20	66.7	
Total.....	947.5	793.0		1,650		1,895

Mr. PROUTY. The figures given for the Senate version of H.R. 8283, fiscal year 1966 authorization, are those figures originally requested by the President, plus the \$150 million of the Nelson amendment. The administration requested that the committee substitute these figures for the higher figures authorized by the House. Given this choice, I was delighted for once to comply.

Because the program did not actually get underway in any meaningful sense until October of 1964, the fiscal year 1965 appropriation figures are substantially less than the amounts authorized. This is an unusual situation brought about by a program beginning a quarter of the way into a new fiscal year and will not be repeated henceforth. Thus in gaging the progress of the program it is necessary to compare the equivalent full-year authorization figures.

The first obvious fact is that the House blindly doubled all the fiscal year 1965 authorizations, unmindful of the wishes of OEO itself, which presumably is worried about the prospect of spending the extra money profitably. This fuzzy headed doubling of funds suggests an arbitrary action unrelated to the actual merits of the various programs supposedly reviewed.

By the same token it is not wise to slash funds across the board. Some of the programs under the war on poverty heading have been noncontroversial and reasonably well administered. If these programs are producing efficiently, it makes little sense to make them suffer

for the sins of other programs lumped together in the same package.

There can be little doubt that the two chief offenders in this antipoverty grab bag have been the Job Corps and the community action programs. Some of the fantastic happenings in these two programs have been noted earlier during the course of my remarks, and in the news media over the past year. Although some of the other programs may have questionable merit as effective remedies for the causes of poverty, and one of them—VISTA—is still scarcely off the ground, on balance a reasonable man could accept the figures proposed by the administration in these areas.

But when we come to the Job Corps and community action, a long look is in order. The proposed fiscal year 1966 Job Corps authorization represents a 30-percent increase over the fiscal year 1965 authorization and a 44-percent increase in new obligational authority, if the full appropriation is granted. It is not clear in my mind that the Job Corps deserves a 30-percent increase, in view of the rather astonishing record it has made so far; but I am willing to give in the benefit of the doubt for 1 more year.

Community action is another thing. The Nelson amendment, first of all, was not asked for by the administration. In fact, when the House proposed to add an identical \$150 million to the title V authorization, to be spent for precisely the same purposes as the Nelson amendment program, the administration asked our committee to restore the original

figure. Only later, when it was apparent that the committee would accept the Nelson amendment anyway, did OEO relent by including the additional \$150 million in its request. This amount of money should be pruned from the bill.

As for community action programs proper—title II-A—the new fiscal year 1966 authorization represents an increase of 106 percent over the corresponding fiscal year 1965 figures. By no stretch of the fevered liberal imagination can this drastic increase in title II-A funds be welcomed. There is only one way for Congress to force a Federal bureaucracy to tighten up its administrative practices and improve the operation of a poorly run program—starve it. An overfed bureaucrat is a sloppy bureaucrat. A bureaucrat worried about the next feeding of his pet program is a bureaucrat who will try to make his program look good when the gravy train rolls in.

The Job Corps, with all its amazing spectacles, is in line for a 30-percent increase. There is no reason why community action programs—valuable as they may well be in principle—should get any more of a boost, let alone a raise of 114 percent. A more reasonable bill would drop the \$150 million for the Nelson amendment and authorize \$442 million for title II, approximately 4 percent of which would go to adult basic education. This would make the overall authorization of the bill \$1,212 million, more reasonable than the \$1,650 million proposed by the committee and vastly more reasonable than the \$1,895 million proposed by the big spenders in the House.

SENATOR PROUTY'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR H.R. 8283

Now that H.R. 8283 has come before the Senate, the following amendments should be adopted:

First. An amendment to restore to the Governors of the 50 States the authority they now possess to veto Neighborhood Youth Corps, community action, and adult basic education programs when the operation of specific programs promises to be inimical to the best interests of the people of their States.

Second. An amendment to delete the Nelson amendment and its authorization.

Third. An amendment to permit no greater than a 30-percent increase in the community action program authorization—as a warning to all those involved that Congress expects these programs to be run right before it will double the funds.

Fourth. An amendment to transfer the actual authority and responsibility for six programs—Neighborhood Youth Corps, college work study, adult basic education, rural loans, small business loans, and work experience—to the respective agencies by which those programs are presently administered.

SENATOR PROUTY'S FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ATTACKING THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

In addition, Mr. President, other problems are involved in the question of poverty. One of the first things Congress should do is to enact either the Ribicoff-Dominick or the Prouty tax credit plan to aid students to stay in and graduate from college.

The Ribicoff-Dominick bill (S. 12) permits a taxpayer to take a tax credit toward the amount spent by him for college tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment, according to the following sliding scale: 75 percent of the first \$200 of tuition, and so forth; 25 percent of the next \$300; 10 percent of the next \$1,000; to a maximum of \$325 when the allowable expenses equal or exceed \$1,500.

Under S. 12 a taxpayer with an adjusted gross income greater than \$25,000 would have the maximum amount of credit reduced by 1 percent of such income in excess of \$25,000, until a \$57,000 income no credit could be claimed.

My bill (S. 2023) differs in three ways from S. 12. The sliding scale is modified to afford relatively more assistance to taxpayers supporting students in public colleges and universities, as follows: 100 percent of the first \$200 of tuition, and so forth; 10 percent of the next \$300; 5 percent of the next \$100; to a maximum of \$280 when the allowable expenses equal or exceed \$1,500.

Under S. 2023 taxpayers with an adjusted gross income greater than \$10,000 would have the maximum amount of credit reduced by 2 percent of such income in excess of \$10,000, until a \$24,000 income no credit could be claimed. In addition, S. 2023 differs from S. 12 in that it provides for an absolute tax credit of up to \$100, available to an otherwise qualified person whose tax liability is too low to permit him to take full advantage of the tax credit provision.

We should give serious consideration to enacting my College Student Tax Relief Act of 1965 (S. 1486), currently cosponsored by 26 other Republican Senators. This measure, which was defeated on a 47-to-47 tie vote in the Senate last year, would permit working college students to claim tax deductions of up to \$1,200—\$1,500 for graduate students—toward the student's expenditures for tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment.

Serious consideration should be given to the enactment of Senate bill 1130, which I have introduced and which I refer to as the Human Investment Act of 1965. It would permit employers to get a 7 percent tax credit for their investment in training programs to provide necessary job skills to potential employees and to upgrade the job skills of present employees.

The existing State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program, which has proven its merit in taking men and women off the relief rolls and getting them back into productive work, should be expanded.

I recommend that my proposal for the forgiveness of national defense education loans for persons who choose to teach in property impacted areas be enacted during this session of Congress. This provision is currently included in the Senate committee version of S. 600, the Higher Education Act of 1965.

I hope that sometime in the near future my proposal to provide substantial increases in monthly benefits to social security recipients, with the minimum increase from \$40 a month to \$70 a month, will be enacted.

My proposal to blanket in under social security every American over the age of 70, whether or not he has been covered by social security during his working days, should be enacted.

I suggest that my proposal to permit older workers to earn up to \$3,000 a year without losing any monthly benefits under social security should merit the consideration of Congress.

I feel that we should vigorously implement those provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which seek to guarantee to every American the opportunity to hold any job for which he is qualified, regardless of his race, creed, or color.

Likewise, I believe legislation should be enacted to guarantee that all Americans shall have the right to join the labor union of their choice and to take advantage of its benefits without regard to race, creed, or color.

I believe that Congress should enact my bill to aid the States in the early detection of phenylketonuria—PKU—which if untreated leads to serious mental retardation of children, and an associated economic burden on the child's parents and the State.

Mr. President, top priority in the anti-poverty program should be given to ways of combating the serious problem of poverty among the aged, the handicapped, and families headed by women.

I believe that we must recognize and come to grips with the problem of designing and implementing antipoverty community action programs in rural areas, where such programs are more difficult to organize than in large cities.

In its first year of operation the war on poverty has had both successes and failures. Its successes we applaud; its failures give us concern. With the passage of the amendments presently included in H.R. 8283, with the notable exception of the repeal of the Governors' veto, the legislative framework for the war on poverty will be essentially complete. The future progress of this great effort now lies in the hands of those who must administer it.

Despite my strong objection to the repeal of the veto provision, I presently intend to continue my support of the antipoverty program by voting for this bill, barring unwise changes in the Senate floor. But in so doing, I serve notice to those responsible for the bungling and blundering of the past 9 months: my support, and the support of many other Members of Congress who sincerely hope that the dollars we vote here will gnaw effectively at the deep and tenacious roots of poverty in America, will come to an end unless certain parts of this program begin to shape up—and fast. To risk political attacks at home for my support of a well-conceived, smoothly run Federal antipoverty program is one thing; to be forced to defend my support of a poorly planned, chaotic, wasteful, and defectively administered program is quite another. I sincerely hope that by this time next year, if not far sooner, the latter possibility will have substantially receded in likelihood.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to say a word tonight about the Economic Opportunity Act, the amendment to

which will be up for votes tomorrow, and the responsibility which we have in enacting this measure.

Let me emphasize first that I am a friend of the program from its very inception. I believe the war on poverty was long overdue. I can only say about the title of the program that I wish we had thought of it first. It is quite proper. We should have a war on poverty in this country. But I do not believe we should bedazzle—it is a clever slogan and can be so used in political terms—the American people, or those who are poor, into forgetting the great dangers inherent in the program, the tremendous waste for which it could be a coverall, the powerful political machines it could feed, the way it could affect politics on the municipal level. It would be a shocking tragedy if we, in our responsibility to avoid all these dangers, were to let them become so serious as to blacken the name of the program in the eyes of the American people and cause it to be abandoned, with all the frustration and despair which that would engender.

It is therefore my view that the Senate would be very well advised to pay sympathetic attention to the amendments which the committee has written into the bill. There are a number of very good ones. I am very proud that the minority, from a constructive standpoint, was responsible for a number of those amendments. The Senate should also give sympathetic attention to amendments which members of the minority will be proposing on the floor.

I very much hope that the majority, which has the votes and therefore the power in this body to ride over any amendments proposed by the minority members, will look with understanding on those amendments, recognizing that the adoption of some of them may very well be indispensable to protecting and safeguarding the program from what I have just outlined as its greatest dangers. Doing so may save the program from a reaction which, if strong enough on the part of the people—notwithstanding the heavy voting strength on the majority side—might cause the program to be eliminated.

I shall have something to say tomorrow about the terribly tragic Los Angeles riots. They are evidence of what people like myself have instinctively felt were involved when we have had before us civil rights bills, antipoverty programs, and similar matters. That is, unbelievable strains, which are almost impossible to sustain in terms of orderly society, are imposed on people who are in such despair that they feel, "What difference does it make what happens in the community? To us the situation is so desperate as to offer no hope or alternative, anyway." As I have said, I shall deal in more detail with that subject tomorrow.

For the moment, I call attention to the fact that in committee we have written into the bill a strong effort to provide that individual private nonprofit organizations, which feel that they have been overlooked or bypassed in community-action programs by citywide "umbrella" organizations, may turn to the Director as a sort of final court of appeals before

whom they can make their case. I refer to section 16, amending section 209 (e) of the act. It is an amendment I had the honor to offer.

I call attention also to an amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], which he described in his very interesting address, making the National Advisory Council under the act really meaningful.

I call attention also to a very important amendment, sponsored by the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], with respect to the possibility of political manipulation, which extends the political activity restrictions of the Hatch Act, now applicable only to State and local officials operating under the act, also to private persons whose salaries are paid predominantly by the Federal funds under the Antipoverty Act.

The Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] offered an amendment specifically including consumer education, which is a crucial lack among the poor, in the list of areas which community action programs are encouraged to cover.

I call attention to another amendment which I had the honor to propose, under which the public is given a greater degree of information on the local level than the House provided. It is found in section 9 of the bill amending section 202(a)(5) of the act. It permits public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, as well as opening books and records of a participating agency to the light of day of the press, radio, television, and other agencies of public information, which can zero in on what is being done in the programs. This is the best carthartic I know of to deal with excesses and inequities.

Another amendment which I had the honor to offer calls for continuous consultation with State antipoverty agencies at every stage of the planning and conduct of community action programs, and is to be found in section 14 of the bill amending section 209(a) of the act. Too often, the office in Washington has announced approval of programs which the States have not seen before, this is clearly unreasonable in those States which are fully cooperating in the antipoverty effort.

We have not at all done what we ought to do about the right of a Governor to veto a proposed program. I feel that we made a great mistake in wiping out altogether the provision for a Governor's veto. It was done by a close vote in the committee; the vote was 8 to 7. We should have left in the bill an effective procedure, under a modified version of the House provision. A Governor should be given the opportunity to express his disapproval, as he has every right to do. If the Director wishes to override him, there should be a public hearing, which would put the Director of OEO in Washington to his proof. In short, the Governor should not be permitted to kill a program, but neither should his disapproval stand if the Director, in the court of public opinion, can prove his case.

That subject will probably be the most serious one we shall have to deal with tomorrow and the next day in consider-

ing additional amendments with respect to this legislation.

My colleagues, who also proceeded on such amendments in the committee, will be offering cuts in the authorizations of funds. Whether or not I favor such cuts, I believe the Senate should give them serious attention, because it is true we must not be profligate if there is no opportunity to retain control over the program.

In addition, there are other amendments with which we shall have to deal.

Finally, as I announced last week during consideration of the conference report on the Peace Corps, it is my intention to offer an amendment—and this will be my final effort in this regard—to confine the Director of the antipoverty program, Sargent Shriver, to one job, namely, his direction of the antipoverty program. I feel that this subject should not be labored unduly, but I feel we must decide it in respect of how we want this poverty program to operate.

Senators should bear in mind, if we get into a discussion—and there are many openings for one—in which it is found that the administration of the program was at fault, that we should understand that we had an opportunity to correct the situation, and that we either did or did not do it in an advised way. I have grave concern as to the propriety and wisdom of continuing to let Sargent Shriver—an excellent public servant—carry both jobs. I deeply feel that it will result in a serious diminution of capability in bringing about success in both jobs—and most likely it will be felt most in the antipoverty program.

I therefore hope very much that the Senate will express itself firmly and finally on that subject. I shall be prepared to argue the question of constitutionality of such action taken by the Senate, as I believe it is entirely constitutional and entirely in accordance with the powers and authority of the Senate—indeed, its duty—in this matter.

I look forward, therefore, to disposition of the amendments and the bill in the spirit which I have described, the spirit of being very much for the war on poverty, and of understanding the pitfalls which are involved and therefore endeavoring, by every means open to us, to avoid them.

ATTACK ON REPRESENTATIVE MENDEL RIVERS, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, earlier in the day, a Member of this body launched an unbridled attack on the distinguished chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, the Honorable MENDEL RIVERS, Representative of the First Congressional District of South Carolina. The subject of the attack on Representative RIVERS was a report of a speech made by him in Hartford, Conn., on August 11, 1965. Representative RIVERS was quoted as saying: "I will insist on victory in Vietnam. Anything short of that would be treasonable." He is further reported to have stated "that Americans must be prepared to make the decision to attack Mao Tse-tung's home-

land if Mao's forces start moving." The Representative asked rhetorically: "Should we use our atomic power to wipe out Red China's atomic capabilities?" He then stated, "We must get ready to do this very thing if we want to stop Red China."

These remarks were characterized on the Senate floor as "so un-American as to be abhorrent."

Mr. President, neither the distinguished chairman of the House Armed Services Committee nor his remarks need defense by me. Representative RIVERS has long years of experience in the field of military affairs from his dedicated service on the House Armed Services Committee. I should like to point out that his independent and objective views have caused confrontation with far more experienced officials, including even the Secretary of Defense. I should also like to point out, however, that the distinguished chairman has been dealing with military affairs firsthand, and from a responsible position, far longer than the Secretary of Defense, not to mention his johnny-come-lately critics.

In the final analysis, the American people must judge what is and what is not un-American. The President has stated categorically that we are engaged in a war in Vietnam. Representative RIVERS states that anything short of victory in this war would be treason, and his other remarks merely expressed the hard realities of what may be necessary to achieve that victory. I am sure that Representative RIVERS is satisfied, as I am, to leave it to the judgment of the American people as to which is un-American—victory in the war, or appeasement of the enemy.

SUPPORT FOR U.S. MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, as a friend of the American merchant marine, I am extremely interested in the work of the Presidential Task Force on Merchant Marine Policy, which is headed by Alan S. Boyd, Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

All the reports which have come to my attention indicate that this task force is conducting a most thorough investigation of the many and complex aspects of merchant marine policy. All of us who are concerned with this vital area await its recommendations.

This past weekend, I submitted to the task force an outline of my own views on U.S. merchant marine policy. Representing as I do the great State of Maryland, which contains the second leading port in the Nation, Baltimore, I have gained some experience in the problems of the maritime industry. This experience has led me to certain conclusions about our merchant marine policy. I submitted these conclusions to the Presidential Task Force for their consideration. I would like to review these policy suggestions in the Senate today.

Before I make any suggestions about the U.S. merchant marine policy, however, I would like to discuss briefly some of the reasons why I believe that a vigorous and progressive policy is necessary.

The declaration of policy of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 set forth the objectives of the Congress. Since these objectives have since been obscured and, in some instances, ignored, I would like to quote from this declaration of policy:

It is necessary for the national defense and development of its foreign and domestic commerce that the United States shall have a merchant marine (a) sufficient to carry its domestic waterborne commerce and substantial portion of the waterborne export and import foreign commerce of the United States and to provide shipping service on all routes essential for maintaining the flow of such domestic and foreign waterborne commerce at all times; (b) capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency; (c) owned and operated under the United States insofar as may be practicable, and (d) composed of the best-equipped, safest, and most suitable types of vessels, constructed in the United States and manned with a trained and efficient citizen personnel.

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to foster the development and encourage the maintenance of such a merchant marine.

I believe that these are worthy objectives. From the point of view of national defense, there is no question that a large and efficient merchant marine, coupled with a healthy shipbuilding and ship repair industry, can make a major contribution to our national security. Vessels are needed for troop transport: The entire First Cavalry Division embarked for Vietnam last week by ship. They are needed for supply functions as well. Some 600 ships were required to supply American troops in Korea, and the present situation in southeast Asia has demonstrated the continuing need for such vessels. The shipyards, both naval and private, must also be ready, to activate and repair vessels for service in the national defense. The conclusion of the Harvard Business School study for the Navy Department in 1945 still holds true today:

The controlling factor in the determination of the characteristics of shipping and shipbuilding activities in the United States in peacetime as well as in wartime is the national security.

The value to U.S. commerce of a healthy merchant marine is equally clear. There will be gains in employment, in returns to the American economy, and in reliability if "a substantial part" of our commerce is carried in U.S. bottoms. This is particularly important in light of persistent balance-of-payments difficulties. Yet today only 9 percent of our foreign commerce moves in American-flag vessels. Norwegian carriers transport twice as much of the American foreign trade as U.S. flagships; Liberia carries three times as much as we do. And even from this poor position, we are losing ground.

These concerns become all the more urgent in view of the rapid buildup of the fleets of other nations, most especially of the Soviet Union. The United States ranks only fourth in the world in number of ships afloat, even discounting the disastrous effects of the current maritime strike. The Soviet Union has already surpassed us in number of ships

in the active fleet, and may shortly exceed us in total tonnage afloat.

While nations like Japan and Norway are engaged in determined efforts to build up their fleets, we are falling farther and farther behind. We now rank no higher than 11th among shipbuilding nations of the world. The United States—the leading trading nation in the world—risks becoming low man on the totem pole of international shipping.

The need, then, is clear. My suggestions fall into four general classifications.

First. Probably most important is the matter of subsidies. The Government pays out nearly \$400 million a year in direct and indirect subsidies to the shipping and shipbuilding industries.

Under normal circumstances, a nation whose economy is based upon free enterprise regards a subsidy system as alien and undesirable. It seems to me, however, that there are certain goals—the ones enumerated in the 1936 act—which can be achieved only through the maintenance of a healthy American shipping and shipbuilding industry. Due to several factors, notably the high standard of living of American workmen, these goals simply cannot be met without Government subsidy. It is for this reason that, although I sympathize with those who dislike the general principle of Government subsidy, I feel that certain forms of subsidy are essential in this case.

Construction subsidies are an important means of insuring the adequacy of the merchant marine and of the shipyards. It seems to me to be advisable to continue the present system of construction differential subsidies to the liner fleet. The U.S. liner fleet is the finest in the world, due in large part to the Government aid program—80 percent of the 20-knot cargo liner vessels in the world have been built and operated in the United States. This part of the program should continue, with up to 55 percent of the construction cost being paid by the Federal Government.

The first Subcommittee of the Maritime Advisory Committee, after long and careful study of U.S. needs, has concluded that a bulk carrier construction aid program is desirable. This has long been my position.

Given the requirement that ships be built in the United States, we must recognize that this country will never acquire an efficient bulk carrier fleet without Government subsidy. And it is most certainly in the national interest that such a fleet of dry bulk carriers be developed.

According to the analysis made by the Presidential Task Force, the average cost of each bulk carrier would be \$11 million, approximately half of it to be paid by the Government. A fleet of 250 vessels, to be built by 1985, has been suggested.

Such a program would add \$169 million to the annual subsidy of nearly \$400 million, at the outset, for a total expenditure of approximately \$570 million.

I do not believe that this is too large a price to pay for the development of a bulk carrier fleet, which can be of in-

estimable value to this country in the future. Moreover, as the Maritime Advisory Subcommittee has pointed out:

Much of the cost will be recouped by the Government through additional revenues.

A substantial portion of every dollar of subsidy will return to the Government in the form of income or corporation tax.

I would not presume to give detailed advice as to the number and design of such vessels, of course. But I believe that subsidy for such construction would be highly appropriate. It would undoubtedly prove to be one of the best investments that this Government could make.

It might prove necessary, once the construction of the new dry bulk carriers is completed, to grant an operating subsidy to this segment of the fleet as well. I would propose, however, that no such action be undertaken until a detailed study of the requirements had been completed. With the modernization of the fleet and the continuation of the cargo preference assistance, the dry bulk carriers might well prove to be self-supporting.

I have already cosponsored in the Senate a bill S. 1858, which would allow the creation of tax-free reserve funds for the construction of new vessels. The enactment of such a proposal would provide construction assistance to the other non-subsidized shippers. The continuation of present trade-in procedures is also to be recommended. Taken together, this construction assistance for liners, dry bulk carriers, and others would provide a well-rounded program of modernization of the U.S. cargo fleet.

Another important area in which Government assistance is given is that of operating subsidies. Due to the high standard of living of American seamen, there appears to be no alternative to continued operating subsidies, if we are to continue to hire American crews and operate vessels under the American flag. These subsidies must therefore be continued.

It may be noted, however, that a significant increase in construction subsidies, such as I have urged, would produce a much more modern and efficient American fleet. This in turn would reduce the amount of operating subsidy needed.

Second. Another area in which the Government can be of great assistance in promoting a healthy merchant marine is the policy of cargo preference. Public Law 664, enacted in 1954, provides that at least 50 percent of U.S. Government-generated cargo shall be carried in American flag vessels, if such vessels are available at "fair and reasonable rates." Public Resolution 17, enacted in 1934, declares that all agricultural products financed by U.S. loans shall be delivered in U.S. vessels, if they are available. In addition, all military cargoes must be shipped on American flag ships.

Three years ago, the late President Kennedy reaffirmed the importance of this cargo preference, stating in particular that the 50 percent requirement "is a minimum, and it shall be the objective

Aug. 17, 1965

7. TRANSPORTATION. The "Daily Digest" states that conferees agreed to file a report on H. R. 5401, to amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to strengthen and improve the national transportation system. p. D806
8. LABOR STANDARDS. The "Daily Digest" states that the Education and Labor Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) "H. R. 10275, to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees and to raise the minimum wage; a clean bill will be introduced." p. D805
A subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee voted to report to the full committee H. R. 10238, to provide labor standards for certain persons employed by Federal contractors to furnish services to Federal agencies. p. D805
9. RESEARCH. The Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) with amendment H. R. 3420, to promote economic growth by supporting State and regional centers to place the findings of science usefully in the hands of American enterprise. p. D805

SENATE

10. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATION BILL. The Appropriations Committee reported ^{with amendments} this bill, H. R. 10323, which includes funds to repay CCC for certain family housing projects (S. Rept. 620). pp. 19832-3
11. LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATION BILL. Agreed to the conference report on this bill, H. R. 7765 (pp. 19842-46). This bill will now be sent to the President.
12. PUBLIC WORKS APPROPRIATION BILL. A subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee voted to report to the full committee with amendments this bill, H. R. 9220, which includes funds for St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, Tennessee Valley Authority, Delaware River Basin Commission, Bureau of Reclamation, etc. p. D802
13. POVERTY. Continued debate on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. pp. 19862-4, 19880-909
14. INSECTICIDES. Received from this Department a proposed bill to amend the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act, as amended, to provide for more effective regulation under such act; to Agriculture and Forestry Committee. p. 19832
15. FORESTRY. Received a California State Recreation Commission resolution "relating to the 4-percent charge in lease agreements for certain areas within the national forests." p. 19832
16. FOREIGN AID. Sens. Morse and Javits paid tribute to the Alliance for Progress on its fourth anniversary and Sen. Morse commended and inserted the President's speech on its progress. pp. 19840-42, 19866-78
17. WATER SUPPLY. Sen. Kuchel expressed hope that funds would be made available for continuation of the atmospheric water research program and inserted a series of articles dealing with weather modification. pp. 19846-48

18. FOREIGN TRADE. Sen. Young, N. Dak., inserted an editorial, "Our Stupid Wheat Policy," critical of "a Federal order that half of all wheat shipped to Russia must be hauled in American ships." p. 19850
19. MILK; PESTICIDES. Sen. Brewster emphasized the importance of continuing the indemnity payments to farmers who "through no fault of their own, have had their milk barred from commercial markets because it contained minute traces of chemicals which were approved for use by the Federal Government...but are no longer considered acceptable." p. 19860
20. CONSUMER AFFAIRS. Sen. Moss inserted an article paying tribute to Mrs. Esther Peterson, Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs. pp. 19861-2
21. EXPORT EXPANSION. Sen. Morse commended the appointment of Robert F. Dwyer, Oreg., to the post of vice chairman of the National Export Expansion Council and discussed some of the functions of the Council. pp. 19919-20
Sen. Dirksen pointed out that "the market for beef in the United Kingdom and Europe is constantly growing" and that their "major beef supplier, the Argentine seems to be facing disaster in its own beef export efforts" making a good opportunity for the U. S. to expand its meat exports. pp. 19909-10
22. CIGARETTE LABELING. Sen. Magnuson expressed disappointment in the form in which the cigarette labeling bill "finally emerged from the Senate-House conference" and inserted several articles on the subject. pp. 19911-13

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

23. FEDERAL EXPENDITURES. Extension of remarks of Sen. Thurmond warning that money that is spent by the Federal Government "must come from the people" and inserting an article on the subject. pp. A4579-80
24. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Burke inserted two articles discussing the production of electric power in relation to hydroelectric systems versus nuclear powerplants. pp. A4580-1
25. WATER. Extension of remarks of Rep. Morse urging adoption of both emergency measures and efforts on a long-term basis to combat the drought in the North-east and inserting an article, "Lesson in the Drought." p. A4584
Rep. St. Onge inserted a speech by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy before the north-eastern area meeting of the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts proposing a 10-point program for future growth in soil and water conservation. pp. A4610-11.
26. LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. Extension of remarks of Rep. Kirwin praising the record and leadership of the 89th Congress and inserting an article appraising the legislation that has been enacted. pp. A4585-8
27. PUBLIC WORKS. Extension of remarks of Rep. Schisler endorsing the passage by the House of the public works and economic development bill of 1965. p. A4604
Extension of remarks of Rep. Todd expressing opposition to the public works and economic development bill of 1965. p. A4605
28. FOREIGN AID. Rep. McVicker inserted an article by Prof. Ragaei El Mallakh, "The Cloudy Future for Foreign Aid." pp. A4606-7.
29. FARM PROGRAM. Rep. Randall inserted an address by Secretary Freeman before the Missouri Farmers' Association summarizing improvements in agricultural income in the past four years and urging enactment of the farm bill. pp. A4608-9

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, last year we were successful in amending the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and indemnity payments have now been made to approximately 175 farmers. The program must be continued. The Government must not be responsible for penalizing a single farmer who has used pesticides with Government approval, and who may continue to suffer milk contamination through residue.

The House-passed bill provides for a continuation of this program. Our Senate committee has recommended its extension to June 30, 1966. I hope that this provision of the pending bill will be retained.

AUTO SAFETY

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article appearing in the Medical Tribune and Medical News on the subject of "Auto Safety" be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. William Stieglitz has suggested that we can do much more to reduce the number of auto fatalities that occur each year. He points to the estimated \$8 million that we spend each year on auto safety research as indicative of the lack of attention that this problem has received in the past.

I commend Mr. Stieglitz' comments to my colleagues. This is a problem that deserves attention from all of us.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUTO SAFETY: RESEARCH AND STANDARDS
(By William I. Stieglitz)

(NOTE.—The author is an aeronautical engineer with 20 years of experience in accident investigation and prevention. He has been a Government safety consultant and active in legislative efforts for improved auto safety standards. His published papers include "Parallels Between Aviation and Automobile Research.")

Approximately 48,000 people were killed in automobile accidents in 1964, and the annual number of fatalities has increased about 3,000 in each of the last 3 years. Estimates by agencies such as the National Safety Council and the Public Health Service of the number of people injured range from slightly under 2 million to over 4 million a year. The direct cost of accidents in 1964 is estimated by the National Safety Council at over \$8 billion.

Despite the severity of the problem, the total annual expenditure for safety research by public and private agencies has been reliably estimated at no more than \$8 million. There is no coordinated program for attacking the overall problem nor for the identification of problem areas requiring the highest priority. Research has been conducted by or under the sponsorship of various agencies of the Federal Government, State Governments, and private organizations, including industry, universities and foundations. In research applied to the vehicle, emphasis has been placed on injury prevention rather than on accident prevention. Similarly, most organized programs of accident investigation have been directed toward the crash-injury problem rather than determination of causes.

Accidents are assumed to be caused entirely by driver error and highway design, although it has been clearly established in other fields of accident research that the

operator, machine, and environment are all interrelated.

Despite limitations in dollar expenditure and lack of coordinated planning, much valuable research has been accomplished; there is, however, a long and serious lag in the adoption of the results by the automotive industry. Applicable work in other areas has been totally ignored. Research in aviation has proven the value of shape-coded knobs and standard location of controls in minimizing operator errors; none of this has been applied to automobiles. Knobs are still of uniform shape, designed by the stylist, and are located randomly on the instrument panel at the whim of the designer. The adverse effects of reflections and glare in diverting attention, obscuring vision, and inducing fatigue are well known, yet most automobiles today violate the known principles for reduction of glare and reflections.

A major official of one of the automobile manufacturers, speaking on behalf of the Automobile Manufacturers Association last September, stated that there was no justification for "most safety proposals" and that "public acceptance * * * was a prerequisite in deciding if (a safety device) should be adopted." The record of the last several years would indicate that the automobile industry's definition of "public acceptance" is either legislation or threat of legislation. Voluntary action on safety problems has been taken by the industry in most cases only when it appeared probable that legislation would be adopted. Every proposal for legislated safety standards has been opposed by spokesmen for the automobile industry.

The automobile is the only means of transportation in this country for which there have been no Federal safety standards. In 1964, at long last, Congress enacted Public Law 88-515, which requires the General Services Administration to establish minimum safety standards for all Government-owned vehicles, effective on 1967 models. This law was passed over the strong opposition of the automobile industry, and its spokesmen have since been opposing many of the proposed standards and trying to water down others. For example, they advocated a standard that would have permitted an 8-inch rearward displacement of the steering column in a 30-mile-per-hour barrier impact, on the grounds that this was the best that some manufacturers would be able to do in 1967 models.

Two bills dealing with automobile safety have been introduced by U.S. Senator GAYLORD NELSON, of Wisconsin, in the current session. One would establish minimum safety standards for tires; the other would extend the coverage of Public Law 88-515 to all automobiles sold in, or intended for use in, interstate commerce. This, of course, would not preclude higher standards being adopted in State codes but would provide a baseline in all States. In addition, Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, of Connecticut, is holding hearings relative to placing all automobile safety activities of the Federal Government under a single agency. Such an agency would be able to establish a comprehensive, coordinated research program. The opposition to such legislative action is vocal and well organized. It is essential that the legislation be supported by all those interested in automobile safety, but especially by those with professional knowledge in crash injury and accident prevention.

Such legislative action is necessary but will not by itself achieve safety. Research will be effective only if its results become incorporated in production automobiles. Standards can be effective only if they are adequate, and not if they permit an 8-inch displacement of the steering column in a 30-mile-per-hour crash. It will be necessary to see that adequate research is conducted

and to review and comment on proposed standards in order to assure that they do provide and adequate level of safety.

TRIBUTE TO ESTHER PETERSON, SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT FOR CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, the Nation's business and advertising men have found Esther Peterson, President Johnson's Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs to be reasonable, personable, and someone they can work with.

This is brought out very forcefully in a well-written article about Mrs. Peterson in the August issue of National Publisher written by Bert Mills, Washington editor. The article recognizes the difficult situation in which Mrs. Peterson was propelled when she became the President's adviser on consumer matters, and says frankly that some businessmen were fearful of what might happen. It points out the fairness with which she has handled the job, and the extent to which she has gone to give business a voice to express views contrary to her own on legislation or on other important issues.

The article concludes that the business community and the advertising world are fortunate that someone like Esther Peterson holds the consumer job. I ask unanimous consent that the article about one of Utah's most famous citizens be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VOICE OF CONSUMERS: MRS. ESTHER
PETERSON

(By Bert Mills, Washington editor)

When Mrs. Esther Peterson was named by President Lyndon B. Johnson to be his Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, back in January 1964, one Washington-based trade association rushed out a membership bulletin to report the appointment. The newsletter said the announcement indicated that "consumeritis"—one of the most virulent of governmental diseases—would remain in fashion and might get worse.

This was a reference to President John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign pledge that he would be "the lobbyist for consumers." Kennedy did name a Consumer Advisory Council and did send a special message to Congress on consumers. But J.F.K.'s consumer program never really got off the ground and professional leaders of consumer organizations were disappointed in him.

President Johnson had been in office only about 6 weeks when he appointed Mrs. Peterson to his White House staff, although on a part-time basis. Under Kennedy, Mrs. Peterson had been the highest ranking woman in Government as Assistant Secretary of Labor. She still holds that post and "moonlights" in her consumer role.

After more than 1½ years in her consumer job, the association which commented on "consumeritis" has learned the ailment has proved far from fatal. Business representatives still watch Mrs. Peterson closely but they no longer fear her. One business writer who took the lady's measure at close range reported: "She's no ogre."

Indeed, Many Washington business representatives have become friends of the lady who serves as eye, ear, and voice of 60 million housewives. They have found her to be not unreasonable and that they can work with her. Many an association executive has

livened up a convention program by obtaining Mrs. Peterson as a speaker. She obliges whenever she can.

AN EX-UNION LOBBYIST

Mrs. Peterson calls herself a housewife and mother. She is that and much more. Now a youthful and vigorous 58, Mrs. Peterson has had an unusual life. Her father was a school superintendent in Utah, so a career as a teacher came naturally. She earned degrees at Brigham Young and Columbia and taught for 12 years.

For 5 years she was assistant director of education for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, then served that union for 3 more years as Washington legislative representative. Married to a Foreign Service officer, she lived in Europe for nearly a decade, in Sweden and Belgium.

Returning to the United States in 1957, by this time having acquired four children, she resumed her union career as legislative representative of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO. In pounding the Capitol corridors, her job threw her in contact with a prolabor Senator named John F. Kennedy. Of course, she already knew the Senate majority leader, one Lyndon B. Johnson.

A working Democrat in the 1960 campaign, she was rewarded after the Kennedy victory with a post in the Labor Department as head of the Women's Bureau. Less than 7 months later she attained "Little Cabinet" status as Assistant Secretary of Labor. Since given the consumer post, she maintains two offices and two staffs. Her consumer operation is not headquartered in the White House but in the Executive Office Building one block away.

Mrs. Peterson is tall, slim, and blue-eyed. She is the friendly type, easy to talk to, and an animated conversationalist. One editor who debated her on a radio show complained that he had trouble remaining a gentleman and still getting his counterarguments across.

GETS A LOT OF MAIL

In the first 2 weeks after assuming her role as protector of consumers, Mrs. Peterson received about 500 letters. The volume has declined, of course, but she hears from various segments of the public regularly. And she meets all kinds of people in her travels, which have taken her to almost every State.

She gets a lot of publicity, most of it favorable, and has survived one major crisis. One advertising trade journal performed a real smear job on her, asking in page 1 headlines: "Is she ignorant, or is she deliberately pitting consumers against advertisers for her own purposes?" One advertising trade association took up the campaign.

Other ad organs rallied to her defense. One called the association attack immoderate, unwarranted, and stupid. Another ran a symposium on the question: "Does Mrs. Peterson pose a threat to marketing?" Its editorial conclusion: "No."

The attack by one trade journal and one ad group caused Mrs. Peterson considerable embarrassment at the White House. The administration's Great Society blueprint called for cooperation with business and there were members of the President's staff who feared the consumer advisor was impairing the image.

Mrs. Peterson weathered the storm with dignity and ultimately spoke before the association which had labeled her as "anti-business" and "antiadvertising." She pointed to some packaging marketing abuses which she had cited before, then asked the admen:

DEPLORES WORD BATTLES

"Why must it be, then, that when governmental people call attention to these realities, some kind of flashing light goes on, the mimeograph machines start whirling, and a blazing battle of furious words starts raging in the editorial columns?"

"Believe me, your Government is not out to destroy the free enterprise system, or wreck advertising as it exists today—and it couldn't even if it wanted to. We happen to believe in free enterprise—and we believe with former Secretary of Commerce Hodges that 'without advertising to stimulate a constantly expanding demand for goods and services, we wouldn't be the wealthiest nation that has ever existed.'"

"Now, the Government is not always right. But, neither is the Government always wrong—although some people seem to think so. Why not study our programs and ideas more carefully and objectively, and if you're still not in agreement with us, why not sit down and talk it over? Your organization has done that in the past, and as far as I can ascertain, it has produced good results."

"Let me say that Government-business cooperation is a two-way street. Let us, then, engage in a dialogue—not a diatribe. Let us educate each other—for the pressures operating on us are different and we live in different environments. Let us criticize each other for our errors and omissions, but let us beware of criticism based on fear of supposed motives—or emotion."

"And before we criticize each other, let us communicate with each other. If we do, I am sure that, together, we will be able to improve the quality of the American marketplace, and promote the best interests of the consumer."

BACKS PACKAGING BILL

Mrs. Peterson is a strong and vocal backer of two long-pending bills which are opposed by most businessmen, the so-called truth-in-packaging proposal of Senator PHILIP A. HART, Democrat, of Michigan, and the equally propaganda titled truth-in-lending measure of Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat of Illinois.

In her Department of Labor capacity Mrs. Peterson had already testified in favor of the Hart and Douglas bills before she took the consumer post. The administration backs both bills, and the consumer spokesman plugs them often. She could not do otherwise in her position.

However, business fears that she would turn the four regional consumer conferences she held last year into forums to drum up support for these bills proved unfounded. These topics were covered, among others, but business spokesmen were present and able to air their contrary views.

As a matter of fact, the regional conferences in St. Louis, Salt Lake City, Detroit, and Atlanta turned out surprisingly well—for businessmen Government planners were not so pleased, and some professional consumer leaders were dismayed. Few new ideas were spawned, the same old complaints about such unsolvable problems as the cost-of-living kept arising, and too few rank-and-file consumers participated.

Nevertheless, the regional conferences were most valuable to Mrs. Peterson. She found out that most of the gripes of consumers are petty and matters she can't solve. Education of shoppers is badly needed but this is a lifetime process. No amount of Government pamphlets will make any dent until such materials are wanted and understood. And the people who need help the most are least able to profit from Government efforts.

As the administration's poverty program has gathered steam, Mrs. Peterson has tied in with it in every way she can. A low-income panel was set up and issued a report, concluding "the poor pay more." But as in other reports and in her speeches, Mrs. Peterson did not point an accusing finger at business.

NEW ADVISERS NAMED

Mrs. Peterson inherited the old Consumer Advisory Council originally named by President Kennedy. It was dominated by the "old war horses" of the consumer movement, whose doctrinaire views have been a matter

of public record for decades. She did not find the group very useful nor very active.

After considerable delay, because even a special assistant to the President has trouble getting his ear when there are larger problems in Vietnam, Santo Domingo, and elsewhere, Mrs. Peterson now has a new Consumer Advisory Council. As interesting as the newcomers are, the departures may be more significant.

For example, Prof. Colston Warne, of Amherst College, was on the old panel. He is President of Consumers Union, the organization which survives by debunking advertising. Dr. Warne has made a career out of being an arch foe of advertising. He is no longer a member of CAC. In fact, only three of a dozen members are holdovers.

New CAC chairman is Dr. Richard H. Holton, professor of business administration at the University of California at Berkeley. He is hardly a leftwinger, having served as Assistant Secretary of Commerce until last January. He represented Commerce on the President's Committee on Consumer Interests while in Washington. CAC members serve as public representatives on the President's Committee, which is otherwise comprised of Government people.

The new CAC held its organization meeting in Washington in June, and Dr. Holton and Mrs. Peterson indicated where they are going by naming five subcommittees and broadly defining their duties. They are Federal-State Cooperation, Consumer Education, Standards and Labeling, Economic and Legislative Policy, and Federal Consumer Representation.

It will be noted that none of the five appear to be closely linked to advertising. This suggests that fears of the business community, including newspapers, about the activities of Mrs. Peterson can safely be relegated to the back burner. She will continue to step on some toes but she is far from an antibusiness crusader.

If there has to be a consumer representative on the President's staff, the business community is fortunate that Mrs. Peterson holds the job. She has proved it is possible to be proconsumer without being anti-advertising.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. RUSSELL of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGovern in the chair). The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from South Carolina? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 390

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I call up my amendment, which was submitted on behalf of myself by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] yesterday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment (No. 390) as follows:

On page 31, line 17, in the committee amendment, it is proposed to insert the following:

"SEC. 32. Section 103 of part 1 of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the beginning of said section the following: 'The Director of the Office will not authorize any Job Corps program that would result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services.'"

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, yesterday at my request my friend, the distinguished junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] submitted an amendment to H.R. 8283, a bill amending the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The purpose of my amendment, designated amendment No. 390, is to clarify the intent of Congress concerning the Job Corps program. The amendment reads:

The Director of the Office (of Economic Opportunity) will not authorize any Job Corps program that would result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services.

The need for this amendment has been made graphically clear by an incident which arose recently in the State of Wyoming.

I wish to point out, Mr. President, that my amendment is not introduced or intended as a measure for private relief. It is proposed in the defense of a time-honored and cherished American principle: That it is private enterprise, not the imposition of a big government, which is the economic basis for our Republic.

I might add, Mr. President, that the passage of this amendment would not insure the granting of any contract to any specific company, now or in the future, but it would prohibit the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity from robbing individuals in private industry of their jobs.

A private firm in Casper, Wyo., the Petroleum Ownership Map Co., has for the past several years contracted with the Bureau of Land Management for mapping and technical work in conjunction with the land record revision program.

On July 8, 1965, the field office of the Bureau of Land Management Records Improvement Project Office in Denver, Colo., advertised bids for preparing composite basic township plats. Before the bids were due to be opened on July 26, 1965, the invitation was canceled by an order of the Division of Management Analysis in the Bureau of Land Management. The private firm which had in the past and which would in the future contract for these bids had planned to employ or to keep in its employ some 20 persons to do the work involved. It

was learned through my investigations that the Bureau of Land Management Division of Management Analysis had withdrawn the offer for bids in order to conduct a study investigating the feasibility of Job Corps personnel performing the work. On August 6, I wrote the Director of the Bureau of Land Management asking that I be informed of the reasons for, and the results of, the study. My investigations in the Office of Economic Opportunity have revealed that the Job Corps program has not been consulted or apprised of the Bureau of Land Management's study.

The work in question has been described by the president and owner of the Petroleum Ownership Map Co. He says that:

The great wealth of the United States lies in its public lands. Proper development and use of its lands are not possible without adequate land records and the present records, except where revised under the records improvement project, are poor and deteriorating. Immediate revision of the land records is absolutely necessary. In the revision program, all record information will be shown on the basic composite land plats, so these plats must be carefully and accurately prepared by responsible workers or they will be valueless. The job simply cannot be taken over by * * * unskilled teenagers, regardless of background.

The composite plats are drafted from all survey data available, at many scales, prepared since the land was first opened for settlement. Generally the latest survey plat controls; but often this is not true because of alluviation of rivers and streams, incorrect corners, intervening mining claims, and numerous other factors. To prepare a plat which will properly delineate the land areas covered by patents, leases, withdrawals, etc., requires a thorough knowledge of survey procedures and history, and the exercise of mature judgment in deciding controlling factors.

To get all surveys of a particular area on one composite scale requires the use of large cameras and Kail tracing equipment. Some distortion results when the survey plats are enlarged or reduced with this equipment and corrections must be made manually by the draftsman, again exercising mature judgment based on experience in this type of mapping. Several years of training are required by both the cameraman and the draftsman. This training would begin only after such a person had acquired at least a high school education.

Printed information is applied to the plats by use of VariTypers. A person who can type can learn to use a VariTyper in approximately 3 months. They are fairly proficient in 6 months. But first, they must learn to type and we wonder how many of the Job Corps personnel will be able to use a typewriter when they begin this work.

There is a great deal of information on the various source plats, but only a small amount of the information affects land disposition. Generally only that part affecting land disposition should be transferred to the basic composite plats prepared under the revision program. Again, mature judgment based on experience with this type of mapping must be exercised so that the correct and vital material is separated from the mass of incorrect and useless material.

The work is important and must be performed within reasonable time limits by responsible people. Before our company, or any other contractor, begins work we must obtain a performance bond. We are bound by the amount of our bid and if we exceed the time limit, the Government collects

liquidated damages at the rate of \$100 per day. We are not paid until the work is inspected and accepted as being correct by the Government. Our incentive is to produce acceptable work in as short a time as possible.

We do not believe you will find this measure of responsibility in the Job Corps. They will be paid only as long as the work is not finished, and for just as long as the project can be muddled by inefficiencies and red tape.

Our firm has just completed basic composite plats of the State of Colorado for the revision project. Your engineers' estimate for this work was \$70,000. But our company was able to prepare the plats for \$53,466.93. We sincerely believe that such a savings to the Government cannot be duplicated elsewhere, and certainly not with the use of inexperienced, untrained personnel.

Perhaps it is not proper to consider here, but we believe that you should also consider the reaction of adult, working people generally, if the Job Corps is used to replace adult workers who are earning living wages and supporting families. We have 20 trained and skilled adult workers who need the jobs that this work would provide.

I wish to tell the Senate of another ramification to the problem which was brought to my attention in a letter which arrived in this morning's mail. The letter is as follows:

DEAR SENATOR SIMPSON: It has been brought to my attention by our customer, Mr. Womack of the Petroleum Ownership Map Co., that there is now a serious possibility of Job Corps people being requested to perform services that his company specializes in and competitively bids on through the Bureau of Land Management.

This, of course, concerns me; as in co-operation with the Small Business Administration, a sizable loan was extended to this company in 1964. Part of our consideration in granting this loan was the total volume of service performed. If it were to become customary for Job Corps people to now perform this specialized service, it could very well, through decreased volume, jeopardize our loan.

Mr. Womack also has a sizable payroll; and without the contracts through the BLM, it would be necessary for him to reduce his trained staff considerably. With the present moving of oil companies from Casper, we, of course, would not like to see any additional payroll reduction in Casper.

I would certainly appreciate your investigating this problem and, if possible, doing what you can to help Mr. Womack and protect our present position.

Very truly yours,

SECURITY BANK & TRUST CO.,
DONALD K. HOGBOOM, President.

Fellow Senators, need I say more? We seek to encourage and stimulate private enterprise through the operation of the Small Business Administration. We make liberal loans available because it is agreed that small business has in the past and will in the future be vital to our way of life. Then in a flash the Federal Government turns around and denies that same small businessman of an opportunity to bid on a project essential to his business survival. That is a kind of magic which I do not understand, Mr. President.

In the 88th Congress the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 received the attention of both the House and the Senate and of the various committees to which that act was referred. At no time

during the debates or hearings on the poverty bill was it predicted or envisioned by Congress that the Job Corps would be used to replace employed persons in the private sector of our economy. No one, in debating the poverty bill, considered the fantastic possibility that the Job Corps would be allowed to compete with private industry.

In Senate Report No. 1218 of the 88th Congress, a report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare accompanying the poverty bill, a clear distinction was drawn between the Job Corps, which was envisioned as principally conservation—camp, training, and educational program, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which was envisioned as a local employment program.

The 88th Congress was explicit in defining limitations on the work-training programs or Neighborhood Youth Corps under part B of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Section 113, subsection a(4) of that act specifically prohibited the so-called "Neighborhood Youth Corps" from replacing workers in the private sector. In addition, such authorities as Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz in testifying on the poverty program said that:

No job in this program will displace a regular worker. Nor will the Department (of Labor) approve any program which might substitute for regular full-time jobs that would otherwise be created. We are not going to meet this problem by robbing Peter of his job to give it to Paul's son.

In rereading the legislative history of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, it seems clear that no one contemplated that it would be necessary to make specific limitations as to the Job Corps. In the Senate report last session on the poverty bill, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare did express itself in regard to the employment—training to be conducted by the Job Corps.

The committee said:

It is contemplated that the training corps will relate to occupations where the employment outlook is favorable and where the occupational requirements are within the capability of the enrollee.

But the committee apparently did not feel that it was necessary to limit the Job Corps, as it had expressly limited the Neighborhood Youth Corps. However, the present attempt by the Bureau of Land Management to replace privately employed workers with Job Corps personnel make it imperative that Congress now express such a limitation. It is unfortunate that the original poverty bill was drafted and passed in such a way as to make possible such an extraordinary misinterpretation of the intent of Congress by some Federal bureaucracy. But such a misinterpretation has been made. It is patently ridiculous to wipe out 20 jobs held by wage earning, tax-paying citizens so that their means of livelihood can be given to high school dropouts and juvenile delinquents. The purpose of the poverty program was, I hope, to alleviate poverty, not to create it. My amendment would remedy the specific difficulties of which I have spoken and would prohibit a similar incident from occurring in the future.

This amendment meets a real need and I strongly urge its adoption by the Senate.

I have discussed this matter with the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. Perhaps the Senator is willing to accept the amendment to the bill.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, as the Senator in charge of the bill, I have had an opportunity to study the amendment and discuss it with the distinguished Senator from Wyoming. Since it generally provides for matters that have been acceptable not only to the committee but the administration, we will accept the amendment.

Mr. SIMPSON. I thank the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGovern in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Wyoming.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak on several matters not related to the pending legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ERVIN

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, last week the Senate very expeditiously passed the bill providing exemptions from the antitrust laws, under certain prescribed conditions, for banks which help our Government solve the very difficult balance of payments problem.

The floor manager of that bill was a very able lawyer, the distinguished senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN]. Because of his skilled management of the bill and his ability to explain it with clarity and conciseness, this important measure was agreed to by this body in short order. I would be remiss, however, were I to permit the occasion of passage of that significant balance of payments measure to go by without expressing to the Senator from North Carolina my personal thanks and commendations and those of the entire Senate.

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF SIGNING OF CHARTER OF PUNTA DEL ESTE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, today marks the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of Punta del Este—a day which stands out as the beginning of a new era in United States-Latin American relations. It was on this date that the mutual concern for the

economic and social health and welfare of the American Republics was translated into a program of hemispheric action. In the words of President Kennedy it was "a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work and land, health and schools."

As the Alliance for Progress is reviewed on this anniversary, it is painfully apparent that the job is so great that progress seems to have been slow and inadequate when it is measured against what needs to be done. There are too many problems, too many ills, and too many minds to educate, too many institutions to build and rebuild, too much unrest and dissatisfaction, too much to be done.

If progress seems slow, perhaps it is inevitable that it must be; some lag behind; others have marshalled their skills and their talents, their resources and their ambitions and have moved ahead with great strides. The problems of the dispossessed, the poor, the hungry, the illiterate will not easily be solved, nor should any of us expect them to be. They are, after all, the entrenched legacy of centuries.

While so far the effects of the alliance have been substantial they have not been overwhelming. The greatest accomplishments of the Alliance cannot be measured by numbers, not by the number of schools, houses, and water systems built, nor by the number of loans made nor money spent. What is even more impressive about the last 4 years is the dramatic change of attitude among governments that has taken place in this short time span. This is evident in progressive tax and land reform laws that many legislatures have enacted and by the self-help housing programs that have been set in motion. It is evident in the world councils of states, at the bargaining tables, in the OAS, in the Inter-American Bank, and in the responsible self-criticism by the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress. It is evident in the beginnings of a new-born and growing consciousness of the inevitability and the desirability of change. It is evident in a deep and thoughtful concern for the future. It is evident in a new awareness that life can be better for the forgotten millions of this hemisphere.

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG IN THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, our new Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur J. Goldberg, has over the years, established an unblemished record as a man of purpose, of strength, and of candor. And, it was with purpose, strength, and candor—in plain and forthright language—that he delivered his first address as U.S. representative to the U.N. yesterday before the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. Ambassador Goldberg spoke for the Nation when he reemphasized the hope and the dreams of the American people and people everywhere

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Washington Evening Star be printed in the RECORD, along with an extract from my newsletter No. 65-3, issued over 2 months ago, entitled "Capitulation in the United Nations," and a table showing the list of nations receiving our foreign aid which would have been affected by my amendment, showing the total foreign aid extended by the United States to them during fiscal year 1964, and, as of March 31 of this year, the amount of their arrearages over 1 year delinquent and also the total amount of all of their arrearages.

There being no objection the article, excerpt, and table were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES ENDS FIGHT TO FORCE ALL TO PAY U.N. DUES—GOLDBERG MAKES ANNOUNCEMENT IN FIRST APPEARANCE

(By William R. Frye)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The United States has reluctantly stepped aside and let the United Nations General Assembly abandon its power of compulsory taxation to keep the peace.

At the same time, Washington has pointed out that if the U.N. cannot, or will not, force Russia to pay what she owes, it cannot force the United States to do so either—if the United States should ever decide to balk.

This, observers here agree, is the net impact of an announcement yesterday by U.S. Delegate Arthur J. Goldberg that Washington now is ready to let Russia and other U.N. debtors vote without paying their due arrears.

The announcement was made to a 33-nation U.N. Finance Committee in Goldberg's first formal U.N. appearance as successor to the late Adlai E. Stevenson.

ACTION RELUCTANT

Goldberg threw in the towel with obvious reluctance and regret on the issue over which the United States has fought intermittently since 1957. He pointed out—some thought bitterly—that the majority, in refusing to enforce the U.N. Charter:

1. Was not "furthering" the rule of law in the world.

2. Was going back on an opinion of the World Court which the General Assembly had formally accepted. The Court ruled in 1962 that peacekeeping dues had to be paid like any other kind, or the debtor would lose his vote.

3. Was undercutting "important prerogatives" of the veto-free Assembly. This was obviously a reference to compulsory tax power.

All the vital principles of law which the United States has urged in the past remain valid, Goldberg said. But if the U.N. does not choose to enforce them "in the present situation," the United States "will not seek to frustrate that consensus."

ENDS IMMOBILIZATION

The overriding reason for this decision, he said, is that "it is not in the world interest to have the work of the General Assembly immobilized in these troubled days."

Since January 1964, the Assembly, which normally acts by two-thirds majority, has been paralyzed by inability to vote on con-

troversial issues. It could act only by unanimous consent. Any rollcall would have precipitated the question of who was qualified to take part, and a majority did not wish to decide that question.

Whether Russia, France, and the 10 other countries which owe a total of some \$108 million for Congo and Mideast peace actions will make "voluntary" contributions, now they have in effect won their legal case, remains to be seen. The general expectation is that most will.

Soviet Delegate Platon D. Morozov said, however, that Russia would make a "substantial voluntary contribution" if—and only if—it were clearly understood the U.N. Assembly's power of compulsory taxation was being abandoned permanently, not just set aside in the present instance.

Few observers think this power, once abandoned, will ever in fact be recovered. But it was obvious from Goldberg's speech that the United States does not wish to say so. Thus the makings of a new Soviet-American deadlock seemed at hand.

Goldberg's contention that it remains illegal to withhold dues payments seemed to some diplomats to conflict with his statement that the United States might one day withhold its own dues. However, he argued that "there can be no double standard" in enforcement of the U.N. law.

This option to withhold payment of American dues assessments was read into the record, observers believed, primarily to satisfy U.N. critics on Capitol Hill who have deplored the U.N. tax power, fearing it might one day be used against the U.S. interests.

The hope is that, by this tactic, an explosion of bitterness over Russia's victory can be avoided. Both pro-U.N. and anti-U.N. legislators have long urged the administration to fight for payment of Russia's dues.

Of late, however, it had been widely accepted that the fight was hopeless. Most of Capitol Hill seemed ready to let the President abandon it.

The practical alternative, it was generally believed, was to be beaten on the floor of the U.N. Assembly next month.

Monday's surrender in less conspicuous circumstances was settled upon as a way to escape with minimum loss of face.

CAPITULATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Although I have been supporting the administration's policy of firmness in dealing with Communist aggression in South Vietnam, I have warned that this policy, to be effective, must be matched by firmness in other international relations. Efforts to persuade the leaders in Hanoi to cease and desist from aggression will be undercut if they get the idea that the leadership in this country probably will back down eventually. Basically it's a test of strength between two ideologies, and we can be sure that the leaders of other nations are measuring our character by what happens in other places besides South Vietnam.

Probably the worst damage in a long time to our reputation for steadfastness in standing for principle recently occurred in the United Nations—the worst, at least, since the administration backed down from the agreement by the Soviet Union to have on-site inspection in Cuba by United Nations representatives.

What happened was a change from our firm policy of insisting on adherence to article 19 of the Charter of the United Nations to a policy of accommodation with the Soviet Union's flagrant violation of article 19. The change came in a statement by U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Adlai Stevenson, before a Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, that the United States would consider and negotiate "procedural modifications" of article 19 "if the members of the U.N. think it desirable to take into account any strong political objections to peacekeeping operations on the part of a permanent member of the Security Council." In fairness to Mr. Stevenson, one should realize that such a statement would have been cleared with, if not directed from, Washington.

Last fall Ambassador Stevenson, speaking for the administration, said that we would insist that the Soviet Union not be permitted to vote in the General Assembly. This was in line with article 19, which provides for loss of vote when a member nation is more than 2 years in arrears in its payment of dues and assessments, as interpreted by the International Court of Justice. (Actually there are 12 member nations over 2 years in arrears, including France, but the biggest delinquent by far is the Soviet Union, which has threatened to pull out of the United Nations if article 19 is enforced.) It was rumored that the Secretary General would not rule on the point if raised by the United States, but would refer it to the membership of the General Assembly for a vote. And with 71 of the 114 members delinquent a total of \$132 million in their dues and assessments to some extent (51 of them to which we extended foreign aid last year were more than 1 year behind), one might well wonder how the vote would come out. A motion to adjourn the Assembly was made on February 18 and, in order to permit adjournment, the United States allowed the Soviet Union to vote on a parliamentary question raised by Albania without making a point that under article 19 she had lost her vote.

Last August the House (351 to 0) and the Senate (voice vote) adopted a resolution, endorsed by the State Department, urging that financially delinquent members be subjected to loss of vote under article 19. Now we learn that the State Department has donated \$60 million to the U.N. Special Fund from which the United Nations is borrowing the money to meet its current bills. (It is around \$300 million in debt now.) With the lack of a sense of financial responsibility of so many of its members, compounded by the capitulation of the United States to the Soviet Union in its flaunting of the U.N. Charter, the future of the organization is in serious jeopardy.

I have been warning of financial disaster in the U.N. ever since I came to the Senate, and each year I have offered an amendment to the foreign aid bill providing that no foreign aid will be extended to any nation more than 1 year behind in its dues and assessments to the U.N. except in very special cases determined by the President. Each time the State Department and administration leaders in the Senate have opposed the amendment on the frivolous argument that we are not supposed to be collectors for the U.N. I intend to keep working for such an amendment.

Countries which would be affected by Miller amendment

Country	Total U.S. Aid fiscal year 1964	U.N. arrearages, calendar year 1963 and prior	U.N. arrearages for all years
Afghanistan.....	\$43,600,000	\$66,228.00	\$74,750.31
Argentina.....	14,800,000	670,822.15	1,750,573.15
Belgium.....	¹ 41,400,000	3,092,143.00	3,253,651.00
Bolivia.....	80,700,000	56,070.00	94,097.00
Brazil.....	401,500,000	930,749.50	1,954,266.00
Central Africa Republic.....	1,100,000	3,240.00	8,845.00
Chile.....	142,900,000	342,116.00	593,496.00
China.....	183,800,000	6,218,493.00	10,733,165.00
Congo (Brazzaville).....	2,900,000	8,845.00	48,594.00
Costa Rica.....	16,400,000	18,950.59	41,965.71
Dahomey.....	1,200,000	3,644.81	34,225.57
Dominican Republic.....	16,600,000	67,724.02	116,684.01
Ecuador.....	30,800,000	6,855.84	55,638.72
El Salvador.....	15,900,000	15,203.00	22,018.00
Ethiopia.....	19,200,000	11,059.00	19,578.00
France.....	32,300,000	16,143,083.00	17,752,565.00
Guatemala.....	15,500,000	12,090.00	49,627.00
Guinea.....	19,800,000	17,064.00	23,879.00
Haiti.....	3,700,000	49,400.50	87,985.50
Iraq.....	24,600,000	96,502.00	184,179.00
Jordan.....	58,800,000	76,617.00	83,432.00
Lebanon.....	200,000	23,434.00	31,953.00
Mali.....	3,300,000	20,910.00	24,259.00
Mauritania.....	800,000	17,318.00	40,262.55
Mexico.....	108,700,000	1,228,888.00	1,354,965.00
Nepal.....	6,400,000	8,845.00	48,593.77
Nicaragua.....	8,100,000	44,539.00	84,133.00
Niger.....	2,400,000	29,214.50	38,470.50
Panama.....	18,200,000	37,279.50	37,279.50
Paraguay.....	9,500,000	55,410.00	95,159.00
Peru.....	120,100,000	158,577.78	175,614.78
Poland.....	15,000,000	3,665,051.00	4,322,387.50
Portugal.....	17,200,000	188,277.00	221,105.00
Saudi Arabia.....	(2)	122,885.00	134,811.00
Senegal.....	6,200,000	30,014.00	79,699.00
Somalia.....	4,100,000	28,683.32	68,332.32
Spain.....	81,600,000	1,828,833.00	1,975,356.00
Sudan.....	7,500,000	75,067.00	144,625.00
Syria.....	3,400,000	51,681.00	101,366.00
Thailand.....	81,600,000	12,962.00	35,384.00
Togo.....	1,700,000	29,214.50	41,625.50
United Arab Republic.....	144,500,000	326,300.00	374,322.52
Upper Volta.....	900,000	21,797.00	54,365.14
Uruguay.....	9,000,000	136,052.44	240,446.44
Yemen.....	5,700,000	87,380.50	127,129.50
Yugoslavia.....	75,600,000	391,453.00	333,269.00
Total.....	1,807,800,000	36,536,866.95	

¹ Includes Luxembourg.² Military data classified.

Sources: U.N. Secretariat, statement on the collection of contributions as at Mar. 31, 1965, U.S. overseas loans and grants, fiscal year 1964, AID, Sept. 4, 1964.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 210 Leg.]

Aiken	Fannin	Magnuson
Allott	Fong	Mansfield
Anderson	Fullbright	McClellan
Bartlett	Gore	McGovern
Bass	Gruening	McIntyre
Bayh	Harris	McNamara
Bennett	Hart	Metcalfe
Bible	Hartke	Miller
Boggs	Hayden	Mondale
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Monroney
Burdick	Hill	Montoya
Byrd, W. Va.	Holland	Morse
Cannon	Hruska	Morton
Carlson	Inouye	Moss
Case	Jackson	Mundt
Cooper	Javits	Murphy
Cotton	Jordan, N.C.	Muskie
Curtis	Jordan, Idaho	Nelson
Dirksen	Kennedy, Mass.	Neuberger
Dominick	Kennedy, N.Y.	Pastore
Douglas	Kuchel	Pearson
Eastland	Lausche	Pell
Ellender	Long, Mo.	Prouty
Ervin	Long, La.	Proxmire

Randolph
Ribicoff
Robertson
Russell, S.C.
Russell, Ga.
Saltonstall
Scott

Simpson
Smathers
Smith
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond

Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURDICK in the chair). A quorum is present.

The committee amendment is open to amendment.

AMENDMENT NO. 389

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 389.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further read-

ing of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendments (No. 389) are as follows:

On page 28, line 24, strike out "\$535,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$412,500,000".

On page 29, line 10, strike out "\$880,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$490,000,000".

On page 29, line 23, strike out "\$55,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$35,000,000".

On page 30, line 22, strike out "\$30,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$10,000,000".

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, if my colleagues will remain in the Chamber, I shall not be very long in the discussion of this amendment. I think I can explain it adequately in a short time.

Last year's authorization, in terms of round numbers, was \$947½ million. Last year's appropriation, in terms of round numbers, was \$793 million.

The proposed bill authorizes \$1,650 million, as reported by the committee.

My amendment would cut this amount back to last year's authorization of \$947½ million, plus \$150 million added on by the Nelson amendment. So it comes to a little over \$1 billion.

My amendment, if adopted, would increase the amount spent last year by about 38 percent, which, at a time when a program is under sharp attack by Members of both political parties because of the problems being encountered in setting up an administration which will make it work efficiently would be an entirely adequate increase.

My amendment would reduce the amount authorized to be appropriated to that set by last year's legislation, except for an increase of \$150 million, to allow for the funding of the program suggested by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON].

Some of us may not be in agreement with the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin. In effect, it adds a public works type program by providing \$150 million for the employment in parks and gardens of those who are, generally speaking, on the unemployment list and who are having difficulty finding jobs. It provides that they can be moved from one area to another for this purpose.

I am not going to argue the merits of that amendment. I am accepting it and adding in that amount of money for this purpose, even if I may not agree with it.

One of the complaints we have is that the bill would increase by 3 times the amount of administrative expenses. The bill, if enacted, would expand administrative expenses from \$10 million to \$30 million.

One of the problems about which we have had complaints from all over the country is as to whether or not most, or at least a great deal, of the money is going to top level supervisors, to the brass hats of the program. It seems to me we should cut that back and reduce it to

the previous year's authorization of \$10 million.

I think we should keep in mind that this program has been operating for less than a year, and we have already gotten into positions that seemed inconceivable to us when the program was originally adopted. So it seems to me what when we are considering expanding the program, there is no need for doubling the amount that was actually spent last year in the administration and conduct of the program.

At this point, I should like to cite, for the benefit of my colleagues who are present some of the examples which were given in a recent issue of U.S. News & World Report, a carefully documented article. I am reading from the recent issue of August 23, 1965. For the RECORD, and for the benefit of my colleagues, at least those who are interested in listening, this will provide some valuable information on this subject. The article begins:

Is the so-called war on poverty getting out of hand?

Around the country, more and more people are asserting that it is. The White House is concerned about the swelling volume of criticism.

Complaints are heard in growing numbers—charges of administrative chaos, bureaucratic bungling, waste, extravagance, costly duplication of existing services, internal squabbling.

Cases of serious crime, violence and racial friction involving youths enrolled in Job Corps camps appear to be on the rise.

Much criticism is being directed at R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., boss of the poverty war. Mr. Shriver, a brother-in-law of the late President Kennedy, heads both the Office of Economic Opportunity—the antipoverty high command—and the Peace Corps.

A Congressman described Mr. Shriver's poverty-war headquarters as "an administrative shambles * * * nobody in that office seems to know who is responsible for what."

This is not merely a criticism originating in Washington. It is also not a partisan criticism.

Let me give some examples of some experiences had with Job Corps trainees. This is one which was reported in the article. It states:

Five Negro youths from the Camp Gary Job Corps training center at San Marcos, Tex., were arrested in connection with an attempted robbery and the shooting of two U.S. Air Force military policemen at San Antonio.

One of the wounded airmen may be permanently blinded. The other was shot in the stomach and hand. The airmen are white.

In connection with that story, Senators should keep in mind that these Job Corps trainees are, in many cases, being paid more than twice as much as our enlisted servicemen who are defending their country in Vietnam.

Let me also remind the Senate that under the bill it is proposed to appropriate the taxpayers' money to pay lawyers to defend the trainees. No one else in the country receives that kind of treatment. We have to pay for it ourselves or the court will appoint a lawyer for us, but no money is appropriated out of a special fund to help us defray that kind of expense. The trainees are being paid \$200 a month for the privilege of learning and

getting a job, and then they go out and commit felonies.

I believe that there is absolutely no excuse for going ahead and increasing the size of this program until some of these problems have been straightened out.

Here is another one:

Two dropouts from the Job Corps were arrested on burglary charges near Cotulla, Tex.

Here is another one:

A newspaper in Columbus, Ind., reported that youths from Camp Atterbury had attempted to buy guns while on leave from the camp.

I gave other examples in my speech of yesterday. There are more examples in the minority views that are before each Senator; but let me go on a little further, if I may.

Here is an interesting fact, which few know, regarding the procedures of the Job Corps which has drawn such widespread criticism:

Recruiting procedure for the Job Corps has drawn widespread criticism.

The Government, besides using the U.S. Employment Service, pays some private employment agencies \$80 for every youth accepted as a trainee.

In other words, the Government, with taxpayers' funds, is paying a private employment agency \$80 to bring a trainee into the Job Corps.

I suggest that this is an odd way to try to conduct a Government program.

Continuing reading:

One charge made is that some agencies, in order to collect as many \$80 fees as possible often conceal from Government "screeners" the fact that some applicants have criminal records.

In case after case after case has come up, the trainees who have been in the camps and who are not supposed to have any criminal records at all are, nevertheless, found to have them and to be in violation of that requirement.

Yesterday I mentioned the St. Petersburg, Fla., camp for girls. I should like to read a little more about this example, which comes from the magazine article:

The antipoverty program is paying \$225,000 to rent the hotel for 18 months. The market value of the property has been estimated at \$150,000 to \$200,000.

Thus, what the Government will be paying to the hotel operators in a year and a half will be more than the total market valuation of the property. This, it seems to me, is an odd way to try to operate a Government program; yet, we are being asked to more than double the amount to be spent.

This is what the Denver Post had to say in an open letter written to Sargent Shriver on July 20th:

DEAR SARGENT SHRIVER: For nearly 6 months, Denver has been trying to get your poverty agency to approve a plan for a neighborhood health center—

This is for a neighborhood health center, let me emphasize—

to help people in slum areas in this city overcome some of the health problems that keep them poor.

For everyone involved in this effort, the experience of dealing with your agency has had a nightmarish quality about it and the

kind of maddening frustrations appropriate for a novel by Kafka.

As you know, the frustration became so intense last spring that Denver's Mayor Currihan felt obligated to complain about it to the Vice President of the United States and threatened to keep Denver out of the program altogether.

Mayor Currihan is a Democrat, and he is doing his best to try to operate the city in the reasonable manner.

Poverty officials in Denver complain that a long series of vague and sometimes contradictory messages from Washington left them thoroughly confused about what your agency wanted.

At one point, they say, they were told that the proposal was about to be approved; later, that it would need only minor revisions; still later, that it would have to be revised entirely.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Bass in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Does not the Senator wish to ask for the yeas and nays on his amendment, and should we not ask for them now?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I thank the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, the open letter continues as follows:

What do you want from us, Mr Shriver? What can you accomplish with all this delay except to keep these extra health services from the poor of Denver and disillusion the people of this city with the war on poverty?

This newspaper has supported the poverty program from the beginning, and we would like to go on supporting it. But the example we have had so far of redtape and delay is enough to sour anyone on the whole program.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this entire article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POVERTY WAR OUT OF HAND?

(NOTE.—Scandals, confusion, redtape, bureaucratic infighting—those are examples of the troubles that are hounding the war on poverty in city after city around the country. Complaints are made that agencies are overstaffed, Federal funds being wasted, that the poor are on the short end of benefits. A sampling of local reports provides a national cross section of what's going on.)

Is the so-called war on poverty getting out of hand?

Around the country, more and more people are asserting that it is. The White House is concerned about the swelling volume of criticism.

Complaints are heard in growing numbers—charges of administrative chaos, bureaucratic bungling, waste, extravagance, costly duplication of existing services, internal squabbling.

Cases of serious crime, violence, and racial friction involving youths enrolled in Job Corps camps appear to be on the rise.

Much criticism is being directed at R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., boss of the poverty war. Mr. Shriver, a brother-in-law of the late President Kennedy, heads both the Office of

Economic Opportunity—the antipoverty high command—and the Peace Corps.

A Congressman described Mr. Shriver's poverty war headquarters as "an administrative shambles. * * * Nobody in that Office seems to know who is responsible for what."

OUTLAY IS RISING

Federal spending in the antipoverty program is to run to well over \$1.5 billion in the year ahead—more than double the first year's outlay.

In city after city, political wrangling over control of antipoverty funds has impeded programs which are intended to help the poor. The poor themselves, according to some of their spokesmen, are becoming increasingly disenchanted with the whole thing.

In some places, local wrath has been stirred by what one newspaper called the maddening frustrations of dealing with Washington headquarters.

Chagrin has resulted, too, from what some community leaders who are attempting to aid the "war" effort regard as a contemptuous attitude on the part of Federal officials.

Following are examples of the controversy and complaints to which the attempt to stamp out poverty is giving rise in various parts of the United States.

In Omaha, Nebr., an angry stir was created by a "confidential" report prepared by a poverty-war official from Washington.

The report said the Omaha citizens who volunteered to help get the program started were "power-structure types," "gray-lady types" and "white do-gooders."

The document was prepared by Jack Williams, a special agent of the Office of Economic Opportunity, who was sent to investigate Greater Omaha Community Action, Inc., the area's planning organization for the war on poverty.

Although the OEO refused to release Mr. Williams' report for publication, "the Omaha World-Herald" obtained a copy and published it—along with some pungent editorial comment.

Mr. Williams described the Omaha "power structure" as a "triumvirate of corporations," of which he mentioned only one, the Northern Natural Gas Co.

The report said that both the 50-member GOCA council and its 15-member board of directors were "topheavy with power-structure types." Mr. Williams observed also that the council membership "includes many well-meaning 'gray-lady' types."

AMONG NEGROES: SKEPTICISM

The Federal official said that "there is no confidence in GOCA by the Omaha Negro community."

The report was less than flattering to J. Alan Hansen, president of the GOCA council and personnel director of Northern Natural Gas. Mr. Williams had this comment:

"Hansen is somewhat weak in his orientation toward the poor—sort of an Edgar Eisenhower Republican—and he's deep in the gray-flannel-suit corporate in-fighting of the company. * * *

"Ken Young, the Negro vice president of GOCA, wants to quit now because he views Hansen as a weak reed who will inevitably quit, and Young doesn't want to be in the heir-apparent position when that happens. Mr. Young also caught a good deal of flak as an 'Uncle Tom' because of his continued involvement with GOCA as its critics grew.

"These two resignations, if they happened together, would be a serious blow to GOCA. Hansen would lead the white do-gooders off the board, and the departure of Young would probably make it tactically impossible for any other Negro to remain with GOCA."

NEWSPAPER'S LAMENT

In its editorial, the World-Herald said: "GOCA commanded substantial backing and respect among Omahans largely because

of the kind of leadership it had—including many good citizens, both white and Negro.

"But how innocent these Omahans were. They have now learned from Mr. Williams that white citizens who have given of their time and energy are gray-flannel suit types and gray-lady types or merely white do-gooders. And responsible members of the Negro community are called Uncle Tom, simply for being associated with GOCA.

"The report has angered some Omahans. Perhaps it has dismayed a great many others as they reflect that the clairvoyant Mr. Williams is a representative of the great new antipoverty bureaucracy that has a great deal of the taxpayers' money to spend."

Crime involving Job Corps trainees is a major headache for officials of the antipoverty program.

Some recent incidents:

Five Negro youths from the Camp Gary Job Corps training center at San Marcos, Tex., were arrested in connection with an attempted robbery and the shooting of two U.S. Air Force military policemen at San Antonio.

One of the wounded airmen may be permanently blinded. The other was shot in the stomach and hand. The airmen are white.

At Camp Atterbury, Ind., seven Job Corps enrollees were arrested on charges of sexual assault on another trainee.

Two other Job Corps youths at Camp Atterbury were charged with assault after they allegedly injured two fellow trainees in fights.

A newspaper in Columbus, Ind., reported that youths from Camp Atterbury had attempted to buy guns while on leave from the camp.

Two dropouts from the Job Corps were arrested on burglary charges near Cotulla, Tex.

The Job Corps policy of using Federal funds to hire attorneys for enrollees accused of crimes has come under fire.

Noting that the taxpayers are footing the bill for defense of the youths involved in the San Antonio shooting, a Texas columnist pointed out that when members of the Armed Forces are in trouble with the law, they must hire counsel with their own funds, or, if broke, accept court-appointed lawyers.

The crime problem in the poverty war is not confined to the Job Corps.

A raid on a job-retraining center at Poughkeepsie, N.Y.—a project set up under the Manpower Development and Training Act—had this result:

Three men were charged with possession of marijuana. Four were accused of possession of knives. One was charged with possession of obscene literature.

Racial antagonism is one cause of violence at Job Corps camps.

Fights between white and Negro youths at the training center in Tongue Point, Oreg., resulted in a request by Oregon's Gov. Mark Hatfield for a Federal security force to prevent more serious outbreaks.

The camp administrator said that fighting erupted when white enrollees used disparaging language about Negro trainees.

At Lewiston, Calif., site of California's first Job Corps camp, citizens, at a protest meeting, accused the Job Corps of renegeing on promises that no youths with criminal records would be assigned to the camp.

Lewiston residents also complained of such incidents as the knifing of one Job Corpsman by another, gunplay in a parking lot, and purchases of liquor for teenage enrollees.

Recruiting procedure for the Job Corps has drawn widespread criticism.

The Government, besides using the U.S. Employment Service, pays some private employment agencies \$80 for every youth accepted as a trainee.

One charge made is that some agencies, in order to collect as many \$80 fees as possible, often conceal from Government screeners the fact that some applicants have criminal records.

Standards for admission to the Job Corps—which is expected to number 40,000 by the end of this year—specifically bar criminals, drug addicts, and youths with serious emotional or psychological disorders.

Nevertheless, it is charged, hundreds of youths who have been involved in serious crimes have turned up at the camps.

Another complaint is that \$80-a-head recruiters lie to prospective enrollees about the type of training which is available and give them a false impression that life in the Job Corps is a "country club" existence.

A storm of unfavorable publicity has swirled around the women's Job Corps training center set up in a resort-type hotel at St. Petersburg, Fla.

Complaints of noise and disorder at the Center prompted the St. Petersburg city council to ask the Government to vacate the premises.

The antipoverty program is paying \$225,000 to rent the hotel for 18 months. The market value of the property has been estimated at \$150,000 to \$200,000.

Senator STROM THURMOND, representative of South Carolina, had this comment on the St. Petersburg training center:

"The girls get little training, but do get \$30 spending money and \$50 put in the bank each month, special bus transportation to the bank and downtown, and maid service. They are not even required to help serve their own food.

"On the staff for this one project are 122 persons who are paid more than \$680,000 per year. These employees have little experience in the type work required. Many of the staff have resigned their well-paying jobs in disgust. Many of the trainees in this integrated project have been dismissed for chronic misbehavior, including fighting and drunkenness."

The staff at the center adds up to one full-time employee for every two girls. According to one calculation, expenditures for each girl—including housing, food, training, transportation, and pay—run to \$7,000 a year—considerably more than the cost of sending a girl to college for a year.

Complaints of political favoritism resulted in the shutdown of a Neighborhood Youth Corps project in Macoupin County, Ill.

Ernest Reiher, an editor of the weekly Carlinville Democrat, charged that most of the youths in the project were ineligible.

Mr. Reiher said that some of the selections were made on the basis of political preference and favored children of families that voted Democratic.

Investigation then disclosed that 80 of the 200 enrollees in the project were ineligible.

A spokesman for the Illinois Farmers Union, which administers the antipoverty summer work programs in 32 Illinois counties, said on August 10:

"We definitely tried to go too fast on the thing. We put too many to work too fast. We put far too many to work in some places. There definitely was a misunderstanding on the local level."

Said J. M. Watson, Illinois coordinator of the Neighborhood Youth Corps: "There was some political favoritism."

The youths were being paid \$1.25 an hour for 32 hours of work a week, the national rate in the Youth Corps.

A comment by Representative RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH, Republican, of Indiana, on a Veterans' Administration directive authorizing treatment for Job Corps members in VA hospitals: "Every admission of a Job Corpsman takes a bed away from a veteran."

The frustrations experienced by one city in its attempts to cooperate in the Government's war on poverty are recounted in an

editorial that appeared in the Denver Post on July 20.

Excerpts from the editorial, which was entitled "Open Letter to Sargent Shriver":

"DEAR SARGENT SHRIVER: For nearly 6 months, Denver has been trying to get your poverty agency to approve a plan for a neighborhood health center to help people in slum areas in this city overcome some of the health problems that keep them poor.

"For everyone involved in this effort, the experience of dealing with your agency has had a nightmarish quality about it and the kind of maddening frustrations appropriate for a novel by Kafka.

"As you know, the frustration became so intense last spring that Denver's Mayor Curigan felt obligated to complain about it to the Vice President of the United States and threatened to keep Denver out of the program altogether.

"Poverty officials in Denver complain that a long series of vague and sometimes contradictory messages from Washington left them thoroughly confused about what your agency wanted.

"At one point, they say, they were told that the proposal was about to be approved; later, that it would need only minor revisions; still later, that it would have to be revised entirely ***

"What do you want from us, Mr. Shriver?" What can you accomplish with all this delay except to keep these extra health services from the poor of Denver and disillusion the people of this city with the war on poverty? ***

"This newspaper has supported the poverty program from the beginning, and we would like to go on supporting it. But the example we have had so far of redtape and delay is enough to sour anyone on the whole program."

A poverty-war program that is causing more and more controversy is Project Head Start, in which Federal funds are used to underwrite costs of preschool training for children of the "hard core" poor.

With the handling of this project his target, Representative CHARLES R. JONAS, Republican of North Carolina, described what he called "a glaring example of extra cost whenever the Federal Government insists on handling a local program out of Washington."

Mr. JONAS, pointing out that his State already had such a program in operation financed by non-Federal funds, said that North Carolina applied for Federal money to expand the program, only to have the application rejected. The Congressman added:

"The sole reason advanced by the Director of Project Head Start for rejecting the North Carolina plan was that our plan was based on State administration of the funds and program.

"It apparently did not matter to the Federal officials that the North Carolina program had been conducted by professional and trained public-school teachers at a cost of \$30 per child and that the federally directed program would cost \$170 per child.

"They were not interested in expanding a well-established and efficiently operating program which would cost \$140 per child less than the Federal program, but their concern was to retain control and direction of the program in the hands of Federal officials."

A complaint about Project Head Start expressed by educators in Boston:

Children of hard core poor families are not being reached by the project because, as one teacher put it: "Nobody in their families cares enough to put them in it."

A private day-care center for children of working parents in Indianapolis has complained that some of its teachers have been lured by higher salaries to an antipoverty preschool program.

An incident at San Antonio, Tex., reported in the San Antonio News:

A San Antonio physician refused to participate in a medical-examination program for children involved in Project Head Start because she objected to the speed with which the youngsters were being processed.

The physician said that some 100 children were rushed through in 1 hour. The school district involved, which handles funds for the project, pays \$5 for every 20 examinations. The San Antonio physician said that tests required by the Federal Government could not be completed properly at the pace set.

Adverse comment has been created in some areas by the antipoverty program's practice of paying teachers' salaries higher than those paid in public school systems.

Typical of this comment is a statement by a Texan, referring to the academic staff at a Job Corps center:

"They have pulled out of the school system good instructors and teachers with master's degrees. These teachers are sorely needed in our public schools. There is quite a lot of dissension among teachers about the difference between their salaries of \$5,000 and the \$9,000 a year paid at Camp Gary."

A prominent Negro educator, Lester B. Granger, of Dillard University, New Orleans, called the antipoverty program a "slaphappy, sloppy, wasteful procedure." Mr. Granger told the National Urban League convention:

"The fat should be taken out of it. We are going to waste two-thirds of the funds going into it, just like the New Deal. This doesn't mean I don't support it. If we get even one-third out of it, it would help."

The spreading complaints about the way the poverty war is run have been echoed in strong criticism in Congress, by Members of both parties.

Some examples from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Representative DONALD D. CLANCY, Republican, of Ohio, branded the war an obvious fiasco." Mr. CLANCY said: "There is hardly an aspect of the program that has not become mired in waste and utter confusion."

Representative EDWARD J. GURNEY, Republican, of Florida: "Funds have been given out without investigation to sham groups, in areas where poverty is almost unknown."

Mr. GURNEY said that in one such area, in Ypsilanti, Mich., "over 90 percent of the population own their own homes, nearly everyone has at least one car and a TV set, and the average family income is just dollars short of \$8,000."

A sample of political in-fighting in the antipoverty operation was given by Representative LEONARD FARBSTEIN, Democrat, of New York. Assailing William F. Haddad, the program's inspector general, Mr. FARBSTEIN told the House:

"He is the gentleman who ran against me last year and has stated publicly that he is going to run again. Now it is my opinion that he is subverting parts of this program for his own personal political gain. I think he is attempting to build a personal political organization out of poverty funds."

In spite of the rash of criticism in Congress and from around the country, the heavily Democratic Congress insists upon giving Mr. Shriver more spending authority than he said he needed to expand the war against poverty.

In so doing, the legislators disregard such comment as that of Representative ALBERT H. QUIE, Republican, of Minnesota, who said:

"This program could become not just a national disgrace, but a national catastrophe."

A POVERTY WAR PROJECT UNDER FIRE: TRAINING SCHOOL FOR "AGITATORS"?

SYRACUSE, N.Y.—Bitter controversy is being created here by an antipoverty project which teaches techniques of organizing the poor.

The project—financed in large part by Federal funds under the poverty program—is the Community Action Training Center at Syracuse University.

The center's director, Prof. Warren C. Haggstrom, says that its object is to "create organizations among low-income groups that can achieve power and exercise it in their self-interest."

Techniques taught in the project here are expected to be applied across the country.

The mayor of Syracuse, William F. Walsh, charges that the main purpose of the center is to train agitators. Mayor Walsh says the center teaches "Marxist doctrines of class conflict."

Serving as a paid consultant and lecturer in the action training program is Saul D. Alinsky, self-styled "professional radical," who has been a militant organizer of Negroes in Chicago and other cities.

As part of its program, the center has made the Syracuse Housing Authority a target.

Tenants of low-income housing projects, organized by trainees at the center, have picketed and staged a sit-in to force various improvements in their living conditions.

On August 10, a delegation of tenants met with the housing authority and presented a long list of new grievances.

At the end of a 3-hour session, Charles A. Waiker, one of the housing authority's five commissioners, said he did not believe that the meeting would have positive results "because the organizers, those troublemakers at the center, won't allow it."

One organizer was arrested on a trespass charge when he entered a housing project to attend a tenants' meeting. He was acquitted, then brought suit against the authority, charging false arrest.

The center began operations this spring. The training program requires a full year of participation. The center's official prospectus says that applicants for enrollment "should have a controlled but intense anger about continued injustice and should be committed to hard work for people who are grappling with apparently overwhelming problems."

Among topics listed for discussion:

"The extent to which programs of community development and urban renewal benefit affluent persons at the expense of low-income areas.

"Consequences of poverty programs intended to make the poor less troublesome to the affluent."

Mr. Alinsky's connection with the project has drawn much criticism. Critics cite his comments on the poverty war, published in the July issue of Harper's magazine. He said that "the poverty program is turning into a price piece of political pornography * * * a huge political pork barrel, and a feeding trough for the welfare industry."

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I do not have very much more to say on this subject, but I wish to outline what the bill would do.

Under title I of the bill last year, there was authorized \$412.5 million. This includes the Job Corps work training program and the work study program. There was appropriated \$371.5 million, which is \$40 million less than was authorized.

This year, the request is for a total of \$535 million—in other words, \$180 million more in the title I program, in round figures, than last year.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield for a question?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Earlier in his discussion, the Senator from Colorado gave the figures as to what his amendment would do; that is, he told us by what amount it would be cut, and that, after the cut, there would still be 30 percent more than was available elsewhere; is that not correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. Thirty-eight percent more, I believe it is.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Thirty-eight percent more. Can the Senator give me any information as to what the original budgetary request was on this item, and whether it was raised in the House or not?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes; the original budgetary item—

Mr. LAUSCHE. I am speaking with reference to the whole subject.

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes. It was \$1½ billion. The House raised it to \$1,895 million, which added \$395 million to it. The bill as reported to the Senate then added \$150 million to the budget request, which makes the figure more than twice what was spent last year. The House figure was 2½ times what we spent last year.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Then the Senator proposes to cut the amount which, after the cut is made by his amendment, will still be 38 percent more than was available last year; is that not correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct.

Continuing with the breakdown, in title II, last year, \$340 million was authorized, and \$259 million was appropriated—a difference of approximately \$81 million in that figure. The proposed bill would bring this up to \$880 million, counting in the Nelson amendment.

My amendment would leave it at \$490 million, \$150 million more than was authorized last year.

With respect to title II, or the community action programs, including the adult basic education program, many mayors have advocated that all community action programs be eliminated entirely because they are too often used as political weapons, instead of doing something for the poor.

Under title III last year we authorized \$35 million and actually spent \$40 million. This is more than the authorization. It was done because authority was given to the Director to move \$15 million from one program to another.

This takes care of the rural loans and migrant workers. My amendment would bring the figure back to \$35 million.

Title V—\$150 million was put in the authorization, and only \$112 million was spent, or some \$38 million less than was authorized. My amendment would bring it back to \$150 million.

Title VI—\$10 million was authorized for administration; \$9.7 million was actually spent. The bill proposes that we put in \$30 million for this purpose. We triple the authorization for administration. This is one of the weakest points in the whole bill, not because of lack of money, but because of the way it is being administered.

I would bring the figure back to \$10 million. Our primary purpose is to provide money to help the poor, not the

bureaucrats. That is what we are really trying to do.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the general increase in authorizations provided in the bill reflects two primary considerations. First, all programs last year operated only over a 9-month period. Second, none of these programs existed at all before last year. Each started from scratch—at zero. If we are to carry these same programs over the present year we must therefore do more than just provide funds for a full 12 months. We must also recognize that each of these programs started this year with a capability that did not exist when they started operations last year.

Last year we began with no organization, no procedures, no Job Corps centers in operation, no community action agencies, no approved State plans. All of these things now exist. They represent resources that have been created. They should be used.

This year, each month, we should be able to do just a little better than we did in a comparable month last year in reaching the 35 million people living in poverty. Certainly, there is nothing unreasonable in this. Certainly, we cannot afford to do less.

I would like to make it clear that the authorizations in the bill are designed to allow leeway for many program improvements. They are framed on the proposition that there should be time for staff and effort that is not focused simply on producing more and more grants. In fact, if we were talking about sheer production—about what is mathematically possible on the basis of the program rates attained last year—we would not be talking about a \$1.5 billion authorization. We would be talking about a \$2 billion or perhaps even a \$4 billion authorization.

Mr. President, the House bill, which is primarily before us, with some revision having been made by the Senate committee, called for the amount of \$1,895 million. The bill now before us, as it comes from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, calls for \$1,650 million. It has already been substantially reduced from the amount of money authorized by the House. The administration has authorized the appropriation of one and a half billion dollars. This amount has been approved by the Bureau of the Budget, and our committee added \$150 million to one item, to bring the sum total to \$1,650 million.

I hope the amendments of the distinguished Senator from Colorado will be rejected.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, H.R. 8283, the "Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965," constitutes the most flagrant abdication of responsibility by the Congress to date.

The program has been in operation for a year, and its history provides a catalog of futility, abuses, political partisanship, wastefulness, slipshod administration and scandal.

Salaries and administrative expense are out of all rational proportion. There is a proliferation of supergrade positions, having reached a proportion of 1 to 18 employees, compared to the ratio of 1 supergrade position to 1,000 employees

in the Department of Defense. It is reported that in one county in New Jersey, that out of a grant of \$67,000, all but \$15,000 was earmarked for salaries and administrative expenses.

The taxpayers' money is being squandered on an unprecedented scale even for this fiscally irresponsible administration. In the Head Start program, expenses are running as much as \$275 per pupil for 3 months preschool instruction, equal to the cost-per-pupil per full school year in the public schools, in communities where the monthly tuition in established kindergartens is only \$18.

In its first year of operation, the war on poverty has proved to be a political grab bag and a program to finance a war on the existing political and social order in the United States. Even the liberal New York Times, in an editorial review of the poverty centers in New York, concluded that "there is at least as much basis for fear now that the centers will turn into launching pads for systematic political warfare against city hall, the schools, and all established society."

The Job Corps camps established by the poverty czar have repeatedly provided public scandal headlines for the press.

In St. Petersburg, Fla., the Women's Job Corps Training Center, housed in a plush oceanside hotel rented for \$12,500 per month, was revealed to be little more than a paid vacation at the beach for the approximately 125 girls between ages 16 and 21 residing there. The girls get little training, but do get \$30 spending money and \$50 put in the bank each month, special bus transportation to the beach and downtown, and maid service. They are not even required to help serve their own food. On the staff for this one project are 122 persons who are paid more than \$680,000 per year. These employees have little experience in the type work required. Many of the staff have resigned their well-paying jobs in disgust. Many of the trainees in this integrated project have been dismissed for chronic misbehavior, including fighting and drunkenness.

It is quite symbolic, Mr. President, that the directorship of this billion-dollar fiasco rates as only a part-time job. It is indeed remarkable, however, that any bureaucratic administrator could so foul up even such an ill-conceived program as the war on poverty when he only works at it part time.

Faced with such a miserable mess, the majority of the House of Representatives and the majority of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare have come up with two major changes—double the money being squandered and eliminate the minor, but only sensible brake on the program, the Governor's veto. It is almost beyond belief, but this horrendous program is in the process of being made worse.

There is only one sensible remedy, only one responsible remedy—to reject the bill and the entire program. The Senate should vote the bill down.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I should like to have the attention of the distinguished junior Senator from Colorado. Do I correctly understand that the Sen-

ator has requested and has been granted a ye-a-and-nay vote on his amendment? Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. PROUTY. Since Senators will have to be present in the Chamber for the vote, I wonder if it would not be wise to have a live quorum call with the understanding that the Senator from Colorado would then have 2 or 3 minutes in which to explain his amendment and then ask for the vote.

Mr. DOMINICK. What the Senator from Vermont has suggested is an eminently sound and sensible move, and I shall suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, before the Senator does so, will he yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. PROUTY. I made the suggestion because many Senators are busy in committees. They do not and will not know what the amendments proposed are. I believe that the amendments of the Senator from Colorado are highly important, and, therefore, I am delighted that the Senator is willing to suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank my friend from Vermont. I, too, believe that it is a sensible suggestion, and I assure Senators on the other side of the aisle, including the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], that we are not following the proposed procedure for the purpose of delay. I merely wish Senators to know what they will be voting on before they are required to vote.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I believe that the Senator from Colorado has taken an extraordinarily modest amount of time for what in his judgment and in the judgment of many others represents an important question which should be probed and answered. The Senator need have no self-consciousness whatever for doing what he is doing.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. President, I intend to suggest the absence of a quorum—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado request that he be permitted to suggest the absence of a quorum without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, despite the fact that the yeas and nays on the amendment have been ordered—and I assure Senators that I shall not take more than 3 minutes when Senators arrive in the Chamber—I may be permitted to suggest the absence of a quorum without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMINICK. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 211 Leg.]

Alken	Hayden	Murphy
Allott	Hickenlooper	Muskie
Anderson	Hill	Nelson
Bartlett	Holland	Pastore
Bass	Hruska	Pearson
Bayh	Inouye	Pell
Bennett	Jackson	Prouty
Bible	Javits	Proxmire
Boggs	Jordan, N.C.	Randolph
Brewster	Jordan, Idaho	Ribicoff
Burdick	Kennedy, Mass.	Robertson
Byrd, W. Va.	Kennedy, N.Y.	Russell, Ga.
Cannon	Kuchel	Russell, S.C.
Carlson	Lausche	Saltonstall
Case	Long, Mo.	Scott
Cooper	Long, La.	Simpson
Cotton	Magnuson	Smathers
Dirksen	Mansfield	Smith
Dominick	McClellan	Stennis
Douglas	McGovern	Symington
Eastland	McIntyre	Talmadge
Ellender	McNamara	Thurmond
Ervin	Metcalf	Tower
Fannin	Miller	Tydings
Fong	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Fulbright	Monroney	Williams, Del.
Gore	Montoya	Yarborough
Gruening	Morse	Young, N. Dak.
Harris	Morton	Young, Ohio
Hart	Moss	
Hartke	Mundt	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Michigan in permitting me to call this live quorum. I told him at the time I would only take 3 minutes to explain my amendments when more Senators were present, and then the Senate could vote.

I shall give a breakdown of my amendments.

Last year under title I of the program Congress appropriated \$371.5 million. My amendments, if adopted, would authorize \$412.5 million, which is considerably more than was appropriated.

Under title II of last year, Congress appropriated \$259.1 million. My amendments, if adopted, would authorize \$490 million.

Last year under title III Congress appropriated \$40.7 million. If my

amendments were adopted, they would authorize at this time \$35 million, with the right of the Director to transfer \$15 million from other programs to the rural program.

Under title V last year Congress appropriated \$112 million. My amendments, if adopted, would authorize \$150 million.

Under "Administration" last year \$9.7 million was appropriated. Under my amendments, \$10 million would be authorized.

If my amendments were adopted, an expansion of some 38 percent, over what was spent last year would be permitted. At the same time there would be a cutting back on what is proposed by approximately \$630 million, so there would be a substantial reduction in the proposed authorization but a substantial increase in what was spent last year.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. What is the difference between the authorization asked for this year and the amount provided in the Senator's amendments?

Mr. DOMINICK. The amount authorized last year was \$947.5 million. My amendments, if adopted, would add \$150 million. The bill as proposed would authorize \$1,650 million.

Mr. COOPER. I thank the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK subsequently said: Mr. President, immediately prior to the last vote, on my amendment, I was discussing in summary form what the adoption of my amendment would do. I have a table which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD immediately following my remarks at that point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Breakdown of authorization under Dominick amendment

[Dollars in millions]

Title	Appropriated in fiscal 1965	Authorization under Dominick amendment	Amount of increase	Percent of increase	Proposed committee authorization
I. Youth programs	\$371.5	\$412.5	\$41.0	11	\$535
II. Community action programs	259.1	490.0	230.9	89	880
III. Rural programs ¹	40.7	35.0			55
V. Work experience	112.0	150.0	38.0	34	150
VI. Administration	9.7	10.0	6.3	3	30
Total	793.0	1,097.5	304.5	38	1,650

¹ This includes an increase of \$150 million for the Nelson amendment.

² Title III-c of the act authorizes the Director to spend up to \$15 million from other parts of the act to carry out pt. B of title III. Therefore, although the authorization under the Dominick amendment would be less than last year's appropriation, the actual spending on title III programs might exceed the authorization of \$35 million.

NOTE.—Adoption would place authorization \$304.5 million over 1965 expenditures and \$552.5 million less than proposed committee authorization.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, a few minutes ago I commented on the amendments of the Senator from Colorado by stating that the amount recommended by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare was reasonable and realistic.

To cut back the program to the level of authorizations presently existing

would do immeasurable harm to the war on poverty.

We have heard many complaints about the program—some of them real, some of them fanciful.

As I have stated before, this is a new program in existence for less than a year.

I believe the program has made remarkable progress.

However, it would be totally inconsistent, even with the complaints that have been voiced against the program, to put the Office of Economic Opportunity in a financial straitjacket.

The amounts recommended by the committee are in line with the President's budget, and the needs of OEO. They are below the amounts recommended in the House bill by \$245 million—almost a quarter of a billion dollars.

We must give OEO an opportunity to carry out the assignments given it by the President and by Congress. Therefore, I sincerely hope the amendments of the distinguished Senator from Colorado will be defeated.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. How does the Senate bill compare with the President's recommendation?

Mr. McNAMARA. It contains the President's recommendation plus \$150 million added in committee.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. It is \$150 million over the President's recommendation?

Mr. McNAMARA. That is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Colorado. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], and the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK].

If present and voting, the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS].

If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD].

If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 40, nays 51, as follows:

[No. 212 Leg.]

YEAS—40

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Allott	Hill	Russell, Ga.
Bennett	Holland	Russell, S.C.
Boggs	Hruska	Saltonstall
Carlson	Jordan, N.C.	Scott
Cooper	Jordan, Idaho	Simpson
Cotton	Kuchel	Stennis
Dirksen	Lausche	Talmadge
Dominick	McClellan	Thurmond
Eastland	Miller	Tower
Ellender	Morton	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.
Fannin	Murphy	
Fong	Pearson	

NAYS—51

Anderson	Hayden	Morse
Bartlett	Inouye	Moss
Bass	Jackson	Muskie
Bayh	Javits	Nelson
Bible	Kennedy, Mass.	Pastore
Brewster	Kennedy, N.Y.	Pell
Burdick	Long, Mo.	Prouty
Byrd, W. Va.	Long, La.	Proxmire
Cannon	Magnuson	Randolph
Case	Mansfield	Ribicoff
Douglas	McGovern	Smathers
Fulbright	McIntyre	Smith
Gore	McNamara	Symington
Gruening	Metcalf	Tydings
Harris	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Hart	Monroney	Yarborough
Hartke	Montoya	Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—9

Byrd, Va.	Curtis	McGee
Church	Dodd	Neuberger
Clark	McCarthy	Sparkman

So Mr. DOMINICK's amendments were rejected.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendments were rejected be reconsidered.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 387

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send to the desk a modified version of my amendment No. 387.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that the amendment be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

SEC. 15. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting "of part B" before "of title I" and (2) striking out "and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission" and inserting in lieu thereof "and such plan has not been disapproved by the Governor within thirty days of such submission, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the Director and, after public hearing in which the Governor or his authorized representative is given an opportunity to appear, found by the Director to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part".

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, while Members of the Senate are present—

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, may we know what the modification is?

Mr. JAVITS. I will explain the amendment.

Mr. AIKEN. And the modification.

Mr. JAVITS. It is not a modification.

It differs from the printed amendment only by inserting page, line, and section numbers. There is no other modification in the amendment. The amendment deals with the question of veto by Governors of community action programs in their States.

The range of choice before the Senate on this issue will be complete, because I understand it to be the intention of my colleague, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], to offer as a substitute for my amendment the amendment which he offered in committee.

I want to point out the complete range of choices which will be offered for Senators to make. The first is to eliminate the Governor's veto altogether in relation to community action programs. The Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH]—who can correct me if I am in error—proposed an amendment to remove the veto by Governors in community action programs. But it retained the Governor's veto for VISTA and the Job Corps. It was adopted by a close vote of 8 to 7 in committee and incorporated in the bill. That is what the bill now before us provides.

My amendment proposes to insert into the bill a provision which allows a veto of community action programs by the Governor, but the Governor, having vetoed, may be overruled by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity after public hearing. That is the second choice available to the Senate, which is incorporated in my amendment.

The third choice available to the Senate is to restore the original provisions of the act, which provides a Governor's veto of community action programs, by striking out the provision in the bill relating to that subject. That choice will be proposed in an amendment by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN]. So the Senate will have before it an opportunity to vote to retain the system now in the law. The first vote will be on this question.

On the second vote, Senators will have a choice to adopt what I recommend, namely, allowing the Governor to veto, but permitting him to be overruled by the Director, after a public hearing.

The third choice, which is presented if both amendments are rejected, is to vote to end the veto on community action programs altogether. That provision has been reported by a one-vote margin by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Let me point out what the House did. This is very important. The House adopted my plan of allowing the Governor to veto, but giving the Director power to overrule the veto, but it did not provide for a public hearing before the Director could do so. The only change I have made in the House provision—or compromise, if we may call it that—is to include provision for a public hearing. Other than that, there is no change.

So, for all practical purposes, it can be said that I am offering the Senate an opportunity to vote on the House provision; the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] is offering the Senate what is in the bill before the Senate, striking out the veto provision altogether in com-

munity action programs; and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] will offer the Senate the choice of restoring to the bill what is now in the law.

To say a word on the merits, it seems to me that there is something of a dilemma in Federal-State relations that makes such programs as this vulnerable. It is fair to say to Senators of judgment on both sides of the aisle that, because of the possibility of political influence, corruption, money waste, and inept administration, probably the range of peril to this program is as great as or greater than any domestic program which we have. Therefore, it seems to me the lines between the State and Federal Governments should in this area be respected.

A strong argument has been made on the question of the authority of the Office of Economic Opportunity as against an absolute Governor's veto. The argument has not been based upon the proposition that the Governor's veto power has actually been overused. In fact, the veto power has not been overused. Vetoes occurred only in Texas, Alabama, Florida, and Montana in the first year of the program. I would not consider that an overuse, considering the number of projects started, which the Director testified was approximately 5,000.

What the administration objects to most is that in some places the threat of the Governor's veto is constantly raised; that it is used as a basis for demanding that a particular program be shaped in a certain way; so that the Governor really shapes the program, rather than the Director of OEO or the applicant agencies; so that the Governor does not have to veto in order to control the program in his State. The essence of the argument is that permitting this to continue would depress the range, nature, and size of the community action programs which are established in a number of States. The Governor does not have to use the veto; the mere existence of the power to use it is enough. That is what the administration argues.

In an effort to resolve that dilemma and in an effort to deal with the incubus of a Governor's complete power to veto, taking into consideration State policies and attitudes which perhaps might be more conservative than otherwise, I have opposed the provision of an inflexible Governor's veto. I was regretful and rather rueful that last year, in the original antipoverty bill, the Director did not adopt a proposal I made on that score. In my opinion, he unwisely rejected it. The result was that the bill as passed provided for an absolute veto, and the Director could do nothing about it until the act came back before the Congress.

The amendment I have proposed is a compromise between those who say, "Do not worry about the Governors, because OEO consults with them," and those who say the Governor must have an absolute veto. Under my amendment the Governor can risk political damage by a veto.

When a Governor vetoes a program, the Director can override the veto after a public hearing, which insures that the matter will be put in the public domain. I believe that would result in a salutary kind of action. I do not believe we ought to provide for an absolutely inflexible veto power by a Governor.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. CASE. The Senator's solution to this vexing problem has seemed to me to be a very sound one. I have heard the argument that it will likely work when we are dealing with weak Governors, but in the case of intransigent Governors, such as Governor Connally, of Texas, it is not likely to be successful and the veto will have to be overridden.

I wish the Senator would comment on that point.

Mr. JAVITS. It depends on the strength of the Director. If we have a strong Director in Washington who is not afraid to take on a governor in the public domain, he would have the power to handle it. If we have a weak Director, he should be fired if he does not feel convinced enough about the program to overrule an unjustified veto by a State Governor.

Therefore, I believe that the proposal would be effective, assuming that we have a degree of determination on both sides which is relatively equal. If we do not have that degree of determination in the Federal Establishment, we had better soon find out about it.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. There has been a recent meeting of the Governors. In their conference, approval was expressed on their part with only one abstention, which happened to be my Governor. In trying to find out the reason for his abstention, we find that the program is in such a confused state in California—the No. 1 State of the Union—that the Governor would rather not be involved in having to make decisions. This is the only reason I could get for his vote. This is indicative of the condition which exists, I believe.

Let me say to the Senator from New York that it is extremely important that the Governors be responsible to the people within their States. They should have a great deal to say about programs taking place within their States.

Mr. JAVITS. I appreciate very much the comments of the Senator from California. Let me point out to the Senate that naturally—and I do not use that word "naturally" invidiously—the Governors wish the veto retained exactly as it is in the law. If Governors could vote in the Senate today, they would vote to sustain the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] and keep the veto as it is at present.

I refer to the fact that they adopted the resolution, as the Senator from California has just stated, at their Minneapolis, Minn., meeting, to that effect. I

am sure that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] will, in the course of his argument, wish to put that resolution into the RECORD.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I realize that the Senator from New York is trying to find some ground to satisfy the various elements, but it seems to me that if his amendment prevails, if there is a strong administrator, as he suggests, it makes a complete nullity of the so-called Governor's authority.

If there is a strong administrator, he is a strong bureaucrat. As such, history shows that he will override local interests in the interests of bureaucratic authority in Washington.

I cannot say that the Senator's amendment does anything except go through another round of motions. The last word lies in the administrator, if, for various reasons, sometimes obscure and sometimes plain, he is determined to put a great deal of money into a program in a State and goes right ahead to do it, regardless of what the Governor would say.

I therefore very much favor the Governor's veto in his own State, because I know of States where it is felt that a program is absolutely foolish and wasteful, and is not being properly directed, and for that reason the Governors feel that their influence must result in a proper application.

Mr. JAVITS. Let me say to the Senator from Iowa that I cannot endeavor to persuade him from his conviction with respect to the power of the Governor. I would not try to do that, but I can answer for my amendment.

I believe that no matter how strong a personality the Director may be, the requirement of a public hearing and the fact that a State Governor's veto would have to be overridden are in our society and the way we operate, a very effective sanction. I do not believe that we are likely to get a Director any stronger minded than the President of the United States; yet we know very well that, exposed to public feelings upon a given subject, even the President of the United States has, on occasion, given ground, and will again do so.

Therefore, I believe that the sanction which I have included, which allows the Governor to veto and affords a public hearing, enables a case to be made—the way we are organized in this country—so that it would be tough for even the strongest administrator to fly in the face of the veto, unless he has a very good case. Anyone can be arbitrary, but, generally, if he is, an administrator does not last very long in Washington, or he finds many other things happening to him—such as what Appropriations Committees can do to him, what speeches made in the House and Senate can do to him—which can make life miserable.

The Senator from Iowa has had great experience in government. It seems to me that we have a mighty strong case if the Director is going to use his naked

power to override a Governor's veto after a good case for that veto has been made in public hearings.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. We have all seen many examples of powerful, sensible, and logical arguments being used against a proposal which is considered to be indefensible; yet a bureaucrat will override it and put it into effect, anyway. Those examples are numerous. It is often one of the characteristics of bureaucracy.

So far as I am concerned, I believe that we should be thinking more about permitting the people to manage their own affairs in their home areas, rather than from a remote spot in Washington. For that reason, I favor the Governor's veto being retained, as it is now.

Mr. JAVITS. One of the things which is troublesome about the existing tight Governors' veto provision, along the lines the Senator has been discussing, is that Governors—including the Governor of my own State—have been kept in the dark about programs until the programs were all completed and suddenly announced in Washington and then were submitted to them for approval within 30 days. Then the Governors had the very sad responsibility of either taking an entire program or leaving it, in the face of built-up public opinion within their States.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. We have already had some experience along that line in my State. We have had busy people running around the State of Iowa searching for pockets of poverty. I have talked with some citizens in a certain county in Iowa, and they told me that those busy people had discovered a pocket of poverty in the county, that they had found a substantial number of people in the county who were poverty stricken.

This county happens to be one of the highest agricultural income counties in the State. When the people of that county found out about it, they expressed great surprise. They said, "If this is poverty, we certainly enjoy it, because we have been living 'high on the hog' here, and we did not know that we were poverty-stricken people."

Nonetheless, the Administrator says, "You are a poverty-stricken county and, therefore, we are coming in to pour money into your county." The people were astounded, because this was the first they had ever thought that they were living in a poverty-stricken area.

That is a characteristic of a bureaucracy. They have to have something to do to spend their money. They have to have something to do to carry out their programs. That is why I would prefer that the Governors have their veto. Even if they do not exercise their veto power, abuses may occur from time to time in various States.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. I shall not detain the Senate much longer, but I should like to point out where the veto has been used in this past year. It has, to my knowledge, been used only four times.

It was used in Texas to veto a 30-county neighborhood youth corps rural project. It was used in Alabama to veto a community action program for Birmingham. It was used in Florida to veto a Head Start program for preschool children in Miami. It was used in Montana to veto a rural neighborhood youth corps project.

Mr. President, in conclusion, I lay before the Senate the fact that my amendment provides an opportunity for a fair compromise, going as far as we can to sustain the authority of the Governors in the States, and to put the Director of the antipoverty program to his proof, without giving the Governor the absolute power of life and death over community action programs. That is the main point of the proposal: enabling the United States to carry out some responsibility toward poverty within each State, if the case is strong enough, not only to convince the Director, but to stand up under the scrutiny of public opinion, which will come about through the public hearing provided for in my amendment.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the majority of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee voted to eliminate the Governor's veto from the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Community Action and Adult Basic Education programs. You will recall that the veto was adopted on the floor of the Senate during the debate last year after several votes on various proposals to provide for review by the Governors. These votes were by narrow margins and indicated the careful consideration given the issue and the extreme division on the various proposals.

Some of the fears and arguments expressed then were the subject of extended discussion in committee when the action of last year was reversed. Specifically, the committee was concerned about the arbitrary use of the veto by some Governors to kill meritorious programs. Although the number of vetoes was small, I believe four, it was felt the threat of veto was used to alter programs to suit the taste of the State Governor in more cases. As we pointed out in the committee report, the veto gives the Governor discretion over local programs and affairs over which, under State law, he normally has no direct control and for which he is not directly responsible.

Since the Federal law prescribes no criteria, his discretion is unquestionable. Further, and most important, the veto power is without precedent in any Federal program where Federal assistance is given to a local community. A few examples of Federal programs dealing directly with municipality are: Community facilities, urban renewal, public housing, Federal aid to airports, and the impacted education aid program.

Mr. President, I submit that the Governor has no veto power over these programs, which are similar in nature, and the Governor should not have the veto power under the bill before us today.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. It is a fact, is it not, that the amendment which is in the bill

was carried in committee by a vote of 8 to 7?

Mr. McNAMARA. I believe that was the vote in committee.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

AMENDMENT NO. 391

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 391, and offer it as a substitute for the pending Javits amendment No. 387.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 20, strike out lines 1 to 4, inclusive. Renumber sections 16 to 31 as 15 to 30, respectively.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following Senators be listed as cosponsors of the amendment: CARLSON, DOMINICK, HRUSKA, JORDAN of Idaho, MURPHY, PROUTY, PEARSON, COTTON, SCOTT, LAUSCHE, DIRKSEN, SALTONSTALL, TOWER, MILLER, THURMOND, and HOLLAND.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I should like to join the Senator as a cosponsor.

Mr. FANNIN. And also the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FANNIN. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, this is a simple amendment, to restore the language of section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act to its original form as enacted by Congress last year.

I shall make only a short statement at this time. I consider it a highly important amendment. It has the almost unanimous support of the Governors' Conference.

Section 209(c) gave the Governors of the States a veto power over community action, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and adult basic education programs proposed by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The language of the bill as amended and passed by the House last month virtually wiped out this veto authority by giving the OEO Director power to override any veto after review. Obviously, this would give the Governors only a limited power of veto at best.

Unfortunately, however, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has gone even further. Over minority objection, the committee has recommended language which completely eliminates any vestige of the veto authority granted to the Governors in the existing law. They could not even force a review or delay of any project proposed in their States.

The mere presence of the veto power in the act—even if it is never used—assures that the views and experienced counsel of the respective Governors will be considered in the planning of such projects. This is as it should be.

Without the ultimate power of the veto, there is not even a semblance of State participation or cooperation provided for in the law. Even if a proposed community action or Neighborhood Youth Corps project were clearly unsound, a Governor would be powerless to stop it unless this amendment is adopted.

The record of the antipoverty campaign is already bulging with shocking examples of waste and confusion resulting from ill-conceived projects that were begun in haste without proper consultation with State authorities. If ever there was a Federal program that needed tightening up, this is surely one.

Many of my colleagues, like myself, have had the privilege of serving as Governors of their States in the past. I know they will agree with me that their offices had more comprehensive knowledge of what was going on in their States than did the newly established offices in Washington.

The Governor of a State, after all, is elected to represent all of the people of that State. He is the chief executive and administrative official who is held responsible for the conduct and administration of the State's business. And, in that role, the Governor is quite obviously the one person who is best equipped to serve as the liaison between the Federal Government and the people in a joint effort against poverty.

A Governor's knowledge and judgment of his own State's conditions and people cannot help but be more accurate and timely than that of a Federal administrator.

Mr. President, I can testify from personal experience that this arrangement worked quite well. During my service as Governor I had occasions to make suggestions about the antipoverty program in our State to the director of the OEO which he accepted. Likewise, the director counseled with me about project planning and advanced his views. This interchange was beneficial for the program.

Since I had a veto power, I noted that the Director abided by my suggestions. Without that veto power, I am not sure what would have happened.

At this point, let me make it clear that the veto power of the Governors over Job Corps or VISTA programs is not disturbed by this amendment or by the committee's version of the bill. These two major aspects of the antipoverty program are contained in other sections of the act, and the existing veto authority remains.

Some fear has been expressed that the veto power of the Governors provided in the existing law and which my amendment would maintain is too arbitrary and far reaching. It has been suggested, for example, that it opens the way for a Governor to block any poverty project for petty, personal, or political reasons.

This is a ridiculous and unjustified

argument that demeans the integrity of all 50 Governors of our States. It is refuted by the record.

The veto power in this section of the act has been exercised on only four occasions since the entire antipoverty program began. And in each case, clear and cogent reasons were advanced by the Governors to justify their action.

Mr. President, the record is clear and available in each of these actions none of these vetoes would appear to have been dictated by any reasons other than a desire for proper administration and a justified concern over administrative costs.

Without going any further into this particular matter, let me say merely that I am prepared to accept the reasoning of the three Governors in each instance, rather than any politically motivated attacks upon them from partisan quarters.

As for the Governors themselves, the Senate surely is aware that the National Governors Conference, which met last month in Minneapolis, adopted a resolution urging the Congress to preserve the veto power in the current law.

This resolution was personally endorsed by virtually every Governor in the Union, and since it expressed very well their feeling on this subject, I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of the resolution appear at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

Whereas under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, although a number of antipoverty programs and projects bypass the State level, a substantial portion of such programs and projects require clearance through a Governor's office and are subject to the Governor's veto; and

Whereas the gubernatorial clearance and power to veto provide a measure of coordination and orderliness in the administration of those programs to which they apply; and

Whereas, with respect to those programs and projects not requiring clearance through a Governor's office and not subject to his veto, negotiations and contracts are between the Office of Economic Opportunity or a delegate Federal agency and the local applicant, which may be a nongovernmental agency, thus producing conditions of chaos; and

Whereas legislation has been approved by the U.S. House of Representatives to permit the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to override a Governor's veto disapproving a program or project to be undertaken in his State by any public agency or private organization with respect to the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, the community action program and the adult basic education program, to all of which programs the veto presently applies, if, in the opinion of the Director, the application for the program is consistent with the laws and would further the purposes of the act: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Governors' Conference express its firm opposition to any diminution of the power of a Governor to veto proposed projects and programs under the Economic Opportunity Act and respectfully request the Congress to preserve intact the relevant provisions of the current law; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to all Members of Congress.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, finally I wish to emphasize that this is truly a bipartisan and nonpolitical issue, as evidenced by the fact that distinguished Senators on both side of the aisle support and are cosponsors of the amendment. I am informed that not a single Governor spoke against the resolution adopted at their national conference. I hardly need point out that there were more Governors of the opposition party represented at that conference than there were Governors of my party.

The amendment is offered in an honest and sincere attempt to improve the administration and results of the antipoverty program. It has no other purpose. I urge adoption of the amendment.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FANNIN. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I commend the Senator for the action which he has taken. What his amendment would do would be to leave the law as it now is. Is that correct?

Mr. FANNIN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The Senator has been the Governor of a State, as I have been Governor of a State. The Governor of a State ought to have an opportunity to determine whether or not a Federal agency should come forward with a plan of which the Governor might entirely disapprove, or a program that he believes from his knowledge of the community and the other services in the community and all that goes with it should be disapproved. The Governor has a better knowledge of his community than a man working out of a Washington office, or even working out of a regional office, could possibly have.

The Senator is trying to give the Governor a veto power over something that has been proposed from without the State.

Mr. FANNIN. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts is correct. I observed that during my term of office since the poverty program has been in effect.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Am I not correct in saying that up to the present time the veto power has been exercised only four times?

Mr. FANNIN. The Senator is correct. I have also observed the work that has been done by the departments under the Government in assisting the community programs, so it would be highly essential that the veto be retained.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one further question?

Mr. FANNIN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. As I understand the various parts of the act, the veto power would apply to 1(b) of the act, the work training program; 2(a), the community action program; and 2(b), the adult basic education program. Am I correct in that statement?

Mr. FANNIN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The veto would not apply to the other programs, including the Job Corps program and the study program.

Mr. FANNIN. That is correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. It would not apply to loans to migrant workers. Am I correct in that statement?

Mr. FANNIN. The Senator is right in his assumption.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Fundamentally, what the Senator is saying is that the Governor should have a veto power over programs of a work training character in his State, or a community action program which might be instigated in other ways by other actions in the community, and also in relation to the adult basic education program, which might involve a great many agencies of the State.

Mr. FANNIN. The Senator is correct. I thank the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts for pointing that out.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I sincerely hope, in the interest of what I believe to be good legislation, that if we are to maintain the integrity of our State governments, if we are to give the Governors of our 50 States an opportunity to have some responsibility—and we are taking away a great deal of their responsibility—we should give them some power of determination for what will take place in their States and for which they must raise money and pay.

The States will be required to administer these programs from a police point of view and from every other point of view. We should give the Governors of the States an opportunity to veto programs. As I have said, programs have been vetoed only four times in the first year of the operation of the act.

Mr. FANNIN. I wholeheartedly agree with the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, and I thank him for bringing these points to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FANNIN. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator mentioned the Governors' conference recently held in Minneapolis, and pointed out that a vote was taken on the issue. The result of the vote showed unanimous support for the maintenance of the power of the Governors to veto programs, with the exception of one dissenting vote. Is that correct?

Mr. FANNIN. The Senator is correct. The distinguished Senator from Ohio has brought out that point previously.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I have had my staff assistant call the State Council of Governors in Washington to ask what the political complexion of the 50 State Governors is. We discussed that subject yesterday.

No answer was given to it. The girl at the office of the Council of State Governors tabulated the names of the various Governors, and reported that there are 17 Republican Governors and 33 Democratic Governors.

Mr. FANNIN. That is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. To me that ratio seems greatly significant in disproving the argument that the Governors will play politics with this subject. Those who charge the Governors with politics, and who are opposing the right to veto, are condemning members of their own party.

Mr. FANNIN. I overwhelmingly agree with the distinguished Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I repeat that there are 33 Governors of Democratic political conviction and 17 of Republican.

The Senator from Arizona expressed the thought that with the power to veto, there is created a situation in which compromises can be reached. Am I correct in that statement?

Mr. FANNIN. The Senator is correct. I wholeheartedly agree.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator pointed out that he spoke to the Administrator about programs proposed for his State. Out of those discussions came a compromise. My question is, What would be the situation if the power of the Governor to veto were removed?

Mr. FANNIN. I believe it would cause the program to deteriorate, because, as I stated before, not only can the Governor use his knowledge, but in most instances he has a staff working with communities and is in a position through the staff and the departments of the State government to work with the communities advantageously.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Would it not result in arbitrary power being placed in the administrator of the Economic Opportunity Act and completely divest the Governor of the right to have anything to say?

Mr. FANNIN. I believe it would. It would be a duplication of activity that is not needed and is not essential.

I believe it would be extremely helpful to the communities to permit the Governor to retain a veto power and to have the departments and their personnel assist him.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator from Arizona, a former Governor of his State, has been in politics for some time. I observe in the Chamber former Governor SALTONSTALL and former Governor AIKEN—and I might say that former Governor LAUSCHE is present.

I pose this question:

If a Governor is seeking the good will of the people, wanting to be reelected, is it reasonable to infer that he will veto a program having attributes of goodness, in which Federal money will come into the State?

No one can convince me that a Governor would politically be so shallow or so devoid of conscience as to veto a program unless he deeply believed in its soundness.

Mr. FANNIN. That is a logical conclusion. I wholeheartedly agree with the Senator.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] just mentioned that it could be argued that a Governor might veto for political purposes a program which would be of benefit to the people. What political purposes? How would it benefit him? It would bring defeat to him at the next election.

I wholeheartedly support the amendment of the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. FANNIN. I thank the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] for his enlightening remarks on this subject.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FANNIN. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. MURPHY. I have just received a telegram from a man who is not a Governor, although he has been mentioned as a possible candidate for Governor of my State of California. I refer to the mayor of the city of Los Angeles, the Honorable Sam Yorty. Mayor Yorty has asked that I read this telegram into the RECORD.

There is no Member of the Senate who does not feel that the stated purposes of this program are not good purposes. I have heard no member of the committee say at any time that he thought the program was bad. The proceedings before the congressional committee and the debate have concerned method. It is a reason to which the people are sensitive.

In my city of Los Angeles the entire program is a mess—a frightful mess. Many other cities face the same problem. San Francisco had the same experience.

One of the essential points was covered in the earlier proposal by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK].

Perhaps we want to know that the program is mature before we authorize more money to be spent. Yet the bill provides a sizable amount of taxpayers' dollars, and there are many objections across the country that the money already authorized is not going into the program, but to the people who will administer the program. I know of no business in this Nation that would double experimentation funds until the initial expenditures' effectiveness have been evaluated.

I have a list of salaries that is shocking. Also, we find the names of persons selected. They are not being screened. Yet it is imperative that we know the background of people using public funds.

I shall read to the Senate the telegram from Mayor Sam Yorty:

Senator GEORGE MURPHY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

One of the riot inciting factors is the deliberate and well publicized cutting off of poverty funds to this city pending our efforts to reorganize the Youth Opportunities Board to meet the chameleonic OEO criteria.

I was told the OEO criteria had been changed there almost on a weekly basis. For 2 months the Director was asked to visit Los Angeles, and after 2 months one of his assistants visited that city.

I continue to read:

Other cities have not been subjected to such strong-arm tactics. Regularly constituted authority here has been bypassed, been a reckless effort to incite the poor for abused, and misrepresented. There has been a reckless effort to incite the poor for political purposes. The funds cut off from the poor in this area are our tax funds. Please demand that Shriver process our program and release our funds while we reorganize. There is no excuse for continuing the inciting tactic of trying to publicly strong arm us into complete submission to Federal whims which are confusing, changing, and arbitrary. The city of Los Angeles, county of Los Angeles, and city and county school systems have endeavored together to meet arbitrary Federal criteria and are in agreement. If funds not provided at once

for our program, I should like to suggest a Senate inquiry. The so-called ad hoc congressional hearing by HAWKINS and ROOSEVELT was just a phase of the strong-arm tactics employed against us. It had no legitimate purpose.

SAM YORTY,
Mayor.

It was at the request of Mayor Yorty that I read the telegram into the RECORD.

Although Sam Yorty is not the present Governor of California, he may well be in the near future. He has been mentioned as a candidate.

He has given an example of the feeling in the community and the State. It is the feeling that the States are being bypassed.

I associate myself with the Senator from Arizona and recommend the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. FANNIN. I thank the Senator from California.

I yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, yesterday in my discussion of the bill I stated that I had learned by hearsay that a part of the problem involved in the weekend riot in Los Angeles had been generated by activities of this nature in the program. I was talking about comments that had been made prior to that time about endeavors to incite the poor to storm city hall, and activities of that kind.

Do I correctly understand that this telegram is a part of that process or a part of the documentary proof with respect to what I have just said?

Mr. MURPHY. The junior Senator from California returned only this morning from California, where he met with the mayor of Los Angeles, the chief of police of Los Angeles, and supervisors of the city. They all agreed that a part of the problem was the result of a contest within the political group, as stated, and that a tug of war has been going on, which had a very bad reflection and which, in my judgment, had something to do with triggering off the trouble.

Mr. DOMINICK. I could not be more upset than anybody else about the terrible situation that exists in California. I know how dedicated are the Senator's efforts to assist in alleviating the condition.

It seems to me that the mayor's telegram and the evidence contained in the minority views and the additional views by the former Governor of Arizona, Senator FANNIN, are a strong indication of the need for some State and local responsibility, so that the State authorities would be able to have some voice in the direction of these programs. The only weapon available in the present bill is the Governor's right of veto.

I strongly support the amendment and hope that it will be adopted.

Mr. FANNIN. I thank the Senator from Colorado. I agree with what he has said. I believe it is most important that the veto power be retained.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FANNIN. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] has mentioned the Governors' conference.

I should like to quote from a statement by Governor King, of New Hampshire, a Democrat, who said:

Authority of Governors to veto projects under the act is essential to avoid duplications of State programs and local misunderstandings. Existence of veto power has already made it possible to tailor projects to specific needs of New Hampshire.

Governor Smylie, of Idaho, a Republican, and the chairman of the Conference of Republican Governors, voiced the same concern when he said:

Extreme action such as this (deleting veto power) would seriously jeopardize the orderly progress of the entire program and result in chaos and confusion in those States and communities where local efforts are already underway or meeting the needs.

I merely supplement what the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Arizona have said about their feeling concerning the Democratic and Republican Governors on the subject.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I appreciate the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, it would seem obvious to me that this is one of the most important and one of the largest undertakings ever attempted. Rather than excluding the help, guidance, and the local knowledge which could and properly should be provided by the Governors, we find ourselves engaged in an attempt to exclude them completely and make the action directly subject to a man who has been appointed to a job, a man whose background in the job, I believe, leaves a great deal to be desired.

When he was questioned before the committee, his answers were very glib. However, I found most of them unsatisfactory. I was told that I was out of touch with what was going on in my area, that conditions were settled, and everything was arranged. I found 3 weeks later that that was not the case.

I recall when the Senator from New York mentioned the problem of the package that was handed to the Governor of New York. The Governor had to veto the whole thing or accept nothing.

I should think that it would be sensible if the director of the program were to welcome the help of the Governors.

Certainly there would be 2, 3, or 4 with whom he might not agree completely. However, in a sense of mutual trust and respect, and working for the mutual benefit of the people involved, and not for any political purposes, I believe that the program would get started a lot faster and accomplish its purpose much quicker.

Mr. FANNIN. I thank the Senator from California for his statement.

PROPOSED UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the concurrence and interest of both sides, I should like to make a unanimous-consent request that there be a time limitation of 40 minutes on this particular amendment, the amendment of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the time to be equally divided, 20 minutes to each side.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I shall not ob-

ject if it is understood that, if I shall require more time than 20 minutes, additional time will be available to me.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It will be.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I should also like to have the additional understanding that there will be a live quorum before the vote, and that the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] will be recognized by the Chair for a brief period in order to explain what his amendment is for the benefit of Senators who may be absent now.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I believe that, after the live quorum, each side should be allowed 3 minutes within which to explain its position.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with the understanding that this is agreeable, I should like to withhold the request temporarily.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in order to clear the record, since I understand that the Parliamentarian has a problem, I ask to withdraw my amendment for the moment and to reinstate it once the vote has been completed on the Fannin amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. FANNIN. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the Senator from Arizona will yield, I make the same unanimous-consent request, with the additions proposed by the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], and the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will be 20 minutes to the side on the pending amendment, with 3 minutes to each side following a live quorum.

Is there objection? None is heard, and it is so ordered.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the time will be under the control of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], or whomever they may designate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Arizona is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I bring to the attention of Senators, many of whom are supporting the measure, that this amendment would merely preserve the existing law. The amendment is not complicated. I feel that, without it, a

great deal of trouble could occur within a State if a Governor did not have the opportunity to use his facilities and to work with the director on the same basis as he has done so in the past.

When I refer to the past, I refer to the limited number of occasions on which the Governor has disagreed and vetoed a program. I know, from my personal experience with the program, that when there was any question, I had the opportunity to send representatives to a community to determine just what was involved in the particular project in order that I could discuss it with the director.

It was very beneficial to me to have this opportunity and privilege. Without that provision, it would have been difficult for me to have had the same relationship with the director. The director at all times recognized that I would have authority to veto in that case. He was willing to cooperate.

As I said before, I could not estimate what his cooperation would have been without that provision. However, I can certainly assume that it would not have been as good, or that the problem would not have been as easily handled as it was with the provision included in the measure as it now exists in law.

Mr. President, I feel that this is an essential amendment, and that it has been proved to be essential by the support that has been given it.

I ask support for my amendment.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FANNIN. I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. I compliment the distinguished Senator—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator must yield himself additional time. The time he yielded to himself has expired.

Mr. FANNIN. I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. HOLLAND. I compliment the distinguished Senator for his action. I know it is in style now to downgrade the States, but I do not agree with that approach. In this great national effort which is underway, regardless of the wisdom or the unwisdom of it, the Governors and the States have a distinct part to play. We shall make better progress by regarding this program as a matter in which the States have a vital interest and in which the Governors should participate. The results will be much better if the Governors are kept in the picture. They know their people and the problems of their people.

As I remember, the Senate last year approved, by a vote of 80 to 7, putting the Governors into the picture, and I have heard nothing since then that justifies a departure from that philosophy.

Mr. FANNIN. I thank the Senator from Florida for his remarks. He is correct in his statement. I feel it would be detrimental if this right were not preserved.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

I have already responded to the proposal for a Governor's veto. I call attention at this point to the report of the committee that accompanies the proposed legislation. There is a detailed section in the report objecting to the position of the Senator from Arizona. It starts on page 11 and continues to pages 12 and 13 of the report. I read a part of the report:

The chief problem to date appears to revolve around the Governor's unlimited power to veto programs and projects under title I-B and title II-A.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield myself 1 additional minute.

To continue reading:

These both involve assistance to local programs planned and developed by local agencies. The absolute veto as applied to these programs gives the Governor discretion over local programs and affairs over which, under State law, he normally has no direct control and for which he is not directly responsible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yieldst time?

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I have no requests for time.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 10 minutes?

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, last year the Senate Labor Committee recommended to the Senate that the Governors not be allowed to veto locally initiated and sponsored antipoverty projects in Neighborhood Youth Corps, community action programs, and adult education. Unfortunately, the Senate failed to take that advice and in amendments added on the floor the Governors were given that veto power.

Since then, we have seen how unwise it was not to take the Labor Committee's advice. By giving the Governors veto power over these local projects, as the House report to this bill notes:

Congress conferred upon the Governors more power of control over a federally assisted program than the Governors enjoy with respect to State action of their own governments.

The veto given the Governors by floor amendment last year was absolute and irresponsible: absolute in that there was no way in which it could be overridden, irresponsible in that a Governor using it has to give no reason whatsoever for his decision. The irresponsible nature of the Governor's veto was underlined by the statement of Governor Babcock of Montana who this June vetoed a proposed Farmers Union Neighborhood Youth Corps project which would have provided summer jobs for 1,200 young people. In so doing, Governor Babcock stated:

My most important reason for denying approval is my belief that no private organization should be granted the authority to administer and spend Federal * * * funds.

In effect, Governor Babcock said that two of antipoverty program's five instruments for helping the impoverished, the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the community action program, shall not

operate in Montana because he disagrees with the way Congress chose to fight poverty.

The irresponsible use of the Governor's veto is going to grow more and more unless we cut it out now. So far, the Nation's various Governors who are not in sympathy with the poverty program have not all fully learned how to use the veto power which last year's bill granted them. However, those who have learned have used this power to threaten and coerce the directors of various community action and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs to tailor programs to meet their whims and to force the sponsors of the projects to take on as officers and directors their political friends while forcing anyone critical of the Governor out of the project. In my own State, for example, the Governor has used the threat of veto to force sponsors suggesting an hourly wage of \$1.25 to retreat to a wage of a dollar an hour. In other words, even when the citizens of a local community approved of paying what is the Federal minimum wage, the Governor used the threat of veto as a club to destroy local autonomy. The Governor of Texas is constitutionally denied this power in his normal relations with local communities.

Last year, some of my friends on the other side of the aisle suggested that this program would create a poverty czar. It seems that they were almost correct. The bill as it passed the Senate last year with the Governor's veto over local projects created 50 poverty czars, one in each State. These new czars are using their veto power in the poverty program to create the strongest political machines this Nation has ever seen. The old machines that ruled our large cities in the past will seem child's play in comparison. The veto power given the Governors over locally based and initiated programs is and will be, unless now taken away, used to crush every vestige of local control and local initiative. I think that every advocate of local governments will rejoice at this chance to remove this ill-considered tool.

This year the Labor Committee is again recommending that the Governors not be given the power to veto locally sponsored and initiated programs. The committee does not propose that the Governor's veto be totally abolished over all projects in the poverty program. The Governors will still retain veto power over the establishment of Job Corps centers and the assignment of VISTA volunteers in their States. Moreover, the Governors or the properly designated boards or officials will have de facto control over adult education programs since these are established with the cooperation of the State educational agency.

Your committee's recommendation is to abolish the Governor's veto over the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the community action program completely. The committee explicitly turned down the suggestion of the House to give the administrator of the poverty program a veto over the Governor's veto. This would put an appointed official into the position of having to veto judgments of powerful and highly political elected

officials. No director could stand the political heat that would be caused. In effect, I am afraid that the poverty director would have to back down and never veto a Governor's decision.

Mr. President, I urge that we take the advice of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee and not make the same mistake we did last year of adding an amendment on the floor giving the Governors veto power over locally initiated programs.

Our friends across the aisle forget to mention what the Democratic Members, who are in the majority, adopted in committee. They should give us credit for what we did. We voted to have the Hatch Act apply.

I call attention to page 20, section 17, in which we apply the Hatch Act to take the Poverty Corps out of politics.

I further call attention to the bottom of page 19 of the bill, a Republican-sponsored provision, which the majority of the committee adopted because we wanted it taken out of politics. The following language was added: "including, but not limited to, continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs."

So, to try to make the poverty program work, we wrote the Hatch Act into it.

Our friends on the other side proposed continuing the consultative powers.

But the Governor's veto does not belong in the program. We made the mistake last year of putting it in and we have found out it was a mistake. As both House and Senate reports note, what Congress has done in section 209(c)—that is the Governor's veto that we struck out in the committee—"is to confer upon the Governors more power of control over a federally assisted program than the Governors enjoy with respect to State action of their own governments."

The State constitutions do not give the State Governors this absolute power over a county or a city that they are given over these Neighborhood Youth Corps projects, community action projects, and adult education projects.

I quote further:

In some States the Governor has no veto at all, but there is no State where the Governor's veto of the legislative process cannot be overridden.

If this were State law, the State legislature could pass something over the Governor's veto, but the amendment of the Senator from Arizona gives the Governor an absolute veto, irrevocable and unappealable, and it cannot be overridden. No wonder the Governor of a State does not come in and say, "Take this away from us. We have something superior to the legislature, even Congress, even superior to the President of the United States."

In my State, for example, a program where the cost ratio was less than 10 percent was stricken down by the Governor with this absolute veto. The decision could in no way be appealed.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield.

Mr. GORE. Who were the beneficiaries of such arbitrary power, and who were the victims?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The victims were the youths of the area. I can think of no beneficiaries. I see none. It is arbitrary, absolute, uncontrolled power. I can think of no possible beneficiaries. The impoverished areas in Texas would have received enough money to give these children schooling without weakening the educational processes. Who could profit by it?

Furthermore, in my particular State, if a project were to pay a dollar an hour wage, the Governor has a separate and easier set of standards than if the project is to pay the minimum wage at a dollar and a quarter.

I appeal to the Senators across the aisle and remind them that we of the Democratic majority took their amendments applying the Hatch Act to the program, as well as provisions for continuing consultation with the appropriate agencies, to make this program work harmoniously. We took out, however, the arbitrary, absolute veto power. We greatly improved the bill, with the minorities' recommendations, because we wished to make it work.

I say in good faith that we should leave all three provisions in. If we are to give the Governor the veto power, other amendments should come out, too.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield further?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I yield.

Mr. GORE. If this is sound in principle, why should it not be extended to urban renewal?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Texas has expired—all 10 minutes.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask for 1 more minute to answer the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. GORE. If this principle is sound in principle, why should it not be extended to the urban renewal program, to housing, to community facilities, and to the accelerated public works programs?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The House report points out that this has never before been extended to any such Federal program.

I read from the report on page 12, paragraph 6;

The power that the Governor has under section 209(c) is without precedent in any Federal program where Federal assistance is given to a local community.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Texas has expired.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I yield 1 more minute to the Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I continue reading:

There are many such Federal programs where the Federal Government and the municipality deal directly: Community facilities, urban renewal, public housing, Federal aid to airports, the "impact education" aid program, to mention a few.

But, Mr. President, in none of these is the Governor given the veto power. This is without precedent in Federal law, as the House report states, as well as the Senate report.

In Federal-State relations, it introduces a new dimension in Federal-State relationships, cutting the Federal program into 50 segments.

Next summer, we shall see, with the fall elections approaching, 50 different areas and kinds of poverty programs, depending upon the whim of the Governor, completely uncontrolled and dependent upon his economic and social background and governmental predilections. There will be 50 autocracies instead of some kind of uniform system. It will not work. It will kill the program if it is not taken out.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] for the purpose of continuing this colloquy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Texas whether he is concerned, as I am concerned, that placing a veto in the poverty program would violate the basic spirit of the philosophy of the poverty program. At least with respect to those aspects of the poverty program which concern community action and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs.

Would not the Senator from Texas agree with me that this program was based upon a concept of local understanding, of local conditions and local initiatives? The whole concept should be preserved, and those who understand the local needs should have the authority to make the decisions on those matters which most directly reflect upon programs of the community. Is it not true that if we adopted the amendment of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] we would be frustrating the basic, philosophical approach of the poverty program?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. The Senator from Massachusetts is correct. This was a local-initiative program, a local self-help program, to get the people involved in their communities and, hopefully, to get the impoverished people themselves to go on the board, to teach themselves self-government, and to help any other programs work and succeed.

This is local self-government personified, but when we include the Governor's veto to kill this county program or that city program, we destroy local self-government. The Governor's veto in the bill is playing politics. It is not local self-government, as the Senator from Massachusetts has so ably pointed out.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. The Senator from Texas has commented on the nature of the veto. As I understand it, the fact is that in all States where the veto is exercised by the Governor, the legislature has the power to overrule the

veto. I am wondering whether the Senator from Texas could enlighten me as to whether there are any provisions in the poverty program for legislative overruling, if a Governor were to veto what would be considered a worthwhile program, or a local program? Would there be any opportunity for such veto to be scrutinized or overruled? It does not seem to me that there is any provision for this, and I should appreciate the comments of the Senator from Texas.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Under the amendment of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] there would be none. This would be stricken out. The Governor would be given uncontrolled veto power.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time of the Senator from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I yield 13 minutes to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in line with the agreement which has been entered into, I ask unanimous consent, with the consent of the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] that the 13 minutes yielded to the Senator from Vermont be extended to 20 minutes, with the additional 3 minutes remaining after the quorum call.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am grateful to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. President, the bill now before the Senate contains a provision that will set a new, and I am convinced, disastrous precedent in Federal-State relations. That is section 15 of H.R. 8283, which repeals section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act.

It is worthwhile, I think, to review the legislative history of section 209(c), which permits a Governor to veto a community action, adult basic education, or Neighborhood Youth Corps program in his State within 30 days after the proposal is submitted to him.

Prior to the consideration of the amendment which became eventually section 209(c) the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] proposed an amendment to include a similar provision with regard to the establishment of Job Corps camps under title I-A. The able Senator argued that the public authority of a State should have some say about whether the Federal Government could come in and establish in that State programs which in one way or another might prove inimical to the best interests of the State. There was practically no discussion of this proposal and it was accepted.

The following day the Senate had before it a proposal by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], which would have permitted a State to take over the administration of community action and migrant labor programs in that State if it so desired. If it did not so desire, the Office of Economic Opportunity could go ahead and put those programs into operation itself. In short, the State was given an option to act; if

the State was passive, the Federal Government could step in.

I then proposed a substitute amendment, limited to the community action program sections of the bill, title II-A. My amendment would have required the prior approval of the Governor before the OEO could initiate community action programs in the State. On a rollcall vote my substitute amendment was adopted by a vote of 45 to 44. A motion to reconsider was then made, and a motion to table the motion to reconsider. On this latter motion another rollcall was taken, and the motion to table failed by a tie vote of 45 to 45. Then, on the motion to reconsider, the Senate voted 46 to 45 to reopen discussion on my amendment. Subsequently my substitute amendment was defeated by a vote of 45 to 46.

Following this series of parliamentary maneuvers, Senator SMATHERS, whose 30-day veto provision with respect to the Job Corps had been adopted the previous day, offered another substitute to the Javits amendment. This substitute amendment contains substantially the present language of section 209(c), permitting a Governor to disapprove a proposed Neighborhood Youth Corps college work-study, community action, or adult basic education program proposed for his State, within 30 days of its submission to him. The Senate adopted the Smathers substitute by an overwhelming vote of 80 to 7.

The House made only one change in the language of section 209(c), broadening it to include State and local public agencies as well as private organizations within a State.

H.R. 8283 as passed by the House contains an amendment that so waters down section 209(c) as to make the Governor's participation virtually meaningless. That amendment says that whenever a Governor disapproves one of the programs, the Director of OEO may review the reasons for the disapproval. If, in the opinion of the Director the program is fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of the act he may, notwithstanding the objections of the Governor, proceed to put it into operation.

No Governor or representative of a Governor or Governor's association came before our committee to testify on the veto provisions. Mr. Shriver himself told the committee that he would take no position on the issue, and that he would prefer to let the Congress grapple with the matter. He did state, however, when pressed:

The existing veto provision, considered in the light of our overall experience, has occasioned few administrative difficulties. There is very little gubernatorial objection to what we are doing. In fact, I think we have had at least 5,000 instances by now where Governors could have vetoed what we were proposing to do. In fact, out of approximately 5,000 opportunities there have been only, so far as I now know, 2 vetoes.

In a later letter to me, dated July 26, Mr. Shriver listed four vetoes that had been cast as of that date.

Certainly by no stretch of the imagination can the Governors veto be considered a significant hindrance to the

operation of the war on poverty. The great majority of the Governors from whom I have had communications on this point—and I include both Democrats and Republicans—have expressed their very sincere willingness to make the programs of the war on poverty a success in their States. Many volunteered the statement that relations between their offices and the Office of Economic Opportunity were excellent, and that real progress was being made. Yet, almost to a man, the Governors of the 50 States are strongly opposed to any change in the existing law that would impair their power to prevent a project truly unsuitable for their State.

Simply put, Mr. President, existing law makes OEO the defendant and the Governor the judge.

The House language makes OEO both defendant and judge.

The Senate language now before us does away with the trial altogether.

Last year 92 percent of those Senators voting on this question voted in favor of the Governor's veto. After a year of operation, the Office of Economic Opportunity says it has had few administrative difficulties with this provision. The Office of Economic Opportunity has not advocated a change. The President of the United States has not advocated a change. The Governors of the States have not only not advocated a change, but are strongly and outspokenly opposed to a change. But now, in the bill before us, the veto provisions are not merely changed, but annihilated. I raise—but do not attempt to answer—the question, Whose interest, in the light of these facts, would the Congress be serving by striking the Governor's veto from this act?

I hope I may have the attention of the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH].

In the vast majority of Federal grant programs leaving aside educational assistance to individuals such as scholarships and fellowships, the States have an absolute veto. They exercise the veto by merely refusing to submit a State plan. To name a few, this is true of the Vocational Education Act of 1963, title I of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Library Facilities Act, the Federal Highway Acts dating back to 1944, and titles I, II, and V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

In certain other programs the Federal Government makes grants directly to local public bodies. Usually there are grants for construction of physical facilities, as in the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963, the Federal Airport Acts dating back to 1946, and the Taft-Wagner-Elender Housing Act of 1949. In one recent case the grant is for education—under title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. In each case here the State governments are bypassed, but the grants are made to local public agencies, which are ultimately under the control of the State government. A provision of the Federal Airport

Act (49 U.S.C. 1108) recognizes ultimate State control by providing that "nothing in this chapter shall authorize the submission of a project application by any municipality or other public agency which is subject to the law of any State, if the submission of such project application by such municipality or other public agency is prohibited by the law of such State."

In certain cases the Federal Government makes grants directly to nonpublic organizations, such as hospitals and colleges, for research or the construction of facilities. Examples of this include title II of the Higher Education Facilities Act and the Hill-Burton Hospital Act.

And then, there are Federal grant programs that provide funds for local, public or private organizations, subject to a veto by the Governor of the State. Section 102 of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, for example, provides that "loans to State and local public agencies—for land conservation and utilization—shall be made only if such plans have been submitted to, and not disapproved within 45 days by, the State agency having supervisory responsibility over such plans, or by the Governor if there is no such State agency." In this category, of course, come the programs covered by section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

From a perusal of these various types of Federal aid programs two relevant conclusions can be drawn:

First. Federal grants that bypass State governments are in the great majority of cases made to local public agencies, ultimately subject to control by the State.

Second. Federal grants that bypass both State and local public agencies, and pay or lend funds directly to nonpublic institutions or organizations, are, so far as I have been able to determine, limited to bricks and mortar construction programs, or to academic research programs. I know of no Federal grant program to local private organizations or institutions for other than these two purposes, which is not subject to public control at the State or local level.

Now what has all this to do with the Governors veto in the poverty bill? The point is this: in no other program does the Federal Government come into a State to mobilize local people, as in the community action programs.

In no other program that I am aware of does the Federal Government come into a State and give money to a private organization to hire young people, as in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program.

This is not the same as the Federal Government coming into a State with education research funds or housing construction funds or airport construction funds.

Should not a Governor have some opportunity to intervene when Federal authorities seek to provide a job program operated by a quasi-political organization in that State? I think, Mr. President, the answers are clearly, "Yes." I believe the Senate owes it to the people of this Nation to continue an effective check on these programs at the State level, by striking section 15 from the bill.

I very much hope that the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] will be adopted, because basic to it is the question of States rights and precedents over a long period of time.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, how much time have I remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 9 minutes remaining before the quorum call.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, preservation of the existing law would retain the Governors solidly behind the program.

It is important that they have such an interest in it and that they be willing to accept their responsibilities. In many States staffs have been set up by the Governors to coordinate the programs. This provides a means of assisting, without duplication in costs, programs so essential to the communities of the States of our Nation. If that privilege of the Governors is removed, would it mean the loss of a great deal of assistance and aid. In addition the responsibility of the Governors would not be as it is today. I realize that the Governors might still be able to counsel. They might still be able to participate in a minor way. But their participation would be very limited and particularly when compared with the system which is now in existence.

I am sure that upon reflection Senators will realize what is involved in the preservation of the existing law. Mr. President, I appeal to the Senate to support the amendment.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. I hope attachés will notify Senators to the effect that it will be a live quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 213 Leg.]

Alken	Hartke	Mundt
Allott	Hayden	Murphy
Anderson	Hickenlooper	Muskie
Bartlett	Hill	Nelson
Bass	Holland	Neuberger
Bayh	Hruska	Pastore
Bennett	Inouye	Pearson
Bible	Jackson	Pell
Boggs	Javits	Prouty
Brewster	Jordan, N.C.	Proxmire
Burdick	Jordan, Idaho	Randolph
Byrd, W. Va.	Kennedy, Mass.	Ribicoff
Cannon	Kennedy, N.Y.	Robertson
Carlson	Kuchel	Russell, Ga.
Case	Lausche	Russell, S.C.
Cooper	Long, Mo.	Saltonstall
Cotton	Long, La.	Scott
Curtis	Magnuson	Simpson
Dirksen	Mansfield	Smathers
Dominick	McClellan	Smith
Douglas	McGovern	Stennis
Eastland	McIntyre	Symington
Ellender	McNamara	Talmadge
Ervin	Metcalf	Thurmond
Fannin	Miller	Tower
Fong	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Fulbright	Monroney	Williams, Del.
Gore	Montoya	Yarborough
Gruening	Morse	Young, N. Dak.
Harris	Morton	Young, Ohio
Hart	Moss	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arizona. Three minutes remain on either side.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may, in the course of the debate, take 1 minute to deal with the parliamentary situation which resulted in the withdrawal of my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. Who yields time?

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, have I 3 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona has 3 minutes.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, everyone agrees with the aims of the antipov-erty program. The question involved in my amendment is: Are we to preserve the Federal-State relationship existing in the program at the present time? As we all recognize, the Governor is the chief executive of his State. As such, he is the official liaison between the people of his State and the Federal Government. Is it not our goal to have the best administration possible? I am sure that we all agree that it is. Then is not the best way to attain the goal to have the chief executive of the State work with the Director and to coordinate the efforts through the departments of the State? Will this not bring about a cooperative program that will most greatly benefit the people who are in need and who would benefit by the antipov-erty program?

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona strikes at the very heart of the Economic Opportunity Act.

It would reject the decision of the committee to strike from the act the unlimited power of a Governor to veto projects under the community action programs and the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Much has been made of the argument that the Governor's veto power has been little used during the first 10 months of the poverty program, and that it would be supposedly politically unwise for a Governor to block Federal funds with this power.

This argument misses the point completely and bears no relation to what has actually happened in many areas of the country.

It is true that there have been only four or five actual vetoes. However, this small figure totally obscures the number of times that a Governor may have threatened to use his veto in order to shape a program to his own desires.

It completely obscures the number of times a Governor may have delayed the inauguration of a program by using the 30 days he has at his disposal.

I can only repeat that such veto power is unprecedented in programs of Federal aid to communities. It gives a Governor a degree of power that bears absolutely no relationship to his degree of responsibility.

We have not touched the Governor's rightful power over Federal programs affecting his State—such as Job Corps camps and the VISTA program.

We do seek to eliminate the Governor's arbitrary, unwarranted, and unprece-

dented control over the remainder of the program.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 1 minute. If the Fannin amendment fails, the next vote will occur on my amendment, which seeks to present to the Senate the House plan plus the addition of a public hearing.

I do not wish Senators to misunderstand the addition. It does not require elaborate procedures; but the hearing must be public.

Mr. President, my amendment is a compromise between the points of view being presented to the Senate by the pending amendment. I am pleased that the Senate will have the opportunity to work its will on a range of alternatives.

If the Fannin amendment is adopted, it will restore the act to its original condition. If the Fannin amendment fails, the Senate will have the opportunity to choose the House plan, which my amendment incorporates with the addition of the hearing requirement.

If that amendment fails, we shall revert to the language of the bill, which eliminates the veto altogether.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, the bill as reported by the committee would not affect all of the Governor's veto provisions in the act. The existing veto provisions for Job Corps centers and VISTA—the Domestic Peace Corps—projects would be retained. However, the bill would eliminate the veto in the two areas where the present act has caused problems—the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the community action program.

If the 10-percent local money is to be matched by 90-percent Federal money for a local community project, it is none of a Governor's business how the program should be administered.

Why should a Governor be permitted to do what I know Governors have done on occasion: insist, as a condition of his approval, that a repudiated politician be appointed, someone who has passed "hot checks"; someone who is not qualified to administer anything. Why should I make such a statement? Because I once had a hot check given to me.

Why should such persons be allowed to freeze a local fund as a condition of cooperating with the Federal Government, which would put up 90 percent, while the State put up only 10 percent? That is not done in the case of airports; why should it be done in this type of program?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN]. On this vote the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr.

DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 45, nays 45, as follows:

[No. 214 Leg.]

YEAS—45

Aiken	Fannin	Prouty
Allott	Fong	Randolph
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Bible	Hill	Russell, S.C.
Boggs	Holland	Russell, Ga.
Byrd, W. Va.	Hruska	Saltonstall
Cannon	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Carlson	Kuchel	Simpson
Cooper	Lausche	Smith
Cotton	McClellan	Stennis
Dirksen	Miller	Talmadge
Dominick	Morton	Thurmond
Eastland	Mundt	Tower
Ellender	Murphy	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Pearson	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—45

Anderson	Inouye	Montoya
Bartlett	Jackson	Morse
Bass	Javits	Moss
Bayh	Kennedy, Mass.	Muskie
Brewster	Kennedy, N.Y.	Nelson
Burdick	Long, Mo.	Neuberger
Case	Long, La.	Pastore
Douglas	Magnuson	Pell
Fulbright	Mansfield	Proxmire
Gore	McGovern	Ribicoff
Gruening	McIntyre	Smathers
Harris	McNamara	Symington
Hart	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Hartke	Mondale	Yarborough
Hayden	Monroney	Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—10

Byrd, Va.	Dodd	Sparkman
Church	Jordan, N.C.	Tydings
Clark	McCarthy	
Curtis	McGee	

So Mr. FANNIN's amendment was rejected.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask for a recapitulation.

The vote was recapitulated.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays on the motion to lay on the table were ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. TOWER. Is the vote on the motion to reconsider or on the motion to table?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion to table the motion to reconsider. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The vote was recapitulated.

(The VICE PRESIDENT assumed the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, regular order.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I request a recapitulation.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, regular order.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I request—

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, the Senator's request is not in order until the vote is announced.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that if present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from Virginia would vote "nay" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "yea" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] is paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS]. If present and voting, the senior Senator from Florida would vote "nay" and the junior Senator from Florida would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 44, nays 45, as follows:

[No. 215 Leg.]

YEAS—44

Anderson	Jackson	Morse
Bartlett	Javits	Moss
Bass	Kennedy, Mass.	Muskie
Bayh	Kennedy, N.Y.	Nelson
Brewster	Long, Mo.	Neuberger
Burdick	Long, La.	Pastore
Case	Magnuson	Pell
Fulbright	Mansfield	Proxmire
Gore	McGovern	Ribicoff
Gruening	McIntyre	Symington
Harris	McNamara	Tydings
Hart	Metcalfe	Williams, N.J.
Hartke	Mondale	Yarborough
Hayden	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Inouye	Montoya	

NAYS—45

Alken	Fannin	Prouty
Allott	Fong	Randolph
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Bible	Hill	Russell, Ga.
Boggs	Hruska	Russell, S.C.
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Saltonstall
Cannon	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Carlson	Kuchel	Simpson
Cooper	Lausche	Smith
Cotton	McClellan	Stennis
Dirksen	Miller	Talmadge
Dominick	Morton	Thurmond
Eastland	Mundt	Tower
Ellender	Murphy	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Pearson	Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—11

Byrd, Va.	Dodd	McGee
Church	Douglas	Smathers
Clark	Holland	Sparkman
Curtis	McCarthy	

So the motion to lay on the table was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the motion to reconsider.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator should know that the Senate just failed to table a motion to reconsider.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I desire to discuss this matter.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a point of order—a point of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, there can be no other business after a motion has been tabled. That ends it.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I demand a recapitulation.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I repeat my request. I believe that I am in order, and I should like to have a ruling from the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Louisiana has demanded a recapitulation.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am referring to my motion, which I believe is in order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Louisiana has demanded a recapitulation.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, there has been no intervening business.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, which one has precedence?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The motion to recapitulate.

The legislative clerk recapitulated the vote.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the recapitulation, the results are the same, yeas 44, nays 45, and the motion to table is not agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I renew my request.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana has made a request to reconsider the vote by which the motion to table failed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, how many times can we reconsider a reconsideration of a vote?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Arkansas repeat his request?

Mr. McCLELLAN. How many times can we reconsider a reconsidered vote, I should like to know.

The VICE PRESIDENT. A motion to reconsider the vote by which—the vote that was just taken—

Mr. McCLELLAN. Can the vote then be reconsidered?

The VICE PRESIDENT. No. This is the motion to reconsider.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President—

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. This is a motion to reconsider the vote by which the vote on the amendment did not carry. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, a point of order.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, is this on the amendment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. No. This is on the motion to reconsider.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, a point of order. The mover was not a voter on the prevailing side.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, may we please have order in the Chamber? There are too many Senators standing in the well away from their seats.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Will Senators please take their seats? The Senate will be in order.

Mr. BASS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee will state it.

Mr. BASS. The vote we are about to take is a vote to reconsider the vote on the amendment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BASS. Now, a vote in the affirmative on this motion would be to approve the previous vote; is that not correct?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Will the Senator restate his question? [Laughter.]

Mr. BASS. I will restate it. A vote in the affirmative on this rollcall would be a vote to agree or disagree to the previous vote? [Laughter.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. The chair

will attempt to help the confused situation by adding his own confusion to it. The Senate voted, first on the amendment to the committee bill. That amendment failed to pass. There was, then, a motion to reconsider, and a motion was made to table. The Senate held a vote on the motion to table and it failed.

The Senator from Montana asks to vote on a motion to reconsider the vote by which the amendment itself failed. The yeas and nays have been ordered and—

Mr. BASS. So, if a Senator wishes the previous vote on the amendment to stand, he would vote "nay," then, on the motion to reconsider?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is eminently correct, and the clerk will call the roll.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas-and-nay vote has been ordered, and the Senator's inquiry is not in order.

On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea," and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

On this vote, the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] is paired with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS]. If present and voting, the senior Senator from Florida would vote "yea" and the junior Senator from Florida would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 45, nays 45, as follows:

[No. 216 Leg.]

YEAS—45

Aiken	Fannin	Prouty
Allott	Fong	Randolph
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Bible	Hill	Russell, S.C.
Boggs	Hruska	Russell, Ga.
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Saltonstall
Cannon	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Carlson	Kuchel	Simpson
Cooper	Lausche	Smith
Cotton	McClellan	Stennis
Dirksen	Miller	Talmadge
Dominick	Morton	Thurmond
Eastland	Mundt	Tower
Ellender	Murphy	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Pearson	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—45

Anderson	Inouye	Montoya
Bartlett	Jackson	Morse
Bass	Javits	Moss
Bayh	Kennedy, Mass.	Muskie
Brewster	Kennedy, N.Y.	Nelson
Burdick	Long, Mo.	Neuberger
Case	Long, La.	Pastore
Douglas	Magnuson	Pell
Fulbright	Mansfield	Proxmire
Gore	McGovern	Ribicoff
Gruening	McIntyre	Symington
Harris	McNamara	Tydings
Hart	Metcalfe	Williams, N.J.
Hartke	Mondale	Yarborough
Hayden	Monroney	Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—10

Byrd, Va.	Dodd	Smathers
Church	Holland	Sparkman
Clark	McCarthy	
Curtis	McGee	

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I move the regular order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The regular order has been called for, and the Chair votes "nay."

The motion is not agreed to.

So the motion to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was not agreed to was rejected.

AMENDMENT NO. 387

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 387.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 20, delete lines 1 through 4, and insert in lieu thereof:

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

SEC. 15. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting "of part B" before "of title I" and (2) striking out "and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission" and inserting in lieu thereof "and such plan has not been disapproved by the Governor within thirty days of such submission, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the Director and, after public hearing in which the Governor or his authorized representative is given an opportunity to appear, found by the Director to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part".

LIMITATION OF DEBATE ON JAVITS AND PROUTY AMENDMENTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Javits amendment, now pending, has been thoroughly explained this afternoon.

I had intended to suggest to the Senate that it remain in session until about 8 o'clock tonight. However, in view of certain developments which have arisen, the leadership would like to have the Senate go out of session at 7 o'clock tonight.

It is my understanding that the distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]

are both willing to consider the possibility, the Senate concurring, to agree to a unanimous consent request to limit debate on the Javits amendment to 30 minutes, 15 minutes to a side, to be controlled, respectively, by the Senator from New York and the Senator from Michigan, to be followed by a yea-and-nay vote. That would complete the business of the Senate for today.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I may have an amendment to offer as a substitute for the Javits amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, if the Senate is to be in session until about 7 o'clock, and if the Senator from Vermont has an amendment, we could allow a half hour of debate on the amendment of the Senator from Vermont, to be divided between him and me. In addition, we may not need all the time allotted.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I might suggest that the time on the side of the Senator from Michigan may not be used entirely, knowing the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. McNAMARA. I wonder about the time on the other amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The time on that amendment would be equally divided also.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from Montana restate his unanimous-consent request?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an hour be allowed for debate on the Javits amendment and all amendments thereto, the time to be equally divided between the proponents of the amendment and the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA].

Mr. JAVITS. I shall be glad to allow time out of my time to the Senator from Vermont, if he desires additional time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the order is entered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the amendment which I have proposed has been very thoroughly explained. It would allow Governors to veto community action plans, provided that, if the Director of the program decided that he wished to override the veto, he could do so only after a hearing. Therefore, the Governor would have an opportunity to present his case in the public domain.

I have also made it clear that the public hearing to which I refer could be an informal public hearing. It would not have to be surrounded by the forms of law with respect to public hearings, whatever may be the general statutes, if a statutory public hearing were provided for. But there should be a hearing, and it should be open to the public. I have no doubt that, if the Senate adopted the amendment, the Administrator would be

able to promulgate rules and regulations which would deal with the subject adequately.

It seems to me that we are in exactly the same position, and face exactly the same dilemma, that we faced a year ago. I have an idea as to what the amendment of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] to my amendment will be. He proposed it in the committee. It relates to the possibility of a veto by the Governor, which would be subject to being sustained or overridden by his own State legislature. Of course, that is a variant of the Governor's veto which we have dealt with by a very close vote. I believe that the plan which I have offered to the Senate is the only plan that is likely to satisfy those who feel strongly about States rights, and those who feel strongly about the poverty program in terms of being able to reach areas which might not otherwise be reached.

This is very much the approach the House came to after much consideration. We should not leave it to the House bill, however, because we had experience with that the last time the bill came before the Congress. What happened the last time was that in the Senate we wrote a veto provision into the bill, and the House promptly went for the veto.

Now we are writing no veto provision in the bill in the Senate, and my guess is that the House would go for that, unless the Senate manifests its will that it desires something in the bill to deal with the Governors' vetoes.

I believe that there is a real danger in letting the bill leave the Senate without such a provision in it, because we had bad experience with that the last time. Notwithstanding how much I favor the program, I was very unhappy with the way the matter was left, and I would have been if there had been nothing said about a veto. And that is exactly what is happening now.

In other words, the pendulum, having swung one way, is swinging the other way without anything in the bill whatever with respect to the Governor's right to veto. It does provide for consultation, but that is all. Indeed, that was an amendment of mine.

So having learned from experience—and we have certainly learned the toughness of the minds of Senators today by reason of the fact that minds are pretty much what they were a year ago. The voting then was very close, and it is just as close today, give or take absentees on each side. Let us learn from experience that many of us got something we did not want in the veto, so that we shall not get something that others of us do not want, which is no veto whatever, or no reference to a veto whatever.

I know that Senators on both sides of this issue feel very strongly. Normally, compromise falls between the two stools. That is why life is often such a sharp change from one side to the other, which is exactly what we are saying here. I do not expect to convince every Senator, but I hope that there are enough minds in the Senate who will look at the question coolly and will recognize that we need some compromise between the two views. We have the House approach

of record for a compromise, and it should be latched into the bill. That is the plan that apparently represents the middle-of-the-road approach. I should like to see that the Director has such an opportunity as is provided in the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Russell of South Carolina in the chair). The Senator's 5 minutes have expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. I refer to page 118 of the record. The Director himself has testified that the amendment contained in the House bill provides a workable approach.

He said:

The existing veto provision, considered in the light of our overall experience, has occasioned a few administrative difficulties. The House amendment, as we understand it, is directed to cases where the veto might be used for arbitrary, capricious, or discriminatory purposes. It thus retains the basic format of the existing provision with the addition of what is essentially a review procedure. Since the present provisions have, as indicated, presented few difficulties from an administrative standpoint, we consider that this—

Meaning the House version—

represents a sound way of approaching the practical and procedural problems involved in any modification.

In short, the Senate now having turned down the proposal to restore the veto provision, I deeply believe that a majority of this body, leaving aside the feelings as reflected by the last vote, ought at least to put into the bill what is considered to be a workable plan, which will give dignity to the authority of the Governor. At the same time it will not give absolute power to the Governor over the projects under the bill, but will give him a great deal of power. I would be the last to underestimate the influence of a Governor's veto and the fact that the Administrator would have to hurdle public hearings in order to overrule him, with all the difficulty which such action implies.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. So the difference between the House provision and the Senate provision is that the Governors would have an opportunity to have a public hearing?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New York has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator is exactly correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. That is the difference?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. So if the Senate should adopt the amendment, it would be taken to conference with the conferees on the part of the House, and we could hope that an opportunity would

be afforded to a Governor for a hearing after that Governor had indicated his disapproval of a project.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator is correct. I should also like to point out to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, since he himself has offered a similar idea in relation to the urban affairs bill, that I have already made the legislative record that the hearing would not be a public hearing surrounded by statutory procedures, but it would be an informal public hearing. That is what I have in mind.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I thank the Senator.

Mr. JAVITS. If the conferees feel that they should write the conference report in that way, that would be satisfactory.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. McNAMARA. The debate up to now has brought out most of the salient points on the overall subject. It seems to me that one of the things that I would object to in the amendment is the fact that it would retain in the hands of the Governor the ability to delay a project for 30 days, and during that 30-day period the people in a local community could be intimidated in a community facility program. Therefore, I hope that the amendment will be rejected if it continues to have that very objectionable feature in it.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to suggest the absence of a quorum with the time to be charged equally to both sides. I am looking for the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 30 seconds to ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding the fact that time is still reserved by the opponents and proponents of my amendment, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] may offer an amendment or whatever else he wishes to offer to my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, is this a part of the Senator's time or is it additional time?

Mr. JAVITS. No; it is not additional time. It is a part of the time under my control.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment in the nature of a substitute. I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with, but that the amendment be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

Beginning on page 1, line 1, strike all through to the end and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 15. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended.

"(1) by inserting 'part B of' immediately before 'title I'; and

"(2) by amending the proviso thereof to read as follows: 'Provided, however, That this section shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance (1) to any institutions of higher education in existence on the date of the approval of this Act; or (2) in any State in which the Legislature of such State, has, by concurrent resolution, provided that subsequent disapprovals of any such plan by the Governor shall be advisory only.'"

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, on my amendment, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I now propose an amendment in the nature of a compromise on the question of the Governor's veto. The motion to restore the existing language of section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act has been defeated. As the bill now stands, there is no provision whatsoever for participation by the State authorities in the approval of programs under titles I-B and II-A of the Act.

My proposal is an attempt to find a middle ground. It places the final decision as to whether the Governor shall have the veto power not in the hands of a Federal appointee, but in the hands of the popularly elected legislatures of the States themselves.

Simply, my amendment provides that a Governor shall continue to have the power to effectively disapprove projects under titles I-B and II-A unless the legislature of his State, by concurrent resolution, provides that the Governor's approval shall be advisory only.

Thus, the legislature could strip the Governor of his veto authority in all future cases by providing that it should be advisory and not binding on the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The legislature could not interfere with a previous veto cast by the Governor. It could only strip him of the authority to make future vetoes.

The legislature would not be given authority to strip the Governor of the power to veto any specific project.

The authority would be to strip the Governor of all future veto power, not just the power to veto a certain proposal. Of course, a legislature could always rescind the concurrent resolution at a later date, thus restoring to the Governor his full unimpaired power under section 209(c) of the act.

This amendment would put a check on a Governor who might be tempted to wield his veto power for purposes other than the best interests of the war on poverty program. A Governor tempted to cast a veto would know that such an action, if indefensible and offensive to

a substantial number of people in his State, could well result in a resolution by the legislature depriving him of authority to cast any future vetoes. By making the Governor's veto power responsive to the popular will of the people of his State, as expressed through their representatives in the legislature, an important safeguard is established against its abuse.

On the other hand, if it should happen that a Federal official were eager to promote an antipoverty project in a State, and the great majority of the people of the State were opposed to such project, the Governor would be able to protect their interests and wishes by vetoing the project. Under H.R. 8283 the people of a State would be completely dependent upon the will of the Director of OEO, who could ignore the advice and wishes of the Governor, legislature, and the citizens of that State.

This amendment does not authorize or require the legislature of a State to pass upon any project to be carried on in that State. It merely states that when a certain event takes place—the concurrent resolution of the legislature—the Governor of that State shall henceforth be limited to advising OEO as to certain projects, and may not forbid OEO from going ahead without his consent.

Briefly, the present law gives the Governor a right.

In the House bill, the Director of OEO is authorized to strip the Governor of that right.

In the Senate bill now before us, Congress strips the Governor of that right.

In my amendment, the legislature of the State, presumably elected according to the one-man, one-vote rule and thus perfectly responsive to the wishes of the people, may, if it sees fit, strip the Governor of that right.

If my amendment is adopted and a legislature subsequently strips a Governor of his right to veto, local people in that State will know where the responsibility lies and will be able to consider the affair at the local level in the next State election. In the House bill, the only recourse is an appeal to a government bureaucrat. In the Senate bill, the only recourse is an appeal to both Houses of Congress. In my amendment, the appeal may be made to the members of the State legislature, who are more readily accessible to the citizen and more knowledgeable of the events within that State.

This amendment is a natural, Mr. President, for those who believe in Government exercised at the level closest to the people. It is also a natural for those who champion the one-man, one-vote rule—as a means of obtaining equal representation for all in State legislatures. Would these advocates who urge that every inhabitant of a State have an equal voice in that State's legislature, now turn around and argue that a decision of this nature—which directly affects the everyday lives of those inhabitants—not be made by the popularly elected legislature, but by the Congress in Washington? I certainly hope not, Mr. President. I think that the Prouty proposal

is a reasonable way to settle the matter, a way that keeps in sight the need for local control, but at the same time permits the people of a State, acting through their State representatives and senators, to override a Governor's veto that is, in their opinion, out of keeping with their own best interests.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I am happy to yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Do I correctly understand the Senator to say in substance that the Governor's veto shall prevail unless the legislature by concurrent resolution takes away that right and leaves the decision to the Federal Administrator?

Mr. PROUTY. That is correct. The decision would be left in the hands of the State legislature, and through that means, in the hands of the people.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The Senator's amendment would remove the criticism in the committee report of letting the Governor have the absolute say, if that power be given to him, without the legislature having opportunity to override him.

Mr. PROUTY. The Senator is absolutely correct. It seems to me that this amendment is a fair compromise, and overcomes the objections voiced earlier.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Once the legislature adopted such a resolution, its action would apply to any projects in the future.

Mr. PROUTY. That is correct.

I have had placed on the desks of Senators an explanation of the so-called Prouty veto amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The committee considered the proposal of Senator Prouty. It was the subject of considerable debate, and I myself gave careful thought to it. As I see it, the Senator from Vermont is endeavoring to be constructive and creative in suggesting another compromise to the Senate.

The difficulty that his substitute presents to me is that it lacks the flexibility of my amendment, because the legislature would have to exercise its power on a generic basis; that is, by either allowing or not allowing a Governor to exercise an absolute veto over programs in the future. Hence, the amendment does not have the flexibility of enabling the antipoverty programs to be dealt with on a case-by-case basis.

In addition, I believe that the plan which the Senator from Vermont has suggested would throw the entire matter at one time into a tremendous political struggle between the Governor and the State legislature, because a Governor would hardly recommend such a procedure to a State legislature; he would rather keep the power himself. Therefore, for all practical purposes, the State legislature would be acting against the Governor. Consider what might happen if a Governor and a State legislature were of different political parties.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. PROUTY. My amendment puts the power in the hands of the people. The people would exercise the veto.

Mr. JAVITS. I cannot accept that explanation, I am sorry to say, for the reason that the Governor is elected by the people, too. We are elected by the people. The President of the United States is elected by the people. The fact that authority is delegated to various officials does not make it any less an act of the people. In my judgment, it cannot be said that this amendment gives the authority to the people and that everything else does not. That is not the nature of our government. If we wanted to give the decision to the people, we would have a town meeting on every project.

I believe that we must construct a plan which would be selective enough to deal with the entire problem on a project-by-project basis. I believe that what we are asked to do here would involve us in a monumental struggle between State legislatures and Governors which would outshine the issues on any given project and which, in my judgment, could easily vitiate the desirability of the projects, which would fall down the hatch, depending on the outcome of the political struggle.

I would not want to see that as the end result of the Governor's veto. As we live in our society, if a Governor were to veto a project and get a hearing concerning that veto, it would be a rather rare case when an administrator in Washington would override the Governor's veto. That is the way it ought to be. However, the administrator could override it in the case of injustice or discrimination. He could do it on a case-by-case basis, and not on the generic basis of the power of the Governor or of the State legislature.

I am pleased that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] has used creativity and ingenuity in coming forth with another idea. However, with all due respect, I believe that the plan which I have suggested to the Senate is the best plan. It would avoid the danger which we suffered before of going to one extreme of the scale when granting the veto power. Now we encounter the new danger of going to the other extreme of the scale when no veto power is provided.

I believe that the plan which we have before us in my amendment pursues a method which has already been followed by the other body. It would be a fair compromise. It would work. The Director himself said in the hearings that it would be workable and that it is his best answer to the dilemma in which we find ourselves.

I hope that the Senate will vote down the substitute amendment and vote affirmatively upon my amendment.

Mr. President, I am not aware of any other requests for time on this side. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes on the Prouty amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in many ways the pending amendment is

worse than the absolute veto in the present law. One vice is the veto, and the other vice is the appeal to the Director of the anti-poverty program. It would lead to political confusion.

These projects especially those allowing students to work in the summer and be prepared to go to school in the fall ought to be expedited. If we were to permit the proposal to go to another governmental body, a body such as a State legislature, some of which meet only once every 2 years, it would lead to more confusion. The programs would be lost.

I believe that this is the worst of all the proposals.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself one-half minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for one-half minute.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in view of the fact that most Senators are not aware that a substitute amendment is pending, I ask unanimous consent that there be a quorum call, the time for which I suggest be equally divided between both sides, so that Senators can be apprised of the parliamentary situation before they vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The purpose of the quorum call was to acquaint Members of the Senate with the parliamentary situation which has developed since the unanimous-consent request on time was agreed to. My amendment was then pending. It was the subject of the unanimous-consent request. Since that time a substitute has been offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], which would give the Governors absolute veto power but would vest in the State legislature of each State the power to take away the Governor's absolute veto authority and leave him with an advisory veto, which could be overridden by the Director. It does not contain a provision for a public hearing, which my amendment does, in case of such veto.

The Senate has a choice between the two alternatives which I have described, and which I have previously described at great length.

I should like to sum up my own argument by saying that the last time we had the problem before us, last year, we adopted the absolute veto amendment. It went over to the House and was promptly agreed to. Now if the bill stands as it is with its no-veto provision, that may well be what will happen in the House again, and we shall have frustrated the effort to have a Governor have any voice. My proposal gives the Governors a flexible opportunity to

be heard in a very effective way, with respect to individual projects, which is I think what is required by the situation.

My amendment gives the Governor the right to have a public hearing before his veto can be overridden by the Director. That makes it difficult for an administrator to overrule the Governor. But it makes it possible when he feels that strongly about it and is likely to appeal to the public about it.

My amendment is a fair compromise. I hope the Senate will vote for it. I prefer it to the recommendation of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], which would go the other way and in the direction of leaving the law as it is. That amendment raises the problem of involving the legislatures and the Governors in a confrontation, which I do not favor, and I hope the Senate will not favor it.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The Prouty amendment was offered in committee, discussed in committee, and voted down in committee. Therefore, speaking for the committee, I hope the Prouty amendment will be defeated.

We have discussed the subject of the Governor's veto at great length this afternoon. An amendment to reaffirm the total veto power as it exists in present law was defeated.

Now the Senator from New York offers a modified version.

His amendment would pick up the language as it appeared in the original House bill, which would permit the Director of OEO to override a Governor's veto.

However, he adds another provision to the House language by stipulating further that there be a public hearing before the Director of OEO could take such action.

It seems to me that the question of a public hearing simply would add further delay and confusion to the situation.

As I have stated previously, it is the threat of a veto and the delaying tactics of some Governors that has been more obstructive to the aims of the economic opportunity program, than the actual veto.

Therefore, I feel that rather than helping the situation, the amendment of the Senator from New York carries with it the threat of further confusion.

I hope the Javits amendment will be defeated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Do Senators yield back their time?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield back my time.

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment is yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] as a substitute for the amendment of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] to the committee amendment.

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and the Senator from Wyo-

ming [Mr. MCGEE] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE] would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 44, nays 47, as follows:

[No. 217 Leg.]

YEAS—44

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Randolph
Allott	Hill	Robertson
Bennett	Holland	Russell, S.C.
Boggs	Hruska	Russell, Ga.
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Saltonstall*
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Cooper	Kuchel	Simpson
Cotton	Lausche	Smith
Dirksen	McClellan	Stennis
Dominick	Miller	Talmadge
Eastland	Morton	Thurmond
Ellender	Mundt	Tower
Ervin	Murphy	Williams, Del.
Fannin	Pearson	Young, N. Dak.
Fong	Prouty	

NAYS—47

Anderson	Inouye	Morse
Bartlett	Jackson	Moss
Bass	Javits	Muskie
Bayh	Kennedy, Mass.	Nelson
Bible	Kennedy, N.Y.	Neuberger
Brewster	Long, Mo.	Pastore
Burdick	Long, La.	Pell
Cannon	Magnuson	Proxmire
Case	Mansfield	Ribicoff
Douglas	McGovern	Smathers
Fulbright	McIntyre	Symington
Gore	McNamara	Tydings
Gruening	Metcalfe	Williams, N.J.
Harris	Mondale	Yarborough
Hart	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Hartke	Montoya	

NOT VOTING—9

Byrd, Va.	Curtis	McCarthy
Church	Dodd	McGee
Clark	Hayden	Sparkman

So Mr. PROUTY's amendment as a substitute for the Javits amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York will state it.

Mr. JAVITS. A vote now recurs upon my amendment to the committee amendment as originally proposed and debated most of the afternoon?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Yes. On this question the yeas and nays have

been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll; and Mr. AIKEN voted "yea" when his name was called.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, is there any time left on that amendment?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yea-and-nay vote is now in process.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, is the yea-and-nay vote now underway.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is underway. The Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN] has voted.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, has all time been yielded back?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, the regular order, please.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The regular order is demanded. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk resumed and concluded the call of the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE] would each vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family and, if present and voting, would vote "nay."

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] is detained on official business.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 67, as follows:

[No. 218 Leg.]

YEAS—23

Aiken	Fong	Russell, S.C.
Bible	Javits	Russell, Ga.
Boggs	Jordan, N.C.	Saltonstall
Byrd, W. Va.	Kuchel	Scott
Cannon	McIntyre	Smith
Case	Morton	Talmadge
Cooper	Pearson	Young, N. Dak.
Ervin	Randolph	

NAYS—67

Allott	Holland	Murphy
Anderson	Hruska	Muskie
Bartlett	Inouye	Nelson
Bass	Jackson	Neuberger
Bayh	Jordan, Idaho	Pastore
Bennett	Kennedy, Mass.	Pell
Brewster	Kennedy, N.Y.	Prouty
Burdick	Lausche	Proxmire
Cotton	Long, Mo.	Ribicoff
Dirksen	Long, La.	Robertson
Dominick	Magnuson	Simpson
Douglas	Mansfield	Smathers
Eastland	McClellan	Stennis
Ellender	McGovern	Symington
Fannin	McNamara	Thurmond
Fulbright	Metcalf	Tower
Gore	Miller	Tydings
Gruening	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Harris	Monroney	Williams, Del.
Hart	Montoya	Yarborough
Hartke	Morse	Young, Ohio
Hickenlooper	Moss	
Hill	Mundt	

NOT VOTING—10

Byrd, Va.	Curtis	McGee
Carlson	Dodd	Sparkman
Church	Hayden	
Clark	McCarthy	

So Mr. JAVITS' amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 20, line 14, after "community action agency" it is proposed to insert: "and the Governor of the State in which the community is located".

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I have always been in favor of having the Governor given responsibility in connection with this subject. The Senate has seen fit not to give the Governor the responsibility. I believe the amendment which I have offered is acceptable to both the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from New York. The national Director now gives 5 days' notice to the community director as to what the national Director intends to do in connection with any community action. The amendment adds that the same notice shall also be given to the Governor of the State in which the community is located.

I believe the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from New York will accept the amendment.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, on the basis of the explanation given by the Senator from Massachusetts, I am prepared to accept the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. I am prepared to accept it.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I do not want the amendment to be accepted without an understanding being had by Senators that it does not add anything to the situation. I do not like to have the Senate accept it, but I am not going to object to the acceptance of it if the Senate wishes to accept it. However, I do not want anyone to be fooled about this matter. The amendment does not add anything to the power of the Governor. It looks like window dressing, with the little coloring of notice to the Governor.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I believe it does add something. I agree that it does not give the Governor the veto power. What it does do is to make certain that the Governor, within 5 days after the National Director wishes to establish something in a community, and now, under the bill, must give the community director notice that he intends to do so, shall also give the same notice to the Governor of the State in which the community is located.

It gives the Governor an opportunity to understand what is proposed, and to temper it, if he desires to do so.

We have been defeated on the other amendments. I am heartily in favor of

giving the Governors a veto. That has been taken away. As I see it, what we wish to do is to give the Governor notice so that he can take a part in working out whatever problems might exist, smoothing them down, and tempering the situation to the best of his ability. That is what my amendment would do.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOMINICK. If the amendment should be adopted, would such action prevent further efforts to present a method of preserving the right of veto tomorrow or whatever other time such a proposal might be made?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator knows that he is at liberty to offer amendments to any other portion of the bill that he sees fit.

Mr. DOMINICK. Does the amendment apply to section 209(c)?

Mr. McNAMARA. Section 209(b).

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. JAVITS. The amendment would apply to section 209(d), which deals with applications from private nonprofit agencies. It provides that the Governor shall receive notice at the same time that the director, namely the Director of the antipoverty program, gets such notice. That action is entirely consistent with what we adopted in relation to section 209(a) for continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies. It is pretty hard to consult unless the parties know what they wish to consult about.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] has spelled that out in respect to the particular question contained in section 209(d).

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair informs the Senator from Colorado that the bill may be amended line by line, title by title, and section by section, with the exception of the exact words that have been added or proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Chair. Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOMINICK. Do I correctly understand that the amendment is an amendment to section 209(d)?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. It is an amendment to section 209(d), on page 20, line 14. I should like to read what that section provides.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am satisfied. I thank the Senator.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts [putting the question].

The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask for a division.

On a division, the amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 386

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I offer an amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from New York will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 24, between lines 15 and 16, insert the following new section:

QUALIFICATIONS OF DIRECTOR

SEC. 18. The second sentence of subsection (a) of section 601 is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof a comma and the following: "and who shall hold no other Federal office of equivalent rank."

Renumber the subsequent sections of the bill accordingly.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, my understanding is that the amendment laid before the Senate tonight will be the pending question at the conclusion of the morning hour tomorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is correct.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business this evening, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I intend to vote for the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] which is now the pending business, to provide a full-time administrator for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In so doing, I wish to make three points clear:

First, I believe in the concept of, and am highly sympathetic with the need for the President's war on poverty. A nation as rich in resources as is the United States, with the great majority of our people living in abundance, must accept its responsibilities to give a helping hand to that portion of our population not in the mainstream of American economic and cultural life. I intend, therefore, to support and vote for the expanded authorization contained in this bill.

Second. Great and rapid progress has been made in the several programs comprising the war on poverty, and I am quite aware of the fact that a program as new and as big as this one is, necessarily must have some unfortunate mistakes in administration and resultant snarls of redtape as it gets underway. I think, however, there have been more administrative difficulties and redtape than the situation warrants. I feel that at least rapid improvement is needed.

I commend the Senate committee and the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] for recommending

an authorization figure lower than that approved by the House. I understand the recommended authorization in this bill is \$245 million less than was recommended by the House, plus \$150 million to cover the cost of the new program under the Nelson amendment; thus the authorization is \$95 million less than was approved by the House. This is in line with the request of the administration, and it represents, I feel, less of a crash program and more of an orderly program, which I think will help those who administer it to reduce some of its administrative difficulties.

Third. Furthermore, I think it is imperative that the program be directed by a full-time administrator. Mr. Shriver is an outstanding public servant. He has done a truly remarkable job with the Peace Corps, but the war on poverty is big enough and important enough to have the undivided attention of its administrator. Mr. Shriver brings an amazing zeal and great ability to this job, but he cannot do everything.

Examples of incidents which have occurred recently in Oklahoma will serve to point up my concern for the present administration of this program.

In Oklahoma City, a Neighborhood Youth Corps program was underway. Then its funds expired in midsummer, and the young people had to be discharged. The Oklahoma congressional delegation was told by the Federal officials that the renewal of the contract had been approved, but official approval was not forthcoming. There was great confusion in the Oklahoma City community, much adverse press and resulting loss of interest and confidence in the program. Even Time magazine carried a critical report on this incident where 300 young people were discharged and later rehired.

In Clinton, Okla., an application was filed for an Operation Head Start program. The Oklahoma congressional delegation was notified that the application had been approved, and we notified the local leaders in late June. By mid-July, no official word had been received by them from OEO. Our office contacted OEO and was told that the project was being held up because there had been no waiver of the Governor's veto of the project. Upon investigation, it was found that the waiver had long since been given by the Governor, but apparently had been lost. Thereafter, the project was approved retroactively so as to pay faculty salaries, but a great part of the summer was lost for the young people the program intended to benefit.

In Altus, Okla., local sponsors of a Neighborhood Youth Corps project became concerned about delay in action on their application and asked our office to check on it for them. They gave us the project number, and we used the project number on our contact with Federal officials. We were given the information that the project had high priority and would be approved soon.

Later it was discovered, and we were notified, that the Federal officials had the wrong project in mind when they gave us this notification and that the

project application inquired about had never gotten out of the regional office.

Oklahoma City filed a planning application for a community action project. Notification was given that the application had been approved, but nearly a month later, it had not been funded. Our office was informed that the probable cause in the funding delay was a lack of waiver of veto by the Governor. We passed this information on to the interested local parties as reliable information. Later we learned that the Governor had wired his waiver of veto the very day that approval had been announced, nearly a month earlier.

I am sure that a part of the problem illustrated by these examples is that various parts of the war on poverty are administered by different agencies, and lines of responsibility are not always clear. However, there seems to be much undue delay, sloppy public relations and too much misinformation which embarrasses friends of the program and undermines community support and interest.

It is difficult to get a sharply stated list of criteria by which programs are to be evaluated, and in many instances it is impossible to get agreement among various evaluators.

Therefore, it seems to me we must have a full-time Administrator of this program on the national level, and authorization figures should be held to the amounts approved by the Senate committee so that we allow time for the realities of the program to catch up with its aspirations.

We need a well-staffed, centrally located regional office in our area of America immediately. I understand that progress is being made on this, and it is long overdue. Clear lines of communication, sources of reliable information, must be provided the public.

Administrators at various levels in the program need to have a less defensive attitude toward the Congress. The local citizens generally come to Members of the Congress for assistance and information, and there is no reason why Members of Congress cannot work together in a joint effort with administrators of this program and local communities, since our goals are the same. But to do so, we must be kept up to date and must be furnished reliable information.

I state these criticisms and my own feelings in a helpful spirit, as one of those who support the war on poverty, founded upon the sound principle that it is a much better investment in America and a much more humane and cheaper investment to help people get the necessary skills and education to enable them to be productive and self-sufficient, than it is to bear the costs of welfare and crime, which almost inevitably will result from nonaction.

I hesitate to detract from a good program, but I state these suggestions only after having made them in writing to Mr. Shriver in a letter dated July 15, 1965, a letter which, as yet, has not been acknowledged.

I shall vote for the Javits amendment to provide a full-time Administrator for OEO. I am not sure that this will cure

the administrative ills with which this program is beset, but it is one way of showing that, as one who supports the aims of the war on poverty, I feel there is much room for improvement of its administration.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, when we talk about poverty, we are talking about people. We are talking about 10 million families, American families, who try to shelter, feed, and clothe themselves and their children on less than \$60 a week.

An equally startling figure that came out of hearings on this bill is that in this great country of ours, we have 4½ million rural families who are trying to live on weekly incomes of less than \$60.

What makes this picture darker is that in rural America we have over 500,000 poor families with a family head older than 55 with less than an eighth grade education. In my own State of Texas, there are over 39,000 such families.

It can easily be seen that their chances of climbing out of poverty are considerably less than those with family heads who are younger.

We have also learned in our hearings and from some economists that poverty in this country is about equally divided between urban and rural areas—and if there is any difference it is caused by the population makeup of our country. More people live in cities than in towns, and for this reason rural poverty is twice as high as urban poverty.

In stating these facts—in comparing rural with urban poverty—I am in no way trying to make a case for letting rural areas get more than may be given urban areas. This legislation does not make a distinction between urban and rural poverty. Its programs are aimed at eliminating poverty wherever it exists and that is as it should be. This is a national problem and this is a national piece of legislation for attacking that problem.

What does disturb me is that if no particular assistance is provided, a large portion of these rural poor families will be forced to move—and if this happens, where will they go? To our cities, of course, where they will join the already large numbers of poor living in the slums.

Is this what we want to happen? Do we want to see our rural poor forced to leave rural areas and compound the problems of city poverty?

I, myself, do not think that this is the answer. The Economy Opportunity Act is broad enough to attack poverty anywhere in our Nation.

The President, in his message to Congress on February 4 of this year, when he discussed in some detail the problems of rural areas and of its people utilizing Federal programs, directed the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a new agency having one aim—to help move Federal programs into rural areas.

This agency, called the Rural Community Development Service, was called upon by Mr. Shriver in May to help rural people participate in the poverty program.

I hope that the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity will allocate administrative funds to the Department

of Agriculture so that they can continue to assist OEO in getting the poverty program into operation in the rural areas.

It is perfectly clear to me that this agreement would be completely in accord with the President's farm message of February 4. I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from the message be inserted in the Record following my remarks.

Let us all hope that Sargent Shriver and Secretary Freeman, who are both dedicated to helping people, work out an arrangement whereby our rural areas will be able to more fully participate in this nationwide war on poverty.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 4, 1965

The rural unemployed and underemployed are largely out of sight. Most of them are hidden in the remote valleys of Appalachia and the Ozarks, on the unpaved side roads of the South, in the once-rich timber lands of the North, on Indian reservations, and in the wornout mining communities of the West.

The results of opportunity's decline in rural America are reflected in harsh facts: Lack of a decent life is almost twice as prevalent in rural America as it is in urban America. Only 30 percent of our families live in rural areas, but they include 46 percent of those American families with incomes under \$3,000.

Rural America has almost three times the proportion of substandard houses found in urban areas. A fourth of all farm homes and a fifth of rural nonfarm homes are without running water. Over 14,000 rural communities of more than 100 population lack central water supplies.

Rural people lag almost 2 years behind urban residents in educational attainment. They often suffer from a lower quality of education. Per pupil expenditures for elementary and secondary education in rural school districts are substantially below expenditures in urban districts.

Rural communities lag in health facilities. Rural children receive one-third less medical attention than urban children. Their mortality rate is far higher.

These deficiencies feed on one another. They leave too few resources to support education, health, and other public services essential to development of the talent, skills, and earning power of the people.

PARITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR RURAL AMERICA

These facts require a national policy for rural America with parity of opportunity as its goal.

There has been a steady migration from our countryside. In the 1950's more than half of America's rural counties suffered a population loss. But farmers who are handicapped by poor health, age, or lack of skill in any occupation outside of farming and who leave their home communities for want of opportunity, often create new problems—for themselves, for the communities they leave, and for the cities which receive them.

When people move away from rural areas, the area suffers. Migration leaves vacant stores, abandoned churches, empty schoolrooms, declining tax bases, and a declining ability to support a minimum level of public service.

This is what we need to have parity of opportunity for rural Americans:

National economic prosperity to increase their employment opportunities;

Full access to education, training, and health services to expand their earning power; and

Economic development of smaller and medium-sized communities to insure a healthy economic base for rural America.

When the rural citizen, his community, business and government cooperate, the chances for a better rural life increase. Local leadership and initiative are necessary if rural development is to keep pace with the needs of the people. But government can and should provide information as well as the technical and financial assistance which will speed progress.

Many measures enacted by the Congress in recent years are assisting rural communities in building new opportunities for their citizens. Others I have recommended this year aim at these same objectives.

The Area Redevelopment Act has helped scores of small- and medium-sized communities through loans to new industrial enterprises and loans and grants for needed public facilities. I will soon make recommendations that will urge this act be improved and made permanent.

Under the Economic Opportunity Act, communities will be carrying out programs to provide new opportunity for low-income rural families.

The Department of Agriculture has a wide range of programs to assist in rural economic development—loans for telephone systems, for recreation enterprises, for development of forest resources, for community water systems, and for rural housing. The small watershed and resources conservation and development programs add to business activity in rural areas.

The development of new job opportunities in rural areas has been considerably aided in the past by a strong program of rural electrification. The ability of rural areas to attract and support industrial activities—one of the fundamental solutions to the basic problem of our farm population—rests in very large part upon the availability of electric power. We must and will continue our efforts to enable those areas that do not presently possess an adequate power supply to meet their growing demands and insure that the benefits of industrial diversification are available in rural areas.

Many other activities of the Government are assisting businessmen and farmers to revive dying economies and raise the level of public services in rural areas. These include aid for community facilities, employment services, health and education programs, small business loans, job training, and development of outdoor recreation.

Yet gaps remain between the levels of living in rural America and those of urban America: in income, in education, in housing, in health and sanitation facilities. Parity of opportunity remains a distant hope for many. It is a challenge we must meet head on.

REACHING OUT TO RURAL AREAS

In my earlier messages to the Congress, particularly those on education and health, I have proposed measures to assist those areas of our country and those families most in need, both urban and rural.

It is not easy to equitably distribute Federal assistance to a scattered rural population. Rural communities often lack the specialized organizations found in major cities which keep informed of development programs and initiate action to make use of them. Special measures must be taken both by the States, and by Federal agencies to reach rural people, particularly in remote areas.

Since it is clear that an administrative office for each Federal agency or program cannot and should not be established in every county, a method must be developed to extend the reach of those Federal agencies and programs which should, but do not now, effectively serve rural areas.

Accordingly, I have asked:

1. Each department and agency administering a program which can benefit rural people to assure that its benefits are distributed equitably between urban and rural areas.

2. The Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Budget to review carefully with the head of each department or agency involved, the administrative obstacles which may stand in the way of such equitable distribution. They should propose administrative or legislative steps which can be taken to assure that equity is attained to assure full participation by rural areas.

3. The Secretary of Agriculture to put the facilities of his field offices at the disposal of all Federal agencies to assist them in making their programs effective in rural areas. The Secretary is creating within the Department of Agriculture a Rural Community Development Service, which will have no operating programs of its own but will devote its energies to assisting other agencies in extending their services. I have requested funds in the 1966 budget to finance this Service and to strengthen the capacity of the Cooperative Federal-State Extension Service to assist rural communities in forming strong and active development organizations.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I am aware of imperfections in administration of the economic opportunity programs. But these imperfections should not be permitted to obscure the real accomplishments, and the worthy purposes, of this effort to uplift and redeem the many thousands of young people who have never before had a chance to glimpse the vast horizon of an abundant America.

The purposes of these programs are clear and worthy. The accomplishments are real and lasting. The mistakes in administration will diminish.

The perfection and continuation of these programs are proper steps in our determination "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity."

These words from the preamble to our Constitution appropriately state the goals of this economic opportunity legislation. Many children and young people in Arkansas, and throughout the Union, will be given a chance to contribute to and participate in the fulfillment of these constitutional goals.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for insertion of an article by Mr. Mark R. Arnold from the August 16 issue of the National Observer. This article relates some of the achievements of the Head Start project in Yell County, Ark.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW PROJECT HEAD START IS WORKING: YELL COUNTY GETS A HANDLE ON POVERTY PROBLEM

OLA, ARK.—Cindy is a 5-year-old girl with delicate features and flowing black hair who had never seen an elephant. But last month she and her 39 classmates at a local school in Yell County here boarded a bus, clutching their picnic lunches, and drove to Little Rock, 90 miles to the east. There, at the zoo, she saw an elephant. "It had a long nose," she exclaimed last week. "It was bigger than a turtle. Bigger than my daddy." Now she draws pictures of elephants in water colors, and pictures of herself, which show a girl

with spindly legs, a round stomach, and a grin on her face.

Cindy doesn't know it, but the trip to the zoo, the water colors, the songs she's taught to sing, the nourishing lunch she's served in school, the games she's taught to play—even the contests to see who can wash his hands the cleanest—all are designed to prepare her for entering first grade next month. For Cindy is one of those 500,000 children who are enrolled in the Federal antipoverty program's Project Head Start, the program aimed at bringing youngsters from what sociologists call "culturally deprived" homes closer to the level of the classmates they will soon meet. The program originally was planned as an 8-week summer project, but the response has been so good, said Federal Antipoverty Director R. Sargent Shriver last week, that the Government will make Head Start a year-round project.

Rural Yell County, where a steadily declining population (now 12,000) exists on an average income of \$2,600 a year, is a good place to see Project Head Start in operation. It is a county where girls and boys from homes like Cindy's have traditionally quit school long before graduation. There are as many adults here with less than an eight-grade education as there are with more.

SCANT SCHOOLING IS NO BAR

One reason for the high dropout rate is that a limited education has never served as much of a handicap. Yell County residents could make a living on family farms growing row crops like corn and cotton, or find employment in one of the sawmills and wood-pulp factories that process timber from the area's deep forests.

But things are changing, here as in other rural areas. Increasingly, larger farms are squeezing out the small producer, and cutbacks in the timber industry have idled many. To provide steady employment and curb the steady population loss to the cities (15 percent since 1950), county leaders are seeking to attract new industry and develop the area's lakes and woods for recreation. Industry's demand for a skilled labor supply spurred the county to establish an antipoverty program, with the emphasis on education. Project Head Start is part of the effort.

Explains Mrs. Hazel Marcum, a fourth-grade teacher, who directs the local Head Start project: "A lot of kids show up for the first day of school showing serious effects from neglect. They don't have shoes or they're not clean. Some from large families can't say more than a few words. They can't keep up in class and they're laughed at. It doesn't take long before they lose interest."

WHAT THE CHILDREN ARE TAUGHT

To prevent this year's crop of first-graders from being "laughed at," the Federal Government is pouring \$84 million in antipoverty funds into Head Start projects in 2,300 communities. Yell County's program cost \$49,000, 90 percent of it to be paid by the Federal Government. The county will pay the rest. At half-day sessions in the county's seven schools, 233 pupils learn to recognize colors and shapes, to use scissors, listen to music, recite nursery rhymes, and identify simple household objects like a toothbrush and a bar of soap.

In addition to the zoo, the youngsters have been taken on trips to a supermarket, a dam, a movie (Wait Disney's "Cinderella"), a library and to Arkansas Polytechnic College in nearby Russellville, where an unexpected attraction proved to be the public rest rooms. "Many of them had never seen indoor plumbing before," a teacher explained.

Visit the Ola School here and you get an idea of the problem. A few faces are gaunt. One child has burns on her chin, which her teachers think might have come from huddling too close to a stove to keep warm. Mrs. Marcum points to a thin girl at the

corner of a table who is rubbing her eyes, and whose dress hangs down almost to her ankles.

"We had a devil of a time getting her here," she says. "It took three visits to the home before her mother would let her come. Some of the other children in the family have never been to school. Their mother said there was no use sending them."

SHE'S GETTING ANIMATED

"When we finally got her, she did not eat her snack (of milk and cookies) in the morning, or her lunch for 3 days. Just chewed bubble gum off in a corner and rubbed her eyes. Now she's eating and beginning to talk to the other children. At the zoo, she jumped around like crazy, and she talked the whole way back on the bus."

But these children are exceptions. Most are normal, healthy, and active. "Want to look at my coloring book?" one of the class' two Negro pupils asks. He wants a visitor to see a crayon drawing he did, a caged hamster, and a plant that he and other youngsters take turns watering.

If you judge Head Start as an experiment in cultural enrichment it seems to be working well here. The children benefiting by 8 weeks of special summer schooling are indeed from impoverished homes. A ratio of 1 teacher for each 16 pupils assures personal attention to each child's needs, and the work of the teachers is supplemented by 14 teacher aids, most of them college students or graduates.

But Head Start is not without its problems here, and those problems are reflected in the experiences of other Head Start communities across the Nation.

Antipoverty officials in Washington argue that if the opportunity offered to Head Start youth is to have any lasting effect, it must be reinforced in the home. The program therefore provides for employing parents of the children as paid volunteers in the schools (as teacher aids and recreation leaders, for example), and for extending community services to help parents with family problems. Under the Yell County program, five home economists have been hired to teach low-income mothers proper budgeting, cooking skills, nutrition, and health care.

But this part of the program has met with little success. Says Boss Mitchell, Yell County antipoverty director: "When some of these mothers are working 8 or 9 hours a day they do not feel like going to a meeting at night to learn how to run their home. Some who are not working would not be good examples for the kids in school. Or they have a feeling that their clothes are not good enough or their hair's not fixed right."

Medical treatment is another problem. Every youngster in Head Start is to be given a complete health checkup. Under Yell County's budget, local physicians are paid \$2 and local dentists \$2 for each examination they give. But Washington has made no allowance for correcting the deficiencies detected. Examinations on local children here have revealed deficiencies, including bad teeth, malnutrition, possible tuberculosis, and one child suffering from a heart defect. Mrs. Marcum hopes that local welfare funds will be made available to treat some children but she has no assurance of it.

Head Start officials in Washington acknowledge these problems. "This parental involvement thing has not gone as well as we think it can go," says Jule M. Sugarman, the program's deputy associate director, "but we've made a start." Head Start administrators say they anticipated that some medical problems might go uncorrected, but they reason that uncovering the deficiencies is an achievement nonetheless.

SOME SIDE EFFECTS

Though it is too early to assess the results of Head Start, the program has already had some notable side effects in Yell County. It is the first major project undertaken jointly

by the county's seven autonomous school districts. In the past, programs such as foreign-language instruction or music that no single school district could support have sometimes been abandoned because of lack of cooperation among the districts. Head Start also appears to have wiped out the last vestiges of racial segregation in county schools. Washington insisted on countywide integration as a condition of releasing Head Start funds. Finally, the project has set precedent by keeping school doors open during the summer months.

Local officials now seek to employ county schools as a year-round weapon in the anti-poverty program. Twenty-six adults are learning to read and write in new basic education classes. Vocational-training courses have been proposed to teach new skills to the jobless. Remedial reading classes for potential school dropouts, begun this summer, will be expanded when the fall term begins. And if Washington approves the county's \$150,000 request for a continuation of Head Start, next year's crop of low-income firstgraders may get a heavier dose of preschool training than was available this summer.

"I don't guess we have any more of a poverty problem than a lot of other areas," says County Antipoverty Chief Mitchell. "But we've got a handle on our problem. With a little bit of education, maybe we can lick it."

MARK R. ARNOLD.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I know that we all recognize the existence in scattered areas of pockets of poverty and despair. Indeed, I believe we all give recognition to the despair and suffering that go hand in hand with such poverty. There is not one here I am sure who does not have deep concern for those affected by poverty. All wish to take effective steps toward ending it.

The present program does not take effective steps to end existing poverty. The present program has flaws so serious, that if they are not corrected now, there will be even less assistance to the poor next year.

Nowhere in the Federal Government today, nor for that matter in the past, have we seen or do we see, more evidence of bureaucratic clumsiness and bungling than in the poverty program. It has a part-time Director and a tremendous number of highly salaried executives, with an accompanying short supply of largely untrained, and in many cases, disorganized and unqualified field personnel.

As a result, little or no help at all has come to the poor. Let us consider for the moment statistics pointed out in the minority report on the bill:

In the Office of Economic Opportunity there is 1 supergrade position for every 18 employees, and 1 supergrade in the Department of Agriculture for every 500 employees. While we have yet to see any evidence that economic opportunities will be provided for the poor by OEO, it is not difficult, ironically, to conclude that the supergrade positions, which entail salaries of from \$19,000 to \$24,500, create a great deal of economic opportunity for bureaucrats. Because of the superabundance of supergrades and the resulting high ratio of administrators to personnel, it has even been reported that OEO has had to hire special consultants at high cost merely to answer the daily mail. Some of these consultants are paid as much as \$100 a day for their efforts.

OEO bureaucrats are also getting rich from the salaries paid to them as local directors of the antipoverty program. In New Jersey the State director of the Office of Economic Opportunity receives \$25,000 a year, a higher salary than is paid to any member of the New Jersey Governor's cabinet. One county in New Jersey received a grant of \$67,000, but unfortunately the poor did not benefit greatly from the grant. All but \$15,000 of the grant was earmarked for salaries and administrative expense. In Indiana OEO paid salaries 25 percent higher than those paid by the State for comparable positions in public schools.

Perhaps the most glaring shortcoming of the poverty program is its complete lack, its complete failure, to coordinate local and State and private programs to assist the poor, with Federal programs. It would take considerable time to detail the number of complaints from local governments. The Office of Economic Opportunity has been accused, and I might point out, by members of the administration's own party of trying to wreck local government by setting the poor against city hall. Other local citizenry have criticized the poverty program because in many areas it has been initiated without requesting assistance from local charities who have had experience with local problems.

Of paramount significance in the bill now being considered has been the elimination of one of the very few safeguards, that is the gubernatorial veto. I might point out here, that were it not for the inclusion of the veto by the Congress last year, the poverty program would most probably not have received congressional approval. And now, we are asked to delete the veto. As the minority report points out:

The most unfortunate Senate committee change in H.R. 8383, however, was the act of eliminating completely the veto power of State Governors over activities encompassed in certain sections of titles I and II. H.R. 8283 was bad enough in this respect as it came from the House. The House-passed version left a veto power for the Governors but permitted that veto to be overridden within 30 days by the Director of OEO. Largely because of internecine warfare in the Democratic Party in the State of Texas, this committee knocked out the House version and eliminated entirely any right of a Governor to exercise his State's sovereignty over activities in and affecting his State. This was done in the face of a resolution passed, with only one dissenting vote, at the recent Governors' conference held in Minneapolis. This resolution, introduced by Democratic Governor Sawyer of Nevada, urged the committee to reinstate the previous provision for the Governor's veto.

Mr. President, Governors have stated on innumerable occasions that threatened use of the veto power is their only means of getting the poverty czars to consult with State antipoverty agencies before going ahead with programs. Thus far, the veto has been exercised only where community action programs have been established under the jurisdiction of blatantly political groups. There is no evidence to show abuse of the power.

Mr. President, abuses under the existing poverty program are legion. We could cite case after case of incidents, many of a most serious nature, perpetu-

ated by recipients of the program. The pending bill, designed proponents say to strengthen and expand the war on poverty, will most assuredly only lead to an increase in difficulties presently encountered.

It is a fact that the poverty program is bogged down so heavily in politics and bureaucratic bungling that little assistance to the poor has been forthcoming. The program must be better coordinated between Federal, State, local, and private organizations. The gubernatorial veto should have been retained so that local and State efforts will not be completely subordinated.

Mr. President, we must take cognizance of mistakes thus far made. We must provide for ways to correct such mistakes. We must not now provide machinery for additional ones.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I rise in support of H.R. 8283, a bill to expand the war on poverty, to continue and improve the programs established under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Churchill once wrote:

I pass with relief from the tossing sea of cause and theory to the firm ground of result and fact.

Our Nation is now at such a transition point in its efforts to deal with "the other America." It is not that we fully understand the extent of poverty, its roots, the reinforcing effect of its various manifestations, or the reasons for its ironic persistence in a context of national affluence. But we have begun to put the knowledge we do have to work. We have begun a frontal attack on the Nation's subculture of misery. Much has been done in the 10 months since the Office of Economic Opportunity was established. I support H.R. 8283 as a means to continue the national assault on poverty and to expand and improve our efforts.

Alaska, and particularly rural native Alaska, has by no means escaped the blight of poverty. In fact, many of the areas of the State are subject to economic deprivations and physical hardships as severe as any to be found in the Nation. Almost one fourth of our households have an annual income of less than \$4,000; this is even less adequate in Alaska than it would be in the other States. The average per capita income in the Kuskokwim District is \$1,402, some \$448 below the national average. Around Nome the figure is \$1,222; for the Kobuk area, \$675. The Wade Hampton District has the lowest per capita income to be found in the entire Nation: \$424.

Unemployment figures tell a similar story. The Statewide average for 1964 was 7.3 percent, considerably above the national average. Rural and native areas displayed incredibly high unemployment rates: 32 percent in the Wade Hampton District; 28 percent in the Kobuk, Bethel, and Kuskokwim areas, 24 percent around Prince of Wales Island, 20 percent around Nome, 15 percent in the Kenai area, and 13 percent in the Bristol Bay District.

These statistics represent stubborn problems, problems not amenable to quick or easy solutions. But we have made a start. The projects begun during the last few months are such as to

give new hope to thousands of Alaskans. Here are a few examples:

The State has received over \$1½ million for the establishment of Youth Corps programs in several areas. A number of these projects have furnished summer employment for needy students; others will furnish experience and training during the school year, generally as a supplement to classwork. Ninety youths have been aided at Nome, 150 at Sitka, 100 in the Greater Juneau Borough, 100 in the North Star Borough, and 250 in Anchorage. The most ambitious Youth Corps program, and one aiming directly at some of Alaska's most desperately deprived areas, is being carried out by the Alaska Rural Development Agency. Federal grants of over \$1 million will be used to employ and train 625 youths in the lower and central Kuskokwim and lower Yukon River areas.

Project Head Start also got underway in Alaska this summer, made possible by some \$1 million in Federal funds. Seven hundred and fifty children, most of them from poor families, with a leavening from families better situated with respect to income, have been enabled to enter kindergarten or first grade better equipped to compete with their more fortunate classmates. Anchorage, Kodiak, Fairbanks, Nome, Gateway Borough, North Star Borough, Juneau, Hoonah, Haines-Port Chilkoot, Ketchikan, and Kenai were among those communities participating in the Head Start program.

Financial hardships have been eased for a number of the State's college students through the Economic Opportunity Act's work-study program. The University of Alaska has already been enabled to expand its part-time work opportunities through \$38,902 in work-study grants; the university is scheduled for a \$38,192 grant for the coming fall semester. Alaska Methodist University for \$21,177, and Sheldon Jackson Junior College for \$2,916.

Work-experience program funds have financed training programs for 50 welfare recipients, with 250 dependents, in the Juneau area. Included in the program have been housekeeper, maintenance, clerical, and harbor-master trainees.

Volunteers looking toward assignment in villages on the Bethel Peninsula are currently being trained at the University of Alaska. These 30 VISTA workers will be trained in health and sanitation, remedial education, home economics, and the development of native crafts.

Another imaginative program is helping seven towns in southeast Alaska—Klawock, Saxman, Petersburg, Angoon, Wrangell, Kake, and Metlakatla—provide for day care for children during the fishery canning season. The program will reach over 400 children, many from rural areas, and will involve \$184,717 in Federal funds.

One hundred loans totaling \$158,110 have already been made available to Alaskans under the Economic Opportunity Act's title III program to combat poverty in rural areas, and 134 applications from the State are currently pending. The fact that this program, admin-

istered by the Farmers Home Administration, is not limited to farm families has enhanced its applicability to Alaska. Rural Alaskans have been enabled to purchase fishing, trapping, and hunting gear, acquire electrical and mechanical equipment, and make other investments to increase their income.

The State has also been allotted \$50,000 for adult education programs, \$32,000 for the development and coordination of work-experience programs, and \$61,280 for technical assistance in community action programs.

I regard these programs, Mr. President, as a remarkable first effort in what will be a long, perhaps never-ending struggle against poverty. The beginning which Alaska has made is a credit to the OEO and to local and State leaders as well. And of course our efforts in Alaska are only part of a much larger picture. Exciting and encouraging projects are underway all over the Nation. A "Books for Appalachia" drive has collected 500,000 volumes, making it possible for 800 one- and two-room schools in eastern Kentucky to have libraries for the first time. VISTA workers have been assigned to impoverished Indian reservations throughout the country, and programs in adult education, health and sanitation, and vocational training have gotten underway. An entire city block in New York's Harlem district is to be renovated and activity centers for preschool classes, health clinics, and employment training are to be set up. Six hundred college students are providing special tutorial assistance to 10,000 low-income high school students in 11 counties of Alabama.

The national record includes the establishment of 47 Job Corps centers with 10,000 enrollees; the inauguration of 639 Youth Corps projects to provide training for 300,000; the assistance of 54,000 low-income college students through work-study programs in 648 schools; the establishment of 2,400 Head Start programs, serving half a million preschool children; the reaching of 43,372 adults through rudimentary education programs; the provision of housing, sanitation, day-care, and education assistance to 75,000 migrant agricultural workers; the extension of 11,000 low-interest loans to poor rural families; and the provision of work-training to 88,700 welfare recipients.

H.R. 8283, Mr. President, will improve and expand these programs. It will provide for the continuation of projects that have already reached over 3 million of the Nation's poor and which, I am convinced, can improve the quality of life for millions more. I strongly urge its adoption. And I look forward eagerly to the expanded programs and accelerated progress which the bill should make possible.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, it is obvious and indisputable that in its first year the war on poverty has been plagued with problems, delays, confusion and political turmoil. To even the most casual observer it is apparent that the poverty program is stalled and stagnate throughout the Nation in self-generated chaos. As a survey of the Scripps-

Howard newspapers disclosed last month, most of the ten major programs under the Economic Opportunity Act have not come close to achieving their objectives. In Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Omaha, Albany, and many other cities across the Nation, the program has produced sharp controversy and has been embroiled in political power struggles unmatched in intensity in recent years.

In no State has the program faced greater problems and produced more controversy than in the State of California. Democrats and Republicans alike have criticized it. Governor Edmund Brown said at the Western Governor's Conference it was scandalous that politicians, including elected officials, were fighting each other for fat-salaried war on poverty jobs for themselves and their friends solely to enhance their patronage.

Mayor Yorty, of Los Angeles, has charged that the war on poverty is a "huge political porkbarrel."

Democratic Congressman B. F. SISK said recently that the antipoverty program is "not working well" in California, and that "the program is bogged down in nine different directions."

A survey of the situation in California reveals that the criticism is well founded. In Los Angeles, the war on poverty has been stalled for months in what has become a major political struggle between two factions of the Democratic Party. The poor of Los Angeles, like the poverty stricken all across the Nation, were promised solutions to their problems when the Economic Opportunity Act was passed last year. No help has come. The frustration, the disappointment, the feeling of having been taken in again—these emotions are not hard to imagine, and they have become widespread. The House Subcommittee on Poverty got a glimpse of the bitterness and tension in Los Angeles when it held hearings on the antipoverty program just 4 days before the tragic riots ripped that city. The chairman of that subcommittee, Congressman AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, has tied the violence to the failure of officials to get the poverty program moving.

In San Francisco the controversy over the makeup of the commission to administer funds delayed the program for months, and a total deadlock was averted only by the resourcefulness of Mayor Shelley.

In Fresno, antipoverty funds have been threatened by a similar dispute over control of the program.

In Oakland, according to a recent article in the Oakland Tribune, the antipoverty program is a "snafu," a "confusing and bewildering operation." The problem was largely attributed to the fact that there has been "undue haste to get something started."

In Contra Costa County, according to reports of the Richmond Independent, the program is "divided, clumsy, and costly," and after 9 months "has yet to help a significant number of county's poor." I received a lengthy letter from the Richmond chapter of CORE asking that the funds be withheld until the mess could be straightened out.

In a telegram to me last month, State superintendent of public instruction Dr. Max Rafferty, said that coordination between the Federal Government and local applicants had been poor, that "advance planning has been almost nil," that "project approvals have been on a hit or miss basis."

Most of California's leading newspapers have editorialized on the war on poverty and have provided incisive analysis and criticism of the program. To cite a few, the Los Angeles Times of July 4, 1965, stated:

The poor of Los Angeles County have already paid a high price for the failure of local and State governmental agencies to agree on how to administer antipoverty program funds * * *. In recent months the poor have been all but forgotten in the power struggle for control of the antipoverty effort.

No final compromise agreement has yet been reached. The Long Beach Press-Telegram, in an editorial of July 12 entitled "A Stalled Poverty War," calls attention to administrative decision-making and control problems involved in allocating poverty funds. The editorial concludes:

One thing is certain. Nobody will benefit from the antipoverty war if the program remains bogged down in disagreement over the make-up of the general staff.

The San Francisco News Call Bulletin reached a similar conclusion on July 12:

Pursuit of the poverty war in San Francisco—and elsewhere—calls for dedication on the part of everyone involved. It must not be allowed to become an arena for a power struggle.

And the San Diego Union on July 20 in an editorial entitled "War on Poverty Tastes Defeat," states:

It is becoming increasingly apparent as the so-called war on poverty unfolds that the only unemployment solved today is that of Washington bureaucrats desperately trying to spend appropriated funds.

The inflexible and poor administration has been a mark of the war on poverty since its inception. It has arbitrarily assumed a set of conditions and tried to fit all problems into the boundaries, regardless of local conditions and pleas.

As a result, vast sums have been spent on administration instead of the poor. Local wishes have succumbed to pressures that fit them into the preconceived mold. Flexibility has all but vanished.

And finally, the Oakland Tribune on August 12 in an editorial on "Politics and Poverty," states:

All the unsavory grubbiness of the political spoils system have plagued operations of the war on poverty since it was authorized.

High-salaried jobs, and the right to decide who should get them, are the prize sought by local politicians fighting for control of the program in many areas. There is a very real danger that this money-dispensing program may become merely a war chest for big city political machines * * *.

Mr. President, the unavoidable conclusion is that the war on poverty is in trouble, deep trouble.

If a change is not forthcoming, and if evidence continues to mount that funds are not doing the job of helping the poor but rather are being caught up in an ever-widening whirlpool of politics and patronage, then the war on poverty will collapse.

I would hate to see that happen. As I am sure most of my colleagues will agree, many of the ideas and programs of the Antipoverty Act are good, imaginative approaches to a national problem all Americans want to solve. Many of the programs can go far toward improving the opportunities of the poor to help themselves out of the mire of poverty in which they have found themselves since birth. And a few, such as Project Head Start, have had an impressive beginning and have promising futures. It would be tragic to see these programs dragged down because of poor planning, mismanagement, and waste, as well as political competition.

As a member of the Special Subcommittee on Poverty of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, I offered an amendment which would help eliminate politics from the community action program and the VISTA program. I commend the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] and my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for accepting this amendment. It will help prevent the program from being used for partisan purposes by politicians whose main concern is not for the poor but for their own power.

On pages 13 and 14 of the Senate committee report is an explanation of my amendment as accepted by the committee, and I read from the report:

The committee has added a subsection to section 211 designed to make the Hatch Act applicable to employees of community action agencies. Under the committee amendment, these employees would be prohibited from engaging in political activity where they are paid in principal part from Federal funds.

When public agencies are recognized as the local community action agencies, the Hatch Act is already applicable. When private nonprofit agencies are recognized, however, the act does not apply. The committee's amendment reflects the belief that the success of community action programs could be adversely affected if local antipoverty officials were actively engaged in partisan politics. Such engagement could impart a partisan character to a program which should be based on a broad spectrum of support within the community.

Also, Mr. President, on page 16 the Senate report discusses my amendment as applicable to the VISTA volunteers, and I read from the report:

The bill includes, finally, one additional amendment relating to VISTA which was adopted by the committee. This would make the Hatch Political Activities Act applicable to volunteers. Although volunteers for many purposes are not deemed employees of the Federal Government, their relationship with the Government has many characteristics of an employment relationship. The committee believes that they should be subject to the same restrictions on political activity as regular Federal employees.

I am hopeful that, the coming year will see an improvement in this area.

But, Mr. President, I think it would be most irresponsible to think of increasing the authorizations for the Office of Economic Opportunity before improvements are forthcoming.

I have heard many of my colleagues shrug off the criticism that has come from all around the country with the admonition that "this is still an experimental program. There are bound to

be bugs at first." I agree. But I say that we cannot consider increasing the funds until those bugs are worked out. We cannot double the expenditures for a program which has had, in balance, a deplorable record in its first year until we have some guarantee that that record will be improved. We cannot commit an additional \$750 million when the only evidence we have indicates that that money may well be wasted in the largest political boondoggles in the history of this Nation. I cannot, in good conscience, vote to double the amount of money poured down the drain of patronage and mismanagement as I have seen in California.

Mr. President, I have pledged to the people of my State that I would carefully examine every proposal and program to come before the Senate to be sure that it would use the taxpayer's money efficiently and effectively. If any measure failed to meet these basic requirements of good government, I pledged in the best interests of the people of California and the Nation to vote against it. I am sorry to say that as presently conceived and administered, the war on poverty does not meet these requirements and I cannot agree to double its authorization.

I urge my colleagues to defeat this measure.

THE VISTA PROGRAM

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I support the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. At this time I wish to state my support for the provisions of the bill which would strengthen and expand the VISTA program.

Present law strictly limits the kinds of activities to which VISTA volunteers may be assigned. Assigned volunteers may serve in only a limited list of activities, all of which are connected with the Federal Government—projects supported under titles I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act; projects for Indians on reservations, migrants and residents of Federal territories; projects in federally assisted mental health and retardation facilities. Impoverished people who are not involved in programs with a suitable Federal association may not receive the services of assigned volunteers.

I have seen, in my own State of Maine, the hardship that these somewhat arbitrary limitations can cause. The Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indians of Maine do not live on Federal reservations. Some live on reservations provided by the State and some live in distinct communities off the reservations. Many of these people are desperately poor. They need the help that VISTA volunteers can give them to start them on the road to a better life. Yet because they do not live on Federal reservations and because they are not the beneficiaries of community action programs or other programs under titles I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act, it is doubtful under present law whether any of these people may receive the services of assigned volunteers.

The bill now before us would remedy this inequity. It would permit local organizations or groups of citizens to re-

quest and receive the assistance of assigned VISTA volunteers in any local antipoverty program or activity that is of a character eligible for assistance under the act. It would no longer matter whether the program had a Federal connection or was, in fact, supported under another provision of the act.

This bill will, I think, better permit VISTA to fulfill the purposes for which it was created. Volunteers do of course work in existing community action programs and in a wide variety of other federally supported projects. But from the outset it was also the intention of Congress that volunteers should often be the first assault wave in the war on poverty. They should work in communities that have not yet developed community action programs. They should work with the people who have not yet articulated their needs and who have not yet planned a concerted attack on their problems. VISTA volunteers should serve, with the Indians and communities of my State and with the disadvantaged throughout this land, as sources of encouragement and knowledge, as catalysts to help the impoverished develop their own programs for the conquest of poverty.

In many cases, therefore, VISTA volunteers should be assigned to communities before the communities have received any other Federal assistance or established any other Federal tie. The bill now before us would make it clear that the law both permits and intends this.

SENATOR RANDOLPH SUPPORTS ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965—LISTS PROJECTS IN WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, probably tomorrow Senate Members will vote on the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, a bill to expand the effort against poverty and to enhance the effectiveness of the Economic Opportunity Act of last year.

This vital legislation will provide worthwhile work projects, training, and employment for the needy persons in the United States. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] has congenitally pointed out for us the many nationwide accomplishments of this program during the first 9 months of operation. It is truly an impressive record.

Assuredly, no person believes that this one program is the panacea for all the problems of those low-income families and single individuals who do not enjoy the benefits of our affluent society. There has been a commendable beginning in the efforts to eradicate the ancient enemies of poverty, ignorance, and disease, adversaries which, if allowed to thrive will continue to lay waste the vital manpower of our Nation. The past year has seen significant progress toward a better tomorrow and a more meaningful life for the American citizen.

We cannot deny that there have been problems—yes, even mistakes—during this initial year but we must remember that the Office of Economic Opportunity has faced the monumental tasks of recruiting and organizing a staff, formulating the programs, and developing regulations and procedures for administration.

This is a progressive and coordinated plan to attack the roots of poverty and as such there would undoubtedly be problems and controversies. However, when weighing the constructive assistance rendered to our people, the balance sheet shows meaningful success. The critics cannot overshadow these accomplishments. I am reminded of the words of Theodore Roosevelt:

It is not the critic who counts * * * the credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, our States, our communities, and individual citizens are in the arena fighting the war on poverty. We again have the opportunity to assist in this battle. We are continuing to strive—and to do the task.

In West Virginia we moved rapidly when the Economic Opportunity Act, which I cosponsored, became law last August. In the first 9 months of the war on poverty, West Virginia has been allocated \$21.4 million in Federal funds. That sum has been approved for programs to provide direct assistance to more than 40,000 of the State's neediest persons.

Our State has been especially active in four classifications of the antipoverty program:

Project Head Start for preschool children, with 18,502 enrolled and all counties participating.

Job Corps for remedial and vocational education, with more than 8,400 young persons between 16 and 21 saying that they want to enter the program.

Work experience program for educational services and counseling to the 10,000 men in the State work and training program and 2,000 women receiving aid to dependent children. The State received its largest single grant—11.8 million, or more than half of the entire total of all allocations—for expenditures in this classification.

Volunteers in Service to America—VISTA—or Domestic Peace Corps, has a program approved for the State department of mental health. A total of 168 volunteers are to work in a four-stage program in State hospitals and in the field to provide a variety of badly needed services.

The allocation of Federal funds for nine classifications under the Economic Opportunity Program includes:

Neighborhood Youth Corps, \$3,465,204; college work-study, \$295,507; community action programs, \$1,456,358; program development projects, \$342,396; Project Head Start, \$2,875,573; Economic Opportunity Agency, \$84,015; adult basic education, \$233,391; rural loans, \$874,840; and work experience program, \$11,848,400.

It should be noted that this report covers a less-than-9-month period, ending June 30, and includes all allocations since they were first authorized by Congress.

Since June 30, an additional \$307,096,000 has been approved for remedial reading programs in three counties.

Governor Hulett Smith recently stated:

We have had some failures, as well as these successes. The Small Business Incentive Program has been at a standstill in the

State. However, staff members are working with West Virginia University and Federal officials on the incentive program and a sound and workable proposal has been submitted.

I feel this record is truly indicative of the work which can be accomplished through this comprehensive program. West Virginians are cooperating in this record and on behalf of the citizens of our Mountain State I have given my support to the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 and to future endeavors under this essential program.

In the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, during hearings and consideration of the testimony of qualified witnesses, I have been convinced that carping criticism cannot tear down this worthwhile program. I continue my strong support of the measure—and the mission on which we are committed.

EXPANSION OF MEAT EXPORT INDUSTRY

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, now, as never before, the United States faces an opportunity to expand its meat export industry and on a long-range basis.

The market for beef in the United Kingdom and Europe is constantly growing. At the same time, their traditional major beef supplier, the Argentine, seems to be facing disaster in its own beef export efforts.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an excerpt from the August 9 issue of Foreign Agriculture, USDA publication.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARGENTINE BEEF EXPORTS DROP SHARPLY

Increases in cattle prices since late June in Argentina, the result of greater domestic demand for beef, have led packers to greatly reduce operations and to buy only token quantities for export. Steer prices reached the equivalent of about 20 U.S. cents per pound in mid-July.

Government measures to discourage domestic consumption and to directly stimulate exports have not halted the decline in shipments. These measures include the establishment of 2 beefless days a week, the requirement that steers from 900 to 1,055 pounds be sold only for export, and the granting of tax benefits to exporters to help offset the price differential between foreign and domestic markets.

Argentine beef exports during January-May 1965 were about 30 percent less than in the same period of 1964 and may decline still further unless means are found to make exports more profitable.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The same publication, elsewhere in the same issue, and many others have more than confirmed the fact that Europe's meat shortage is a real one; that, because of the inability of the Argentine to supply the needs, a "vacuum" is developing rapidly in the European and the United Kingdom meat markets.

I am not unaware of the fact that the present administration has been making some moves, in conjunction with the American Meat Institute, to expand the market for American meat and meat products in the United Kingdom and on the European continent.

At the same time, however, our own U.S. beef and meat industries face various complex problems in seeking, fully

and on a long-range basis, to exploit this European meat "vacuum" where, heretofore, the Argentine had always reigned supreme.

For example, the price differential between costs for U.S. meat and that in Europe must be solved. Our high labor rates here contribute to create this price differential.

Nonetheless, if the reports are accurate, the Argentine at present seems to be doing little or nothing to restore its preeminent place in the European meat markets.

In the United States we have the potential to produce vast quantities of beef—to turn our grain surpluses into meat—to tailor this product to fit the appetites and desires of the British and European markets.

I do not feel that, at present, the administration may be doing enough to exploit these potentials on a long-term basis. Nor do I believe, from the reports one receives, that the Argentine Government seems to realize the extent to which it is rapidly losing its traditional European markets.

In fact, if these reports are accurate, the Argentine Government, rather than trying to help its meat industry, actually seems to be penalizing it by new export taxation and by other unrealistic measures. This seems strange when most nations go out of their way to subsidize and otherwise to help their major earners of foreign exchange.

Nonetheless, that is the problem of the Argentine. It may well become a problem of the U.S. Government, as well, when the foreign aid policy is reviewed. We may face a vicious cycle. For, when the Argentine cannot export meat and earn foreign exchange, ultimately it may mean more and more aid.

That, however, is not my thesis of the moment. Rather, I plan to recommend that the Congress hold a full-scale investigation into ways-and-means of expanding the United Kingdom and European markets for our American realistic means for helping g beef; that we consider practical and realistic means for helping the Department of Agriculture, the American Meat Institute, the American National Cattle-men's Association and all others interested in taking advantage of this opportunity on a truly long-range basis.

For, in view of the reports from the Argentine where, I am informed, virtually its entire beef export industry is paralyzed, some nation will move into that "vacuum" of meat markets in Europe. Why should not the United States, with our ample supplies and even more ample production potentials, do so?

I will welcome the views of my colleagues in this regard so that we might, together, move forward and expand beyond the somewhat limited efforts which the present administration, however laudable, already has undertaken.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "Europe Buying More Beef," by L. H. Simerl, published in the State Journal-Register, of Springfield, Ill., August 15.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPE BUYING MORE BEEF

(By L. H. Simerl)

A couple of years ago our cattlemen became alarmed about the rapid increase in imports of meat. Since that time imports have been reduced sharply, and many stockmen have become interested in finding overseas markets for their own beef. They will doubtless be interested in some recent comments by E. E. Broadbent, professor of livestock marketing at the University of Illinois.

Broadbent recently returned to the campus after studying livestock marketing for several months in foreign countries. He reports that there is a growing shortage of beef in Western Europe. The shortage arises from greatly increased consumer demand for beef and from a shrinkage in the amounts supplied from former sources.

STRONGER DEMAND

Demand is increasing because of the high level of employment and rising wages. At the same time the formerly large flow of beef from South America to Europe has diminished.

Most countries in Western Europe have been enjoying nearly full employment and rising wages. Increases in buying power per person often exceed the rate in the United States, but population growth is slower.

West Germany is the major importer of beef in Western Europe. Shipments in the country during the first half of this year were equivalent to 407,000 head of cattle, 28 percent more than the year before. Most of this increase came from Australia and the United Kingdom.

Less beef from South America. Exports of beef from Argentina totaled about 147,000 tons during the first half of 1965, 28 percent less than last year. Exports from Uruguay were also lower. Most European observers do not expect any quick recovery in the flow of beef from South America to Europe.

Australia ships more. The Australians have greatly increased their shipments of beef to the West European markets. They have established meat market expeditors in Europe. Their prime targets are restaurants, hotels, and institutional meat users.

New Zealand continues to ship a large proportion of her beef exports to Europe. The United Kingdom has become the third largest supplier of beef to West Germany.

European buyers want lean beef. Broadbent observers that most of the beef produced in U.S. feedlots is too highly finished to please European buyers. They want and use beef that is about like our typical standard and commercial grades. The best of their beef is similar to our Good grade.

Prices for these grades of beef recently were 2 to 4 cents a pound higher in the Common Market countries than in Chicago. This difference is not enough to pay transportation costs from our packing centers to the European markets.

Prices of our standard grade of cattle recently were around \$22 a hundred pounds, 27 percent higher than a year before. This rise puts our beef in an even less favorable position to compete with other supply sources.

AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL FIREARMS ACT AND THE FEDERAL FIREARMS ACT—REFERRAL OF BILL

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on March 22 of this year, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Don] introduced two bills, S. 1591 and S. 1592, which respectively amended the National Firearms

Act and the Federal Firearms Act. Although S. 1592 would normally have been referred to the Committee on Commerce it was, at Senator Don's request, with unanimous consent of the Senate, referred to the Judiciary Committee. Subsequently, all other measures pending before the Commerce Committee relating to firearms were referred to the Judiciary Committee to enable the latter to fully examine and have the benefit of all avenues of approach concerning firearms control which were embodied in legislative proposals. Referral of these measures to the Judiciary Committee prior to their coming to the Commerce Committee was considered desirable for several reasons. It was felt that because issues of a constitutional nature were raised concerning these bills that the Senate should have the benefit of the recommendations of the Judiciary Committee. In addition, the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, to which these bills were referred by the Judiciary Committee, has conducted extensive investigations on the subject of the firearms problem. It has kept abreast of the problem since 1959 and commenced a full-scale investigation in 1961. As a result of its long and exhaustive study, it issued in the closing weeks of the last session an interim report. Referral of the present bills was also intended to enable the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee to finalize its recommendations—which the Commerce Committee now anxiously awaits.

On August 10, the House passed H.R. 9570, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to relieve applicants from certain provisions of the Federal Firearms Act if he finds such relief would not be contrary to the public interest. The provisions of H.R. 9570 are similar, and identical in purpose, to section 6 of S. 1592. Since S. 1592, as well as all other measures affecting firearms, was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, it seems to me appropriate that H.R. 9570 should be similarly referred.

Mr. President, in light of the foregoing, I ask unanimous consent that H.R. 9570 be referred to the Judiciary Committee under the same terms and conditions as those which have previously been referred.

The conditions previously referred to are that if and when the Committee on the Judiciary came to some conclusion on the question, the bill or bills would be referred back to the Senate Committee on Commerce for a perusal by that committee. It may not be that the committee would need to look at the bills for a long time. Perhaps it would not wish to hold hearings or anything like that. The bill to which I have referred would be referred under the same agreement.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill H.R. 9570 be referred to the Judiciary Committee under the same terms and conditions as those which have previously been referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RUSSELL of South Carolina in the chair). Is there objection?

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not

Aug. 18, 1965

6. FOREIGN SERVICE. The "Daily Digest" states that the Foreign Affairs Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) "H. R. 6277 (amended), regarding the Foreign Service Act Amendments of 1965." p. D813
7. FOOD MARKETING. Rep. Wolff reviewed his study of the trading stamp industry and contended that the use of trading stamps contributed to the rise in costs of food. pp. 20200-1

SENATE

8. POVERTY. Continued debate on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. pp. ~~20069~~, 20071-2, 20076-108
Rejected the following amendments:
 - By Sen. Allott, 39-48, to make reductions in authorized appropriations for operation of the poverty program and to provide for a joint congressional study committee. pp. 20071-2, 20076-93
 - By Sen. Javits, 30-59, barring the Director from holding any other Federal office of equivalent rank. pp. 20093-8
 - By Sen. Prouty, 43-44, providing that a Governor's veto of certain programs may be exercised within 20 rather than 30 days. pp. 20098-100
 - By Sen. Dominick, 42-43, to put back into the bill the Governor's right of veto on community action programs only. pp. 20102-7
9. DEFENSE DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION. The Appropriations Committee reported with amendments this bill, H. R. 9221, (S. Rept. 625) (p. 20064) and Sen. Stennis submitted two notices of his intention to move to suspend the rules for the purpose of proposing amendments to this bill (p. 20069).
10. TRANSPORTATION. Both Houses received and the Senate agreed to the conference report on H. R. 5401, to amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to strengthen and improve the national transportation system (H. Rept. 810). pp. 20108-9, 20188-90
11. LOANS. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) with amendments H. R. 4152, to provide means for expediting the retirement of Government capital in the Federal intermediate credit banks, including an increase in the debt permitted such banks in relation to their capital and provision for the production credit associations to acquire additional capital stock therein and to provide for allocating certain earnings of such banks and associations to their users. p. D811
12. WATERSHEDS. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee approved works of improvement on watershed projects at Big Slough, Fla., and Upper Big Nemaha, Nebr. p. D811
13. FARM PROGRAM. The "Daily Digest" states that the Agriculture and Forestry Committee will begin executive consideration on Tues., Aug. 24, of S. 1702, the farm bill. p. D811
14. CLAIMS. Passed over S. 1587, to amend the Tucker Act to increase from \$10,000 to \$50,000 the limitation on the jurisdiction of the United States district courts in suits against the United States for breach of contract or for compensation. p. 20054

15. GRAINS. Received a Penn. Senate resolution urging enactment of legislation reducing the price paid for surplus corn by farmers of disaster areas to 50 percent of the current price support figure (p. 20063); and an Okla. Wheat Growers resolution favoring a voluntary certificate type of wheat program (p. 20064).
16. FEDERAL AID. Sen. Muskie commended and inserted a speech by the Director of Office of Emergency Planning dealing with "present and future Federal policies designed to promote the greatest possible cooperation between the State Houses and the White House." pp. 20110-13
17. VETERANS' AFFAIRS. Sen. Yarborough inserted an American Legion resolution endorsing S. 9, the cold war GI bill. pp. 20113-4
18. WATER RESOURCE. Sen. Yarborough commended and inserted a speech by Director of Civil Works Graham on water resource development. pp. 20117-8
19. ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY. Sen. Hart spoke of the success of the St. Lawrence Seaway and inserted an article, "Seaway Pays Its Way in Midwest Growth." pp. 20129-30

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

20. FARM PROGRAM. Rep. Erlenborn inserted an article, "Farm Bill Hits Poor In The Breadbasket." p. A4621
Extension of remarks of Rep. Dague criticizing the farm bill. p. A4624
Rep. Berry inserted an article, "The Wheat Plan", which points out that the "subsidy to wheat is primarily a consumer subsidy." pp. A4629-30
21. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Lipscomb inserted an article, "Trade With West Bolsters Reds", which 'sums up the problems of trade with the Communist bloc." p. A4624
22. ELECTRIFICATION; COOPERATIVES. Extension of remarks of Rep. Schmidhauser inserting an article regarding a recommendation by the American Farm Bureau Federation that the interest rate on future REA loans to rural electric cooperatives be raised. pp. A4624-5
23. WATER SYSTEMS; LOANS. Extension of remarks of Rep. Herlong inserting Asst. FHA Admin. Brock's speech at the dedication of the water system in Santa Rosa County, Fla. p. A4632
24. FOREIGN AID. Extension of remarks of Rep. McCarthy discussing the "new high in AID spending in the United States" and inserting a table summarizing procurement source trend of commodity spending. pp. A4634-5
25. FARM LABOR. Extension of remarks of Rep. Multer criticizing Calif. tomato growers for allegedly "forcing" Secretary Wirtz to allow them to import Mexican braceros. p. A4646

BILLS INTRODUCED

26. PERSONNEL; POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. H. R. 10535 by Rep. Grabowski, to provide for a bipartisan committee to study the election methods for national offices in the U. S. executive and legislative branches, to evaluate the various means of conducting campaigns, especially the campaign for President and Vice President of the United States, to study other related procedures and activities, and to make recommendations for improvements in these areas; to House Administration Committee.

order to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. YARBOROUGH:

Article entitled "Texan's Trail Leads from Piney Woods to Down Under," dealing with the newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to Australia, Edward Clark, published in the Houston Chronicle Texas magazine of August 1, 1965.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

Articles entitled "Cites Necessity of United States Keeping Its Word in Viet," and "Asia Remains Primary Target of Communists," written by Carl W. McCardle, and published in the Wheeling Intelligencer in August 1965.

NATIONAL DRUM CORPS WEEK

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I should like to congratulate the 1 million young men and women across the Nation who are being honored during National Drum Corps Week.

These youngsters, who lend an air of pageantry and excitement to parades, sports events, and other activities, are participating in a wonderful experience. Through their activities they make an important and very worthwhile contribution to their communities. Because they channel their time and efforts toward a constructive cause, they better themselves.

National Drum Corps Week serves to bring to the attention of the Nation the wholesome activity which occupies the free time of a great number of our young people. This is significant at a time when the younger segment of the population is often severely criticized because of the foolish actions of a very few.

We extend to these boys and girls—these young men and young women—our congratulations and good wishes with the knowledge that in a comparatively few years they, who are manifesting leadership at this time, will be among the millions who will become the keepers, guardians, and trustees of our Nation and its liberties.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will resume the consideration of the bill.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message

from the President of the United States submitting several nominations, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. EASTLAND (for Mr. SMATHERS), from the Committee on the Judiciary:

John E. Maguire, Sr., of Florida, to be U.S. marshal for the middle district of Florida.

By Mr. EASTLAND:

Anthony J. Celebrezze, of Ohio, to be U.S. circuit judge, sixth circuit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Robert W. Akers, of Texas, to be Deputy Director of the U.S. Information Agency.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of this nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On request by Mr. MANSFIELD and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending amendment offered by the distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] may be laid aside temporarily so that the distinguished senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] may offer a substitute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 392

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 392, which is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading of the amendment, but that the amendment be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 28, beginning with line 17, strike out all through line 2 on page 31 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 30. (a) The second sentence of section 131 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sum may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(b) The second sentence of section 220 of such Act (as redesignated by section 20 of this Act) is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sum may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(c) The second sentence of section 321 of such Act is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sum may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(d) The second sentence of section 503 of such Act is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sum may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(e) The second sentence of section 615 of such Act is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)) there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, such sum may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

At the end of the bill insert a new section as follows:

"JOINT CONGRESSIONAL STUDY COMMITTEE

"SEC. 32. (a) There is hereby established a Joint Committee on the Administration of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (hereafter in this section referred to as the 'joint committee') to be composed of six Members of the Senate appointed by the Vice President, three from the majority party and three from the minority party, and six Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker, three from the majority party and three from the minority party. In making such appointments the Vice President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall each designate one member to serve as cochairman of the joint committee. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the joint committee shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made. Seven members of the joint committee shall constitute a

quorum for carrying out its functions, except that a lesser number of at least two members from each party may hold hearings pursuant to this section.

"(b) The joint committee shall make a full and complete study of the administration of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 at the Federal, State, and local levels with a view to determining what improvements, if any, should be made in such Act and in its administration.

"(c) The joint committee shall report the results of such study and its recommendations to the Senate and the House of Representatives not later than January 31, 1966. After making such report the joint committee shall cease to exist.

"(d) For the purpose of carrying out this section, the joint committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times within the United States (exclusive of any Commonwealth or possession thereof) during the sessions, recesses, and periods of adjournment of the present Congress, to hold such hearings, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, records, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. Subpenas may be issued under the signatures of the cochairmen of the joint committee or any member designated by them, and may be served by any person designated by such cochairmen or member.

"(e) The joint committee may appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, technicians, and clerical and stenographic assistants as it deems necessary and advisable. The joint committee may also recruit and utilize, on a loan basis and with the consent of the head of the department or agency concerned, appropriate experts, consultants, and technicians from the executive branch of the Government.

"(f) The expenses of the joint committee, which shall not exceed \$50,000, shall be paid upon vouchers approved by the cochairmen of the joint committee."

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, yesterday Mr. George Champion, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank, testified before the Committee on Banking and Currency on the question of balance of payments. I agree with some features of Mr. Champion's testimony, but I believe his main prescription is faulty. He wishes to eliminate any restrictions upon the short-time loans which banks make to foreign countries at high interest rates. Therefore, I take it, he wants to have the voluntary agreement which has been made with the administration revoked—an agreement which thus far has been loyally carried out by the banking fraternity and which is largely responsible for the correction of the adverse balance of payments. Mr. Champion, however, apparently wants to have that agreement eliminated and offers the classic banker's prescription for all difficulties: To raise interest rates, balance the budget, and cut foreign aid.

Mr. President, we are likely to hear this cry increasingly in future months, so I believe we should remember what happened in 1931.

In 1931, the countries of the continent of Europe, led by France, presented exchange claims against sterling and demanded gold in payment. As a result, Great Britain was forced off the gold standard and was compelled to devalue the pound.

Almost immediately thereafter, the Federal Reserve Board twice raised interest rates. This, of course, had an adverse effect upon American industry and plunged us more deeply into the depression.

A few weeks ago I had the privilege of examining Mr. William McChesney Martin, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. I forced him to admit that this action, in his judgment, was a mistake and had an adverse effect upon the economy. However, he would not declare himself as to whether he would be willing to make the same mistake in the future.

I think it may be said that if Great Britain encounters currency difficulties this fall—we hope she will not, and I believe we should support the British—we may find the movement for higher interest rates renewed. Mr. Champion is sounding the initial bugle in this drive.

If we raise interest rates, it is very likely that European central banks will, in self-protection, also raise their interest rates, and that the differential that now exists in their favor will in all probability not be reduced. All this could become a part of the drive of the international bankers to raise the price of lending money. Furthermore, it would repress new investments in this country and either reverse the present forward movement of industry or help to plunge us into a downward movement.

Mr. Champion proposes that we reduce foreign aid. Perhaps we should reduce foreign aid to Sukarno, to Nasser, and possibly to others. I would be in favor of reducing our military expenditures in France and aid to the French colonies and, in general, of reducing the amount of liquid claims which the French have and will exercise against our gold.

But the general program of foreign aid and the general program of military support are a part of the foreign policy of the United States. They are as essential to our security as our own arms. I object to subordinating national policy in order to permit banks to obtain high interest rates on short-time loans which they make to foreign countries, most notably to Japan.

I urge Mr. Champion and his associates to take the same broad point of view which the bankers took in the early winter, when they signed the voluntary agreement, an agreement which I believe they have been loyally carrying out.

Mr. President, I want to raise a flag of warning. We should sprinkle salt over this prescription of Mr. Champion's. I do not believe that it is in the public interest. I believe that we should not subordinate our national interest to the banking interest. I hope that we shall continue on the course which the President has laid out.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold that request?

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I withdraw the suggestion.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I yield.

NATIONAL DRUM CORPS WEEK

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, August 15 to 22 has been designated as National Drum Corps Week, and I am glad to join my colleague, Senator PROXMIRE, in saluting the drum and bugle corps of this country which provide worthwhile activity, pride of community and the stimulation of competition to 1 million teenagers and young adults.

I am also pleased that the National Chairman of this effort to put the spotlight on the good works of our drum and bugle corps is a fellow New Yorker, Mr. Harvey N. Berish, and that the national clearinghouse of information of drums corps activity is in the Bronx, N.Y.

One of the most striking aspects of the drum and bugle corps organizations throughout the country is that these groups of boys and girls are essentially community or neighborhood oriented. In most instances these groups represent their communities in parades or civic functions, and their members are taught that their skill, precision and appearance reflect on their parents, neighbors and friends. In short, members of these corps are taught to take pride in their appearance and ability.

We in New York are proud of our drum and bugle corps units, which add such color and rhythm to our civic occasions—especially our parades—as well as providing worthwhile activity for our young people. I know that this pride is shared by the people of every State, and that we all hope that the number of such units will multiply in the years to come.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield to the majority leader so that he may transact some business without my losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF BANKRUPTCY ACT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 589, H.R. 5497.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

of members shall, except as provided in this Act, be determined according to the bylaws of the corporation.

(b) Each member shall be entitled to one vote on each matter submitted to a vote at all meetings of the members of the corporation.

GOVERNING BODY; COMPOSITION; TENURE

SEC. 7. The corporation shall be governed by a board of directors composed of not less than ten or more than thirty-five members. The method of election, term of office, and other matters pertaining to the board of directors shall be provided in the bylaws.

OFFICERS; POWERS AND DUTIES

SEC. 8. (a) The officers of the corporation shall be members of the corporation and shall consist of a president, the number of vice presidents provided in the bylaws, a secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as may be provided in the bylaws.

(b) The officers shall perform such duties and have such powers as the bylaws and the board of directors may from time to time prescribe.

USE OF INCOME; LOANS TO OFFICERS, DIRECTORS, OR EMPLOYEES

SEC. 9. (a) No part of the income or assets of the corporation shall inure to any member, officer, or director, or be distributable to any such person during the life of the corporation or upon dissolution or final liquidation. Nothing in this subsection, however, shall be construed to prevent the payment of reasonable compensation to officers of the corporation in amounts approved by the board of directors of the corporation.

(b) The corporation shall not make loans to its officers, directors, or employees. Any director who votes for or assents to the making of a loan to an officer, director, or employee of the corporation, and any officer who participates in the making of such loan, shall be jointly and severally liable to the corporation for the amount of such loan until the repayment thereof.

NONPOLITICAL NATURE OF CORPORATION

SEC. 10. The corporation and its members, officers, and directors, as such, shall not contribute to or otherwise support or assist any political party or candidate for elective public office.

LIABILITY FOR ACTS OF OFFICERS AND AGENTS

SEC. 11. The corporation shall be liable for the acts of its officers and agents when acting within the scope of their authority.

PROHIBITION AGAINST ISSUANCE OF STOCK OR PAYMENT OF DIVIDENDS

SEC. 12. The corporation shall have no power to issue any shares of stock, to declare or pay any dividends.

BOOKS AND RECORDS; INSPECTION

SEC. 13. (a) The corporation shall keep correct and complete books and records of account. It shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of the meetings of its members, its board of directors, and committees having any authority under the board of directors. It shall also keep at its principal office a record of the names and addresses of its members entitled to vote.

(b) All books and records of the corporation shall be open for inspection by any member of the corporation or his agent or attorney for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

AUDIT OF FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS; REPORT TO THE CONGRESS

SEC. 14. (a) The accounts of the corporation shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants or independent licensed public accountants, certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision of the United States. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of

the corporation are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, reports, files, and all other papers, things, or property belonging to or in use by the corporation and necessary to facilitate the audit shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audit; and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians shall be afforded to such person or persons.

(b) A report of such audit shall be made by the corporation to the Congress not later than six months following the close of the fiscal year for which the audit is made. The report shall set forth the scope of the audit and include such statements, together with the independent auditor's opinion of those statements, as are necessary to present fairly the corporation's assets and liabilities, surplus or deficit with an analysis of the changes therein during the year, supplemented in reasonable detail by a statement of the corporation's income and expenses during the year, including (1) the results of any trading, manufacturing, publishing, or other commercial-type endeavors carried on by the corporation, and (2) a schedule of all contracts requiring payments in excess of \$10,000 and any payments of compensation, salaries, or fees at a rate in excess of \$10,000 per annum. The report shall not be printed as a public document.

USE OF ASSETS UPON DISSOLUTION OR LIQUIDATION

SEC. 15. Upon final dissolution or liquidation of the corporation, and after the discharge or satisfaction of all outstanding obligation and liabilities, the remaining assets of the corporation shall be used by the board of directors for one or more of the purposes stated in section 3 of this Act.

EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO NAME AND SEALS

SEC. 16. The corporation shall have sole and exclusive right to use the name "American Academy of Actuaries" and such seals as the corporation may lawfully adopt.

RESERVATION OF RIGHT TO AMEND OR REPEAL CHARTER

SEC. 17. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this Act is expressly reserved to the Congress.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 601), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of the proposed legislation is to confer a Federal charter on the American Academy of Actuaries.

STATEMENT

The actuarial profession is largely responsible for the technical methods and framework leading to the enormous aggregate of today's economic protection against the hazards of death, disability, retirement, and property loss. The field of actuarial science and its influence on the social and economic affairs of the Nation have been growing rapidly in recent years with the great expansion that has taken place in all phases of the insurance business.

Over the years, four nationally recognized actuarial bodies have been developed to provide for the training and qualifications of actuaries. These bodies hold meetings at which professional papers may be discussed and ideas exchanged. In each of these bodies there is emphasis generally in one or more of the branches of actuarial science but not in all of them, and each has set up certain membership requirements—based on passing examinations or on having certain experi-

ence qualifications. These four actuarial bodies—in the order of their size—are as follows: The Society of Actuaries, whose primary fields are life insurance, health insurance, and pensions; the Casualty Actuarial Society, primarily comprising casualty, fire, and health insurance; the Conference of Actuaries in Public Practice, whose field covers all branches of insurance, welfare benefits, and pensions from the standpoint of consulting actuaries; and the Fraternal Actuarial Association, whose interests lie in the provision of insurance through fraternal orders. Many actuaries belong to more than one of these bodies.

The four actuarial bodies attempt to recruit and train enough qualified actuaries to meet the needs of the public, and they require their members to meet strict standards of education, training, and professional conduct. It now appears necessary and advisable to alert the Congress, the Federal departments, and the public to recognize only qualified actuaries and to advocate means for the legal recognition or accreditation of these qualified actuaries.

Accordingly, in order to advance the knowledge of actuarial science through education and the promotion of the concepts thereof in the minds of the general public; to establish, promote, and maintain high standards of conduct and competence within the actuarial profession; and to encourage in this purpose the coordination of the efforts of the existing actuarial bodies and of other proven competent persons not now members thereof, it is proposed to organize a federally chartered organization termed the "American Academy of Actuaries." The four actuarial bodies have endorsed this proposal by resolution of their governing boards and by vote of their members.

The committee is of the opinion that the American Academy of Actuaries is deserving of Federal recognition by receiving a Federal charter, and that it would give recognition and encouragement to the actuarial profession and which would serve the public interest by so doing. Accordingly, the committee recommends favorable consideration of S. 1154, without amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in regard to this bill, I wish to say very briefly that there are some problems created by the bill with respect to the control of those who may enter the profession of actuary. One of these problems concerns possible discrimination in membership policies. A second question concerns the possible monopoly aspects of control of admission to the profession.

Questions concerning States' rights would also be created in view of the Federal incorporation. However, we feel—and I have consulted with the author of the bill, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], and with the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] on this subject—that the actual carrying out of the authority given by the bill would be in accordance with the strictest consideration and attention to these problems and our reliance upon the assurances that the bill will be administered with intelligence, judgment, and fairness.

It was with that knowledge that I joined as a cosponsor of the measure. I make this brief statement of record so that those who continue to consider this legislation and, if enacted, those who will administer it, will realize that it confers very important rights, and so that they may be aware of the basis upon which I believe that the Senate is acting on the measure today.

This authority, after all, is within control of the laws of the United States. I express the expectation that even after the enactment of the bill, it will be administered without discrimination, wisely, in the broad public interest, and with the complete freedom to deserving and talented people to enter the profession.

I thank the majority leader for having brought up the bill at this time.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, while the majority leader was in the Chamber, there were two quorum calls which seemed not to have produced many live bodies. It would be my hope that somewhere along the line, perhaps at the conclusion of my introductory remarks, without losing my right to the floor or having it counted as an extra appearance, we could bring enough Senators to the Chamber to order the yeas and nays.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I assure the Senator that he will have a yea-and-nay vote.

Mr. ALLOTT. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, last year when we were presented with the legislation to establish the Office of Economic Opportunity, I made some predictions of what we could expect if that legislation were enacted. While I know that no one likes to hear the phrase, "I told you so," and normally I would not indulge in such a practice, in this instance it may serve a useful purpose.

I contend that the legislation before us simply compounds the folly of last year. It would increase the authorization for programs that have largely been discredited because of bureaucratic bungling. The news media have been replete with accounts of the unbelievable waste of taxpayers' dollars with almost imperceptible results. The political wolves have fought over this fat bone of taxpayers' money with almost fanatical fury.

In light of nearly a year's experience with the "Greatest Show on Earth," it seems appropriate to reread the few paragraphs of my statement made last year just prior to Senate passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. At that time I said:

Mr. President, a lot has been said, and I am sure that much, much more will be said in the months ahead about the President's war on poverty. This program has been heralded in a fashion that would make P. T. Barnum's heart leap for joy, were he still alive. The advance publicity men and the barkers have been diligently plying their trade. The atmosphere has definitely been "circus," and after having read the bill, perhaps a circus setting is appropriate after all. With the enactment of this hastily drafted, ill-considered legislation the world-renowned Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus will be relegated to the "Second Greatest Show on Earth."

Because we have been deluged with Madison Avenue slogans and circus hoopla, I think that it is important that this quixotic approach to the poverty problem be placed in its proper perspective. This was succinctly done in a conversation between two 8-year-olds, as only children in their direct and innocent insight can. The exchange, as overheard by one of my staff members went like this:

First 8-year-old: "What's a poverty war?"

Second 8-year-old: "Oh, that's a battle between the poor people and the politicians—but the politicians always win."

"The politicians always win." These four words sum up the underlying aims and eventual results of the war on poverty with uncanny accuracy. How can Senators be asked, in good conscience, to authorize the expenditure of nearly \$1 billion of the taxpayers' money in the first year and undoubtedly several times that amount in years to come to secure a victory for politicians. Campaign funds should be procured from the usual sources, not the Federal Treasury.

Section 602(m) authorizes the "poverty czar" to "expend, without regard to the provisions of any other law or regulation, funds made available for purposes of this act (1) for printing and binding * * *," and section 602(i) authorizes him to "disseminate, without regard to the provisions of section 4154 of title 39, United States Code, data and information, in such form as he shall deem appropriate, to public agencies, private organizations, and the general public; * * *"

With such broad authority to print and disseminate data and information, perhaps "Poverty Czar" is a misnomer; "Propaganda Czar" may be more appropriate.

And this propaganda czar has turned his best talents on the Congress. I have received, as I am sure all other Members of Congress have, a magnificently illustrated 2-volume congressional presentation of approximately 300 pages. I would hesitate to estimate its cost, but I am sure it was considerable.

The flood of propaganda that has flowed out of the Washington headquarters of the Office of Economic Opportunity—that is the legal name for the poverty program—can only be equaled by the Johnstown flood.

The country is now waterlogged with data and information of every kind, including hour-and-a-half television extravaganzas.

SALARIES

If the purpose of this poverty program was to put as many as possible on the Government payroll at the highest salaries possible, then I would have to say the program was a success. Supergrade personnel abound in OEO the likes of which this country has never before experienced. The Minority Views point out that there is 1 supergrade position for every 18 employees. Compare this with the Defense Department which has only 1 supergrade for every 1,000 employees. Supergrade salaries range from \$19,000 to \$24,500, and of course offer considerable economic opportunity for the bureaucrat. Perhaps this accounts for the signal lack of accomplishment in that there are plenty of chiefs issuing orders but there are very few Indians to carry them out. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a Senate Republican memo dated April 1, 1965, dealing with this subject be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Senate Republican Memo No. 11, Apr. 1, 1965]

FOR THOSE EARNING \$3,000 YEARLY: HIGH-PRICED HELP IS ON ITS WAY

The Johnson administration's poverty headquarters in Washington, D.C. (Office of Economic Opportunity), gradually is getting itself organized as follows:

(Per year)

Director.....	\$30,000
Deputy Director.....	28,000
First Assistant Director.....	27,000
Second Assistant Director.....	27,000
Third Assistant Director.....	27,000
An assistant.....	24,500
An assistant.....	24,500
An assistant.....	24,500
An assistant.....	24,500
An assistant.....	24,500
An assistant.....	24,500
An assistant.....	24,500
An assistant.....	24,500
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another assistant.....	21,445
Another kind of assistant.....	18,935
Another kind of assistant.....	18,935
Another kind of assistant.....	18,935
Another kind of assistant.....	18,935
Another kind of assistant.....	18,935
Another kind of assistant.....	18,935
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Another kind of assistant.....	18,935
Another kind of assistant.....	18,935

The first five jobs listed are noncareer executive pay act positions, the other 40 are under civil service and have been approved by the Civil Service Commission. (Note: the national poverty headquarters office plans a staff of 1,150, as a starter.)

STATE POVERTY CHIEF BRINGS SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST PROGRAM

Continuing complaints from around the Nation about the Great Society's poverty program reached another stage March 29, when the State coordinator of the program in Kentucky appeared to be almost ready to give up because of the frustration and mess. The Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., reported under a headline reading "Antipoverty Plans Held Bungled":

Kentucky poverty chief James L. Peel declared, "The President at this time apparently has no knowledge of the situation." Mr. Peel said Congress would have to look into the mess. The Kentucky coordinator said officials in the national office in Washington, D.C., "want to cut out the States" from having any say about the program.

At a meeting in Washington, D.C., of the National Council on Community Development, Mr. Peel said he met with other State coordinators and learned they all shared his

dissatisfaction with the program's progress. "The basic difficulty," he said, "is caused by the fact that the people in Washington are good theoreticians, but have difficulty in making practical applications of their theories."

He cited this example of the Washington, D.C., operations: The first he, or his State, knew of several antipoverty developments for Kentucky was from Washington, D.C., news releases. Mr. Peel said he had reason to believe the Washington poverty headquarters had withheld the announcements of some projects—even after their approval—"for greater news impact."

"The worst mess is the community action program." He said, for example, he had asked Ralph Caprio, an Office of Economic Opportunity aid, about the progress of applications for projects under this program. "Caprio told me they have made this classified information and aren't allowed to discuss this with us at all."

In another phase of the program, the Head Start project to provide special educational aid to areas with a high percentage

of low-income families, Mr. Peel said his offer to expedite applications was turned down.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, this memorandum shows a range of salaries in the supergrades running from \$30,000 for the Director to all kinds of positions that are described as "another kind of assistant." The lowest salary is \$18,935.

But these figures deal only with the Washington office; what about the community action program? These bureaucrats have done well also. In keeping with Mr. Shriver's request that these facts be brought before the public, I ask unanimous consent that a tabulation gratuitously furnished to me by the OEO—that is the poverty office downtown—showing certain salaries as of April 1965, be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY: COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
Comparison of annual salary of staff director of Community Action Agency with annual salary of city officials, Community Chest: April 1965

City	Community action director	Mayor or city manager	Superintendent of schools	Director of public works	Director of public welfare	Urban renewal/public housing	Community Chest Red Feather
Chicago, Ill.	\$22,500	\$35,000	\$48,000	\$26,500	\$12,900	\$30,000	\$35,000
Los Angeles, Calif.	25,000	28,692	42,500	26,424		25,704	
Detroit, Mich.	18,093	25,000	33,000	23,982	18,799	21,631	28,000
Baltimore, Md.	22,500	25,000	35,000	22,500	19,000	22,500	19,500
Cleveland, Ohio	20,000	25,000	25,000	18,594			22,000
Washington, D.C.	25,000	26,000	26,000	25,500	23,695	23,695	
St. Louis, Mo.	24,000	25,000	25,000	22,922	16,289	25,000	25,000
Milwaukee, Wis.	13,000	25,827	31,000	23,870	16,803	23,870	25,000
Boston, Mass.	23,000	20,000	26,000	16,000	14,430	30,000	
Pittsburgh, Pa.	18,000	20,000	30,000	14,909	12,675	21,000	21,000
Cincinnati, Ohio	15,000	30,000	25,000	19,949		18,171	
Atlanta, Ga.	20,000	20,000	27,500	16,224	14,100	17,000	25,000
Minneapolis, Minn.	12,480	16,000	30,000	24,780	16,000	16,500	
Louisville, Ky.	10,800	12,000	20,000	13,520			
Oakland, Calif.	16,000	28,500	27,500			17,328	
Rochester, N.Y.	16,000	26,500	26,000	21,205	21,086	21,205	
Miami, Fla.	12,000	35,000	35,000	16,667	11,592		24,500
Akron, Ohio	12,000	16,000	29,000	13,860			
Tampa, Fla.	12,600	22,500	18,500	14,500	11,500	14,000	
Dayton, Ohio	13,500	28,000	22,253	17,108			
Syracuse, N.Y.	17,000	20,000	25,000	14,325	13,400	14,325	
Providence, R.I.	13,500	20,000	22,674	12,973			22,000
Sacramento, Calif.	16,500	28,200	24,396				
Corpus Christi, Tex.	9,000	19,000	19,000	14,592			
Hartford, Conn.	15,000	20,000	22,500	15,503			
New Haven, Conn.	25,000	18,000	25,000	12,500	10,500	17,500	20,000
Trenton, N.J.	12,500	15,000	20,500	12,000	11,664	12,000	16,500
Lansing, Mich.	12,029	16,500	21,000	14,500	14,460	11,000	
Scranton, Pa.	8,400	10,000	15,000	7,500		15,600	12,500
Berkeley, Calif.	13,000	24,000	28,080	18,144			
Stamford, Conn.	15,000	17,000	21,250	10,500	10,650	16,000	16,000
New Rochelle, N.Y.	14,000	23,000	32,000	18,280		16,380	6,000
Average salaries	16,325	22,522	26,833	17,661	14,974	19,564	21,200

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, there are some interesting figures in this particular memorandum furnished to me by the Office of OEO. For example, the salaries of community action directors run from a high of \$25,000 in New Haven, Conn., and Los Angeles, Calif., to \$22,500 in Baltimore, on down to \$8,400 for Scranton, Pa. I do not know what that poor fellow in Scranton is doing with a salary of \$8,400 amidst all the high-flying politicians and bureaucrats, but somehow or other he got in there, and that is his salary.

It is interesting to note that in most instances the higher salaries are comparable with or in excess of those received by the mayors of the large cities listed.

Then there is the comparison with the superintendents of schools, directors of

public works, the director of public welfare, urban renewal, public housing, Community Chest and the Red Feather. All these figures, I am sure, will be extremely interesting to the Senate to show that the bureaucrats with the community action officials are doing a very fine job of taking care of themselves in the super grades.

BOY AND HIS MOTORCYCLE

Mr. President, it would seem that the bureaucrats have won their own personal war on poverty, but what about the poor? One youngster in Paw Paw, Mich., emerged victorious from his first skirmish in the war on poverty, according to an Associated Press story of May 1, 1965:

The war on poverty in this little southwestern Michigan community has ended in defeat. The only participant in a work-

study program for high school dropouts dropped out.

The 16-year-old boy enrolled for a class in woodworking. He also had a job as an assistant janitor in the high school. Six weeks and \$120 later, he quit the program.

"I've got enough money now to make a downpayment on a motorcycle," he explained.

The story describes it as a "defeat," but it is only a defeat for the bureaucrats. From the boy's point of view it was a victory. He had set out to attain a certain goal—in this case, the downpayment on a motorcycle—and he achieved his goal. It was a defeat to the bureaucrats because the boy was not motivated toward the goal the bureaucrats had set for him.

While some may say that this humorous little story is only an isolated case, the newspaper accounts of war on poverty flops on a grand scale adequately refute such an assertion. I shall insert some of these news stories at the conclusion of my remarks.

MOTIVATION

In my opinion, the story of the boy and motorcycle points up a very basic deficiency in the OEO: It has not properly assessed the element of motivation. Neither high sounding slogans nor abundant taxpayers' dollars can lift the slum-dweller out of the slum. Only he can do it. He must be motivated to move out of the slum. Two elements must be present: opportunity and motivation. Opportunity without motivation will result in failure just as will motivation without opportunity. The war on poverty has been launched without any consideration being given to motivation, based on the assumption that motivation is pre-existent in all the poverty-stricken. So long as this fallacious assumption prevails in the OEO it will continue to meet with failure, and stack up its failures one on top of the other. Even the title of the Economic Opportunity Act points out the lack of recognition of the other vital ingredient—motivation. However, I shall not offer an amendment to change its title to "The Economic Opportunity and Motivation Act."

As Senators know, motivation entails a complex system of rewards and goals. I am sure that each of you have witnessed the phenomenon of two individuals of comparable ability where one was highly motivated and the other was not. The highly motivated person would excel as compared to the less motivated person. In some instances, exceptionally motivated persons have overcome the greatest handicaps—the handicap of social position, of economic position, of physical disability—and have risen to the greatest heights from the humblest of beginnings, even the most degrading slums.

In a very few individuals, a high degree of motivation seems to be innate; whereas, in others their level of motivation is almost indiscernible. I believe that every living human being has some degree of motivation. The core of the problem is to kindle the sparks of motivation into a fire of high or at least moderate motivation. Once this is done, the question of directing this fire into a so-

cially acceptable path must be wrestled with. To date, the OEO has been busily engaged in piling up firewood here and there all over the country. They seem to hope that these fires will be kindled by spontaneous combustion. Apparently, it has not occurred to any of the bureaucrats that what is needed is a match.

In my opinion, the main thrust of the poverty program should be towards the development and encouragement of proper motivations. I believe that motivation can be developed in everyone to some degree—some more than others, to be sure. But, if a basic drive to achieve can be instilled in every American now lacking it, the rest of the program will pretty well take care of itself, because the participants will make it work. However, the rewards for achieving something must be measurably greater than the rewards for doing nothing if we expect any motivation to develop. In too many instances, the rewards are about equal whether one succeeds or fails. The success of the program should be measured by the achievements of its participants, not by the number of participants nor by unemployment statistics. This would be a shallow program, indeed, if it concerned itself primarily with statistics and not with individuals.

Most of the programs in the war on poverty are untried theories. Hence, pilot programs should be established to test those theories. These pilot programs should employ varying techniques and different classes of subjects. Information from such pilot programs should be amassed and carefully evaluated to determine which techniques and what methods produced the desired results in the most economical manner. If there is one thing this last year of experience has taught us, it is that we do not know now how to attack and defeat poverty. But this bill, as presently written, defies commonsense, for it would increase authorizations for the institution of full-blown programs which should only be in the pilot program stage.

EXPERIMENT

As presented to us last year, the war on poverty was obviously an experiment, a mighty expensive experiment, but nevertheless an experiment. Why do we not let it perform the function of an experiment? Methodology is sorely lacking and must be developed.

It is my understanding that the purpose of an experiment is to try untried theories and to adjust or discard erroneous theories. This bill proposes to pump more taxpayers' money into proposals that should either be drastically modified or totally discarded. The whole approach of the program needs a basic evaluation—I did not say "reevaluation" because it was thrown together with such haste and rushed through Congress so quickly last year that it never achieved an initial evaluation.

JOINT COMMITTEE

My amendment will give Congress an opportunity to make such an evaluation, based upon its own investigations. It

establishes a joint committee, consisting of three majority members and three minority members from both the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is believed that such a bipartisan approach will result in an objective evaluation of a program that will have cost the taxpayers \$2 billion. The authorizations of last year will be continued at that level for another year, and the amendment so provides.

The report of the joint committee would be submitted to the Congress by January 31, 1966, thereby affording Congress time to review the report and incorporate suggested improvements into legislation before the authorizations are renewed for fiscal years 1967 and subsequent thereto.

While it is laudable that the advisory council has been set apart as a separate body with more independence, nevertheless, if Congress is to maintain its status as a coequal, independent branch of the Government, it needs to develop its own information in keeping the legislative process, and not rely solely upon the view through the "rose-colored glasses" of the OEO and the advisory council, all of whose members are to be appointed by the President. If, on the other hand, Congress wishes to function simply as an echo-chamber for executive department proposals, it need only defeat my amendment, and dutifully affix its rubber stamp on the bill.

It seems to me, that it is the duty of Congress as watchdog of the taxpayers' money to make a thorough investigation of the so-called poverty program and attempt to get it on a workable and fiscally sound basis. In addition, Congress has an obligation not to dash the hopes of the poor by permitting the present debacle to continue unchecked and uncorrected, serving only the political interests of the "poverty generals" and ignoring the real needs of the poor. I strongly urge the adoption of my amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the pending amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I have literally sheaves of newspaper clippings and communications which I could bring to the floor, but I have selected a few and I wish to use them before I yield to my distinguished colleague from Colorado.

This letter is from the editor of the Denver Blade, Joe Brown. The Denver Blade is the largest Negro newspaper in Denver. On its masthead it is stated: "Serving 60,000 Negroes."

I know Mr. Brown personally, and have a very high regard for his abilities. I wish to read this letter. Everyone ought to be interested in this, because the letter is from a man whose race is supposed to be helped by the poverty program. The letter is addressed to my colleague from Colorado and to me. He writes:

THE DENVER BLADE,

Denver, Colo., August 12, 1965.

To: President L. B. JOHNSON, Hon. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Councilman ELVIN CALDWELL, Mayor TOM CURRIGAN, Attorney ISAAC MOORE, Honorables PALMER BURCH, EUGENE FOLEY, DAN GROVES, JOHN A. LOVE, Hon. GORDON ALLOTT, Hon. BYRON ROGERS, Hon. GORDON ALLOTT, Hon. DOMINICK, Senator GEORGE BROWN.

GENTLEMEN: Please rescue us from "Denver war on poverty." We, the greater east Denver merchants, submitted a proposal for a small business development center over 2 months ago. We met on several occasions with Mr. Charles Bishop, who helped us rewrite the proposal. We have sat down with Mr. Clifford Rucker, of SBA, on two or more occasions. We are now told that both the board chairman, Dr. Galvin, and the Denver director of the program are either asked to resign or are going to be fired but won't quit, or that no one knows what to do.

We can't find either of them regardless of what time of day we call. The office under Mr. Allen is a maze of confused office help, all of which sounds like anything but efficiency.

Someone, somewhere, please let us exercise some type of legal benefit from this program. My people represent the most depressed business area of the city. We are now told that the Denver war on poverty is holding our proposal, perplexed.

If you ask me, we shocked the city by taking the initiative. Can we have relief?

Help. Help. Give us a way out.

Very sincerely,

J. BROWN,
Publisher.

Mr. President, before I yield to my colleague, I ask unanimous consent that certain pertinent material be placed in the RECORD at this point of my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Denver Blade, Aug. 12-18, 1965]

HELP—WOES OF POVERTY

In the last couple of months we have heard cries of "Hang the Mayor" coming from the Denver Democratic camp. We have read criticism of the poverty program, we have even read a dynamic absurd account of the program's progress in a local newspaper, and it appears to us that surely there must be something wrong when everybody is in a state of crossfire and different opinions about the program.

We have tended to criticize not only the program, but we go further, we don't even like the way the program is progressing. Never before have so few faked out so many and gotten away scot free. The citizens of Greater East Denver in an attempt to take the business initiative submitted a SBDC proposal, a plan for the erection and functioning of a super business, that in time would make all East Denver businesses successful. Not only has the program never reached Washington, the best comment on the subject has the proposal downtown in the Denver war on poverty director's desk, 2 months after the law said that the program had to be in Washington. We have cried for this program, we have written over 20 letters to Washington to everybody who has even a tinge of responsibility about their public life, yet nothing has happened; the mayor can't even fire the director. There is a limit to this phoney pork barrel and we think that the mayor is going entirely too far in allowing the "ole crowd" to gain control of the destiny of his political career again.

We say "oust Allen" as director, clean that Denver war on poverty office out and do it now. And if someone else is really the mayor

just give us his name and we will make the same recommendations to him. Can't we get the plain and simple message through the heads of these Democratic poverty chiefs downtown, that there is a new order in our community and we will decide what is to happen to our progress.

Any attempt to steal our plans and install a stupid politician in the small business development center will be met with a protest and we mean a protest led by this institution. We think the mayor should oust the whole crowd and put the war on poverty in the hands of people for whom it was intended. Hell, the East Denver community can't even take the initiative. There are no other SBDC proposals in the Western region, what are we waiting for, war on poverty, someone else to develop one?

[From the Denver Blade, Aug. 5, 1965]

CHANGE STILL NEEDED IN POVERTY WAR

Mayor Thomas G. Currigan has handled the problems of Denver's war on poverty with all the adroitness of a man with seven thumbs.

Instead of finding a friendly, face-saving way to replace the war on poverty executive director, the mayor acted brusquely, offended the director's friends and became involved in a test of strength on the poverty board.

He further committed the gravest of all political sins in engaging in battle without first counting his votes and counting them accurately.

When the showdown came at the poverty board meeting Tuesday night, the mayor was not even on hand to marshal his forces, and the votes the mayor failed to count were cast against him.

A majority of the poverty board sided with the director instead of the mayor and refused to remove the director from office.

While we believe the mayor was right—as we have said before—in seeking new blood for the poverty organization, this was hardly the way to go about it.

In any case, the poverty board has taken its stand, and the future of the poverty war in Denver has, in effect, been taken out of the mayor's hands and assigned to a seven-man committee.

That committee now has a solemn responsibility, and it is under heavy pressure to move with the greatest possible speed. The poverty program in Denver is badly stalled, and no effort should be spared to get it moving again.

The staff, through a resignation and a firing, has been reduced to two persons. The director's relations with the mayor's office, with the chairman of the poverty board and with Washington are unsatisfactory.

The staff was undoubtedly too small, to begin with, in relation to the amount of work to be done and to the size of poverty staffs in other cities. The director's salary was not set high enough in Denver to attract the kind of professional competence the poverty program here needs.

One course the seven-man committee might wish to consider would be to bring in a professional person at a higher level to work with the present director in settling the program on its feet again. This person would run the program and provide the necessary liaison with the mayor's office, with the board and with Washington.

The present director could put his considerable experience and talents to use in working more directly with the poor, instead of remaining bogged down in the administrative morass at the office. We do not believe he would object to such an arrangement.

If the seven-man committee does not prefer this course, it must find some other that will lead the poverty organization in a new direction. Whatever the cost and effort, things simply must not be allowed to remain as they are.

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Aug. 7, 1965]

FACTIONS STALL DENVER WAR ON POVERTY (By Dan Thomasson)

WASHINGTON, August 6.—Important segments of Colorado's antipoverty program are being stalled by warring factions, internal dissension, and bureaucratic juggling.

This was revealed Friday by an investigation of why some of the State's poverty war plans still haven't been approved.

While at least one congressman was getting more frustrated by the moment, Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) officials were admitting they are still in the process of reexamining segments of the Denver and Arapahoe County proposals.

PLAN DROPPED

Meanwhile, the U.S. Forest Service said it has dropped plans to consider the mountainous area near Buena Vista for a Job Corps center because of objections from local citizens.

The service said it quit considering the area when petitions were circulated opposing the plan.

U.S. Representative WAYNE ASPINALL's office said it had received several complaints about the possibility of establishing the State's third job camp about 4 miles west of Buena Vista. One center is operating now near Collbran and another is planned for the Pagosa Springs area.

Denver officials have been pressing for months for establishment of an antipoverty corps medical center at Denver General Hospital but have gotten nowhere.

An OEO spokesman said Friday that the \$950,000 proposal was first rejected because it wasn't "quite up to snuff." He said he doesn't know exactly what was wrong. "It just wasn't a strong component," he said.

"Chances aren't dead," he added.

\$450,000 GRANT

Also awaiting approval by OEO is a \$450,000 grant for an antipoverty program to be guided by the Denver school district. There was some indication, however, this might be authorized within the next few weeks.

Part of the problem apparently stems from complaints about the operation of the city's War on Poverty Inc. There have been charges that the agency's officials have been dragging their feet.

A Washington official said dissension could affect the bureau's decisions.

Congressman BYRON ROGERS, of Denver, said Friday he has "gotten nothing" for his efforts to get OEO officials to approve the proposals which are part of the city's community action program.

He said he has been calling the bureau since last January and has received nothing but promises to get things straightened out.

The Arapahoe County community action program still is being held up by opposing political factions, the OEO spokesman said.

SEPARATE REQUEST

Arapahoe County commissioners, all Republicans, originally filed applications for the program, but another group, headed by District Attorney Martin Miller, a Democrat, filed a separate request to control the antipoverty operation.

Although Miller dropped out, his group's application was left in. It would set up an Arapahoe-Adams-Elbert County program.

"Until there's a wedding of these two competing groups, there isn't much that can be done," the OEO spokesman said.

[From the Wall Street Journal April 28, 1965]

ANTIPOVERTY DILEMMA

Spreading criticism of local antipoverty projects, whatever the critics' motives, is illuminating some basic problems in the Federal approach.

One of the poverty war's dilemmas, for

example, arises from the question of local control. Many Government programs have floundered from overlooking the need for local participation and advice. Partly to avoid this mistake, the poverty program adopted great decentralization and permissiveness. Sargent Shriver, the program's boss, describes it as "like going back to the old New England town meeting concept of getting things done."

Unfortunately, the description is a cruel exaggeration. Homegrown solutions, fashioned by people directly experienced and personally interested, are certainly the kind most likely to work. There is no guarantee, though, that a carte blanche supply of Federal funds will foster such local solutions to problems mere money won't answer. Real local effort, moreover, is especially unlikely if the program is administered so loosely it can be bent away from its original purposes.

That seems precisely what's happening to local antipoverty projects in New York, Chicago, and Cleveland. It's unfortunate that the bearer of this message happens to be Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, of New York, for his reputation and apparent motives distract many people from what he's saying. His argument is inescapably on the side of the angels on one point: Any antipoverty project should involve the poor themselves in planning and participation to the maximum extent feasible.

Maximum participation helps teach the impoverished the simple lesson that trying pays. This motivational exercise is so important that even badly directed self-help will probably do more ultimate good than the largest expansion of the usual municipal gratuities.

As a practical matter, citywide planning and coordination cannot be done by many of the typical poor themselves, as Mr. POWELL seems to suggest. However, even at this level there is every reason for maximum use of the talents slum communities do offer: leaders of religious or social groups and particularly of any indigenous private organizations which are experienced at encouraging self-help. Not all of these are by any means perfect, but at least they can be direct channels to the poor.

This representation is being excluded or kept under a tight political thumb in several cities. In New York, Mayor Wagner is proposing a board dominated at first entirely, then two to one, by political officials. In Chicago, Mayor Daley is saying the Negro aldermen, not private leaders, are the best spokesmen for the poor.

The purpose of such thorough political control is not simply patronage, but also saving city administrations the embarrassment private self-help organizations can cause. These groups are often rude enough, for example, to point out that the city isn't enforcing its own building code. Consequently they often find themselves outside budding antipoverty programs and become vehement critics of the municipal-dominated approach.

A further problem is that such groups may also be used for someone's political purposes, as Representative POWELL seems to be doing in Harlem. But the real trouble is that when the Federal Government supplies money and jobs, it automatically supplies political power worth fighting over. When the fights start, the original purposes are easily forgotten.

So growing disillusionment with the antipoverty effort shouldn't be too surprising. In some cities and some aspects it may be working better, of course, and sufficient political courage may even salvage something in the programs now under fire. As yet, though, there is little support for the assumption that problems too tough for the Federal Government—as Mr. Shriver says, "there is nobody smart enough in Washington to sit down and figure out how to defeat

poverty in every community in America"—can be solved magically by bucking them to the local level accompanied by Federal cash.

That is the program's painful dilemma: At the national level no one knows how to solve the problem, and at the local level purported poverty fighters often have a lot on their minds besides aiding the poor. Unless that predicament can be solved, the poverty war's spending will aid some people, all right, but not necessarily or primarily the poor.

[From the Daily Grand Junction Sentinel, June 28, 1965]

JOB CAMP LOSES DROPOUT RATING; CORPSMEN RETREAT FROM NEEDLE

At the point of a needle, Collbran's Job Corps Camp lost its high rating for lower-than-average dropouts.

Seven corpsmen retreated Thursday in the face of a withering barrage of innuendoes, Camp Director Murray Durst said today.

"They were just plain scared," Durst said, "which isn't surprising since none of them had had any experience with shots or medical treatment of any kind."

The 7 brought the dropout figure to 22, 12 from the original 79 enrollees and 10 from the 34 later arrivals.

This matches the national rate of nearly 20 percent dropouts.

Homesickness accounted for most of the departures; a few were disappointed in the camp; some found it wasn't quite what they'd expected.

Five of the original 12 who quit have had second thoughts on reaching home. They've written to inquire if they can reconsider their decision.

Each boy will be checked individually, and it's possible that some of them may be readmitted, but not necessarily assigned to this camp.

Nationally, the quitters seem to wash out early or not at all. Those who stick it out for a month usually make the grade, Washington headquarters reports. Of 6,800 enrollees in the first 5 months, 1,096 had left by the end of last week, 119 of these were dismissed because of poor attitudes or behavior. None of the Collbran departures were dismissed; all left on their own accord.

The widely varied backgrounds of the corpsmen has caused no problems so far, Durst said. The line of demarcation is drawn on a rural-urban basis, rather than along geographical lines, he said.

The needle episode has done more to weld the group into a cohesive unit than any other incident, however. The boys who stayed were universally disgusted by the quitters.

"We might have been able to handle them individually," Durst said, "but they came in as a group, with their minds already made up. The boy who changed his mind and took the shots stood to lose face with his peers."

Meanwhile, the 30 corpsmen who went to Lamar to help clean up the flood destruction are reporting doing well and working hard, Durst said. Their first assignment was to clean up all public buildings. Since then they have been assisting elderly people and those who can't afford to hire help to clean up flood-damaged homes.

They've been working from 5 a.m. until 7 p.m. daily, Durst said, and they're about worn out. They'll probably return to the camp by the weekend.

Meals, abundant and varied, are one of the camp's biggest attractions for the boys, Durst said. Despite the differences in eating habits, there's been no problem in getting them to accept new foods.

"They're growing boys; they're hungry,"

Durst said. "Some of them are inclined to lean heavily toward the starchy foods they're accustomed to, but they're willing to experiment under camp-directed pressure to establish good eating habits."

[From the Denver Post, June 20, 1965]

DENVER LOSING WAR ON POVERTY

For several months, this newspaper has been making a careful study of the problems of Denver's war on poverty, an organization which was formed nearly a year ago at the initiative of Mayor Currigan.

We have been attempting to find out why this organization, which was one of the first to start in the Nation, has had so little success in bringing the benefits of the Federal antipoverty program to the assistance of the poor in the Denver area.

As of this writing, none of the 10 community action projects proposed by Denver's war on poverty has yet won the approval of the Federal antipoverty agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, in Washington.

Most of these project proposals, involving about \$1.5 million, have been sent back to Denver for revision—some of them several times—and the revised versions are still stalled at various levels of the administrative machinery in Washington.

In addition, the Federal administrative grant, which has financed the operation of Denver's war on poverty to this point, is about to run out and the organization has not sent in its application for more funds in time to meet the deadline.

Only extraordinary action by the Office of Economic Opportunity can save the Denver organization from having to close down altogether for lack of funds.

The blame for Denver's poor progress in the poverty war, as this newspaper is able to appraise it, has to be shared by Washington and Denver, with Denver itself bearing the larger share.

The delays and confusion in the handling of Denver's proposals by OEO in Washington are, to some extent, understandable in a new agency just getting organized and determined to exercise caution in the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars.

But, at the same time, OEO's dealings with Denver have done very little to sustain the reputation of OEO Director Sargent Shriver as a man who can cut redtape, minimize delay, and get swift action.

The major trouble, however, has rested in Denver. The staff of Denver's war on poverty has been slow and inefficient. Its relations with the war on poverty board, and its chairman, have been unsatisfactory.

Project proposals have been poorly prepared and budgetary and administrative details have not been properly attended to. The work of the office has been poorly organized, and deadlines and priorities have been neglected.

This newspaper takes no pleasure in criticizing the hard-working and dedicated individuals who have labored unsatisfactorily in the poverty program to this date.

But we do fear that the poor of Denver will continue to be shortchanged unless the program can be put on a more efficient basis. Whatever the faults in Washington, the faults in Denver are badly in need of correction.

We believe the responsibility for getting the Denver poverty war back on the track rests with Mayor Currigan, whose alertness and enterprise brought Denver into the poverty field, in the first place, far ahead of other cities.

It is not the mayor's fault if the organization he brought into being has failed to do the job. But it will be the mayor's fault if the existing inefficiency is allowed to continue and Denver's poor do not get the help they need.

[From the Rocky Mountain News, June 13, 1965]

FUND LAG WRECKING DENVER'S PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED

(By Jack Gaskie)

Failure of the Federal Government to provide funds will shrink special programs devised by the Denver public schools for disadvantaged children. The summer sessions open Monday.

Still further shrinkage is being planned in the program authorized for the academic year starting in September.

The enforced shrinkage is a major disappointment to school administrators. One of its most infuriating aspects is that repeated inquiries to Washington have failed to turn up any reason for the lack of funds.

In fact, intelligent Denver planning is forestalled by the inability of Washington to say if the money will be forthcoming, let alone when, according to school administrators.

School planning and budgeting procedures have been kept in turmoil for 13 months now because of inability to forecast the Government's actions under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964—the so-called antipoverty act.

STARTED IN 1962

The Denver public schools started their serious study of problems related to education of the disadvantaged in November 1962, long before war on poverty became a popular phrase. The school board created the Special Study Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, which in February 1964 made a great number of recommendations.

The school board adopted a number of these recommendations affecting the instructional program in May and June of 1964.

Its approach was this: It established programs—for instance, providing more teachers of reading for the disadvantaged—and calculated the number of schools and children that could profit from them. Then it approved a start on as large a percentage of these programs as it could afford from then available funds.

It voted \$81,200 to start 20 percent of these special programs for the first semester of the school year 1964-65.

In August, Congress passed the antipoverty act. Conflicting estimates of the amount of Federal money this could provide for Denver school programs were received from September through November, the time of adoption of the 1965 budget.

ANALYSIS OF FUNDING

On November 4, the Denver School Board adopted its 1965 budget. It accepted the recommendations of Dr. Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, superintendent, based on this analysis of funding for special programs:

"At that time (in May and June) the proposals were limited to the availability of local funds. Since then the possibility of State and Federal funds has changed our view of implementation so that our present proposal in this budget includes a large implementation."

The board budgeted \$1,293,520 for special programs during 1965, of which \$271,408 was to come from local funds and \$1,022,112 from the Government, either directly or through the State. Most of this anticipated Federal money was to flow through the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and a smaller amount through the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

That budget would have permitted a jump from 20 percent of the program for the first semester, starting September 1964, to 40 percent in the second semester, starting February 1965, and to 60 percent for the semester starting September 1965.

Instead of getting \$1,022,112 from Federal sources, the Denver schools have actually got

a commitment for about \$100,000 under the vocational act, and evasions about most of the anticipated funds under the poverty act.

The failure of the Government to provide funds for special programs in the regular schools under the antipoverty act is a mystery, according to Dr. Roy Hinderman, deputy school superintendent in charge of instruction.

He said the Denver schools submitted project requests on December 9. The requests were in the required form, as nearly as one could tell from the directives then issued by the Government, he said.

CHANGED DIRECTIVES

In March all the requests came back, with the notation that the Government had changed its directives. The project requests were rewritten to comply with the new directives, and resubmitted April 20.

"We got word back that the requests were all in good order," Hinderman said, "but so far we have failed to get approval."

School Board Member Jackson Fuller urged, at budget adoption time last fall, that worthwhile special projects be funded from local money, without reliance on Federal funds. He repeated his position Saturday, as the crisis over lack of Federal funds deepened.

"I said then and I say now that if there is something we should do, then we should go ahead and do it ourselves without relying on others," Fuller said.

[From the Rocky Mountain News, Apr. 27, 1965]

POVERTY WAR: ARAPAHOE STYLE (By Dan Thomasson)

WASHINGTON, April 24.—A fantastic tale of bureaucratic bumbling and apparent political jockeying over Arapahoe County's share of the war on poverty was revealed here Saturday.

Vincent McMillan, an Arapahoe County commissioner, unraveled the story after two frustrating days of trying to hack through a jungle of red tape in the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

Included in the story's cast in addition to McMillan are District Attorney Martin Miller and a half dozen major and minor OEO officials.

At stake are the county's \$22,000 community action antipoverty program and the fortunes of 317 of the area's culturally deprived children.

REAL CHALLENGE

"I'm more confused about things now than ever, but it's become a real challenge now," McMillan said.

He said the confusion began last month when civic leaders, businessmen, clergymen, attorneys, school officials, and others decided to place responsibility for the antipoverty projects in the hands of Arapahoe County commissioners.

This, they felt, would be better than trying to form a new, nonprofit group to do the job.

After considerable work, the commissioners developed an overall approach and sent it to the OEO. They also applied for participation in Operation Head Start, designed to give underprivileged tots some preschool training.

Meanwhile, it appears, another group headed by Miller decided to try to take over the county's share of the poverty battle, unknown to Governor Love, his State OEO coordinator, Lyle Lindesmith, McMillan, or anyone else.

ASKED FOR DUPLICATE

When McMillan called on several of the county's school superintendents to invite them to a meeting on Head Start, he said he found that Harry Carlino, an aid, Miller, already had got in touch with at least one in an effort to get him to join their group.

McMillan said he understands that the nonprofit organization—if actually set up—would cover Arapahoe, Douglas, and Elbert Counties, all of which make up the judicial district for which Miller is attorney.

McMillan also said the rumor that the group has sent in an application hasn't materialized. He said he was told none is on file with the OEO.

At the same time, McMillan said, he found that the application for "Head Start" had been lost in the mail and that the community action documents also had been misplaced.

A tracer was put out for the "Head Start" application and because deadline for applying was at hand, McMillan called the OEO's Ken Rashid for an extension. It was granted only after McMillan promised to wire Rashid of the county's intention to participate.

McMillan then contacted the National Association of County Officials (NACO) in Washington and asked it to forward a duplicate of the "Head Start" application to the OEO.

When McMillan got here Thursday he was supposed to see Rashid about the youth project and Mike Moore, a regional officer, about the total community action program.

He was unable to see Rashid but ended up with an assistant to Rashid's assistant who could find nothing but an old preliminary application filed by Arapahoe County despite the fact that NACO officials had sent over a copy of the full form. This was no good, he was told.

He also learned that Art Ryan, a member of Miller's group, reportedly had told Rashid the day before that they were interested in handling the project.

McMillan did spend some time Friday with Moore and was informed that the original Community Action application, which was located somewhere, wasn't correct now because some of the guidelines had been changed.

"They also didn't think we were asking for enough money," McMillan said.

TECHNICALITY EXPLAINED

He explained that a technicality in the new application procedure calls for paying an attorney and including the cost in the total request. The county commissioners had felt rather than hire an attorney they would save by asking the county attorney to help out.

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 16, 1965]

FIASCOS AND ALTERNATIVES

It would not be fair to generalize about the frailties of Government from the particular fiasco of the first Women's Job Corps center at St. Petersburg—except that it has the earmarks of many another costly Federal failure, especially when the Government tries to do things on a crash basis.

As you may recall, officials of the Florida resort city recently voted to terminate the center after only 3 months of operation and many complaints from hotel men and others. A number of the 270 girls, housed in a hotel in the midst of a quiet neighborhood, had been causing something of a scandal; but, from the standpoint of public policy, that is perhaps the least of the matter.

Consider these curious developments: The Job Corps, which is part of the antipoverty program under the Office of Economic Opportunity, undertook to pay \$225,000 for use of the hotel for 18 months; yet its total market value is reckoned at between \$150,000 and \$200,000. The staff works out at approximately one full-time employee for every two girls.

Expenditures for each girl are calculated at over \$7,000 a year or, as Mr. Leger observed on this page the other day, considerably more than it would cost to send her to Vassar for a year. All that money (Congress has been asked for more than \$200 million

to run some 100 Job Corps centers in the present fiscal year) is in an effort to make employable people out of young men and women now considered unemployable.

The purpose, needless to say, is laudable, but as in so many other cases, the practice is execrable. The St. Petersburg flop is a classic example of the Government running around like a chicken with its head cut off, trying to do everything at once. It should be noted in this connection that the local planners, who admittedly made mistakes, did not lack for guidance from Washington; they were flooded with advice from on high.

Similar results can be found in the incompetence and downright cruelty of long-standing programs like urban renewal, under which families and businesses can be evicted at a bureaucrat's whim. Now that a great new burgeoning of welfare-statism is upon us, various parts of the antipoverty program are bogging down in the quagmire of big-city machine politics, and Heaven only knows what chaos the planners will succeed in creating out of medical care for the elderly.

Still, it will be objected, there are problems in these areas; what is the alternative to Federal intervention? Youth unemployment, which the Job Corps seeks to deal with, undeniably is a problem, although usually not so serious a one, in human terms, as it can be for a head of a household.

The fact is that alternatives almost always do exist, if anyone would bother to look and think before turning a mounting accumulation of responsibilities over to the Central Government. To begin with, more young people could be employed were it not for inhibiting minimum wage laws and union apprenticeship practices. Certainly more could be if their family life had instilled in them a sense of self-reliance and respect.

Beyond those circumstances, many businesses do conduct training programs for young people, and doubtless similar activity could be increased with some of the largess at the disposal, for one example, of the foundations. Nor is the point here to rigidly exclude any and all levels of government; logically, however, the place to start is with the level closest to the problem.

At least it seems to us it would make better sense for each city or locality, in cooperation with private groups if possible, to try to help its jobless young people, instead of getting into this business of having the Federal Government transport girls from all over the country to the Job Corps center in St. Petersburg and make a hash of the whole enterprise. Local politicians are not often paragons of public spirit, but their mistakes are unlikely to be as colossal as the National Government's.

While perfect solutions are unattainable in any event, it may be that private and non-Federal institutions could have worked harder, over the years, to tackle the difficulties that Washington is now taking over with more abandon than wisdom. Perhaps too, the multiplication of Washington's fiascos will suggest to them that they had better get even busier, while there is still time to inject some intelligence into the attack on social and economic ills.

[From the Wall Journal, June 9, 1965]

OVERLAPPING UPLIFT—WAR ON POVERTY SPILLS OVER INTO MANY FEDERAL AGENCIES

(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON.—It's been 6 months since Congress voted the first funds for the new Office of Economic Opportunity but Sargent Shriver's researchers haven't identified yet all the existing Federal activities that conceivably could fall under his sway as generalissimo of the antipoverty crusade.

Admittedly the tabulating task is tough. The Library of Congress, restricting its count to those offering aid to State or local governments, cataloged 115 such programs or "closely related groups" last year; if "sub-categories" are included the total swells to 216.

For sheer scope, these figures suggest, Mr. Shriver's job is matched by none save the President's and the Defense Secretary's. Furthermore, his congressional mandate to "coordinate the antipoverty efforts of all Federal agencies" will become more demanding before, if ever, it becomes more manageable. The Library's count didn't include all 17 sizable programs enacted in the 88th Congress, nor, of course, the dozens more enacted or pending in this Congress. "We're starting to run out of new stuff to propose," one policymaker concedes.

No wonder. Nowadays a school dropout can get help from the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a variety of welfare programs and, at the option of local citizens' groups or school boards, from Mr. Shriver's community action grants and from the new billion-dollar school aid law.

Fifteen programs authorize aid for acquiring teaching equipment, nine provide teacher training, and four, all enacted since 1962, include funds to promote basic adult literacy. Needy students can reach for loans or scholarships offered by eight, not including President Johnson's higher education bill.

Overlap obviously isn't a new problem in big Government. "Believe me, it's long been a department head's biggest headache," says the top assistant to a member of the Kennedy Cabinet. Democrats assert, moreover, that for all its talk of bringing businesslike techniques to Washington the Eisenhower regime left scant dents in the many-layered bureaucracy. (To this observation must be added the fact that for all but two of his eight White House years Ike faced a Democratic Congress).

President Johnson, of course, wants efficiency and he's taken some small steps toward it, among them reorganization plans to tidy up the Customs Bureau and merge the Weather Bureau with the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Another proposal, an old one to upgrade the Housing and Home Finance Agency to Cabinet status, is similarly billed as an efficiency move.

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY

Yet, in greater measure than he can hope to untangle jurisdictional conflicts by such steps, the President contributes to overlap by dividing responsibility among his top men for the panoply of old and new programs designed to uplift poor people and renew poor places.

Rather than shake up a limping agency or beef up an existing endeavor, the White House piles on a new program. "If we don't catch 'em with one we'll catch 'em with another," according to a congressional aid who has helped write several administration bills. In this sense, Lyndon's administrative style is reminiscent of Franklin Roosevelt's.

Few who've heard Mr. Johnson, his voice wavering, recall desperate men garbegrubbing for grapefruit rinds in depression days doubt his fidelity to the poverty-conquering cause; nothing less than total war on poverty, or at least the appearance of it, satisfies the restless Chief Executive. So he applies several plows to the same sod.

Look at regional renewal. Deeply disturbed by rural distress, Agriculture Secretary Freeman first expanded his domain to embrace every poor person, whether farmer or not, who happens to live in a rural place, and he set his sights on 8 million new jobs in rural America. To reach that target his department increasingly promotes industrial

development, helps search for minerals, issues loans for industry-serving utilities, looks for tourists, and helps develop water sources for factories.

But with hardly a glance at Agriculture-sponsored renewal, the White House redesignated Commerce as the chief renewal agency. The Appalachia program authorizes Secretary Connor to approve and help finance "local development districts" in 11 States. And the administration's big public works and development bill would have him designate, and funnel aid to, a continent-spanning network of "redevelopment areas" and larger "economic development districts" containing "economic development centers." Higher up, he'll work with "regional action planning commissions" embracing at least two States.

Mr. Connor's areas and districts will crisscross many of the 2,000 county-based "rural areas development committees" already prodded into existence by Secretary Freeman. It's hoped that those of Mr. Shriver's community action groups functioning in rural spots will cooperate with Mr. Freeman's network of county committees (in a few places the two are identical) and where possible, with Mr. Connor's redevelopment areas.

As part of regional renewal the Government launched a pilot project in four distressed Indiana counties to "speed the development of industry, land, water, mineral resources, recreation, and tourism." This sounds like something the Commerce Department's development planners might be trying: in fact, though, it's a Freeman project.

The troubles policymakers encounter just in thinking up names for the agencies they'd like Congress to establish reflect how tough it is to sort out clear lines of authority for the uplift effort, particularly in the unclaimed land between cow country and outward-creeping city.

A while back, Mr. Freeman set up what was called the Office of Rural Areas Development, a new agency offering advice and technical help to his department's county committees. Now, asking Congress for money to establish small branches in 20 or more States, he wishes the agency to be known as the Rural Community Development Service. Note how "rural community" suggests a concentration of population denser than "rural area" but less populous than "urban area."

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Last year, hoping to sidestep small-town Congressmen's fears that giving HHFA Cabinet rank would enlarge big-city influence, policymakers dropped the word "urban" from HHFA's proposed name; they suggested calling it the Department of Housing and Community Development. But this year, enjoying bigger majorities in Congress, the White House stopped fiddling around; now it's proposed to baptize HHFA as the Department of Housing and Urban Development, thus leaving in-between "community development" to Mr. Freeman.

Understandable, then, is the wary eye Housing Administrator Robert Weaver's people cast at Mr. Freeman. Shortly after Agriculture asked for a \$350 million fund to insure rural housing loans, the Federal Housing Administration sent word to its local offices that "no community should be considered too remote or too isolated for FHA to serve in a prompt manner."

Apart from big government's built-in overlap, believers in tidiness confront Lyndon Johnson's unique personality. He's just as determined to project a glowing record of economy as he is to lead the costly antipoverty crusade. The result is compromise. Rather than be selective among the 34.6 million Americans deemed "hard core poor" by Mr. Shriver's statisticians, the Government spreads money and effort every which way, boosting overhead, generating more

overlap and, so critics claim, assuring mediocre results.

As always, politics plays a part. At least for the first year, all 1,000 counties that had been eligible for special subsidies from the spectacularly unsuccessful Area Redevelopment Administration can knock on Secretary Connor's door for similar help after the bigger developments bill becomes law. And, to mobilize maximum congressional support for the billion-dollar-a-year bill to help "educationally deprived" children, Johnson men concocted a formula spreading whatever an eager Congress appropriates to all but 6 percent of the Nation's 3,000-odd counties.

Yet, months before Mr. Johnson ceremoniously signed the school aid bill outside his Texas boyhood schoolhouse, Sargent Shriver's office embarked on its own education program, intended for much the same purpose. Among other grants, antipoverty money went to Lansing, Mich., for remedial schooling; to Washington County, Va., for preschool training, and to Detroit for "expanded educational services."

Several parts of the antipoverty package are new. But Mr. Shriver also exercises partial responsibility for a batch of overlapping "delegated" programs which established bureaucracies manage: For small business loans; for rural loans, hitherto a Freeman preserve; for adult literacy, an ingredient of three existing programs; for "work study," launched in 1963 and assigned to HEW's vocational education administrators; and for "work experience," started in 1962 as part of the HEW's assignment to reduce relief rolls. Intruding into Interior Secretary Udall's reservation, Mr. Shriver operates a special program to help Indian tribes, many of which are also eligible to knock on Secretary Connor's development door.

A SHINY NEW PACKAGE

If the old programs were deemed insufficient the White House could have sought more money directly for them; or, if their results were disappointing L.B.J. could have replaced the administrators or sought revisions in the governing statutes. Instead he bundled them into a shiny new package for presentation to a cooperative Congress.

What with upward of 70 agencies operating several hundred programs to uplift people, communities or regions, official Washington keeps hoping that Mr. Freeman's committees, Mr. Shriver's community action outfits, Mr. Connor's redevelopment areas, and the metropolitan planning agencies promoted by Mr. Weaver will somehow wrap all the available aid from all the sources into an uplift package that makes sense.

By shifting more responsibility for coordination to recipients of their grants, loans, and technical help, the Feds further hope to spur local initiative. Already the Agriculture Department professes to see a "real revival" in long-lagging rural places, with "people sitting down together as never before."

Another advantage of the "do-it-down-there" approach is that it enables Federal administrators to hold down the roster of Federal employees. The directors, planners, and technicians hired by the 600 community action groups Mr. Shriver hopes soon to see functioning won't be added to the Government's employee rolls, although they'll be paid almost exclusively with Federal taxes. The staffs of Mr. Connor's redevelopment areas similarly won't be counted.

But few local politicians or planners willingly forgo rummaging in Washington's big kit for the tools allotted to them by law or for those to which they can stake reasonable claim. It was, for example, a rare locally drawn "overall economic development program" under ARA that didn't include a vocational school or an industrial park.

Still, it's widely believed here that reliance on local coordination will help untie

Washington's tangled jurisdictions and slice through the overlap.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Thursday, June 10, 1965]

MANY POVERTY WAR PROGRAMS DUPLICATE PAST EFFORTS

(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON.—Congressional readiness to swallow President Johnson's prescriptions for curing social ills may obscure important ingredients of the inviting dosage he's compounding. Whatever its effect may prove to be, the Great Society's uplift medicine contains bitter indictments of what Government supposedly has been doing all along.

The billion-dollar package of special aid to Appalachia and the war on poverty are two of the chief cures L.B.J. proposes. But, to a substantial extent, both are attempts to remedy failings of old medicine or bunglings in the way it's been applied.

How else explain, for example, the belief of the zestful poverty fighters that 300 Indian tribes or bands living on reservations need their help?

Old-line combatants in the Bureau of Indian Affairs will spend this fiscal year—mostly to wage improvement programs embracing education, welfare services, economic development, vocational training and the like—\$220 million, triple the sum available a decade ago. In addition, Congress voted the Public Health Service \$60 million this year for a continuing program to build and operate Indian hospitals and to supply medical care and sanitation.

Yet in soliciting congressional funds to double his poverty war effort, Sargent Shriver suggests in words and pictures that the Government's Indian wards continue living in hopeless squalor. "There is new reason for hope now," he says, referring to the Office of Economic Opportunity's special uplift effort.

"What we're trying to do," one poverty fighter explains, "is breathe new life into fossilized old agencies." A spokesman for the Indian Bureau agrees that his old agency may be "lumbering" along, but he thinks, too, that the Shriver men are a rather "nervy bunch."

Similarly, even welfare programs that were updated and overhauled at President Kennedy's behest still can't be working too well. And, the antipoverty planners imply, the corps of case workers laboring for State and local governments administering relief grants to which Washington contributes must be turning in a miserably mediocre job.

In 1962, hoping to shift thousands off the dole, Congress authorized 75 percent Federal financing of self-help, training and community work projects for able-bodied people and for needy persons likely to become public charges. Now it's said some States can't scrape up their 25 percent matching share. But rehabilitation needn't be expensive. For just \$1,770,000, according to Mr. Shriver's presentation, a Work Experience project in Los Angeles will "approach" the problems and needs of 5,600 unemployed by providing adult basic education, vocational training, child care, medical services, counseling and job placement.

REPETITION OF EFFORTS

Many recently launched or newly proposed Federal efforts appear little more than second swings at the same ball or attempts to undo the undesirable results of old programs.

Thus the subsidy enacted last year for cotton textile mills counteracts the unintended effect of two earlier subsidies. Price proping's failure to help most small farmers requires new aid for them. Suburban "slurbs," in part the result of Government encouragement of single-family homebuilding, prompt proposals for outlays to contain sprawl. Mass transit subsidies, it's hoped, will stanch the drain of riders from commuter railroads

and buses to which hectic superhighway building contributes.

Despite unhappy experiences, the big bundle of aid for Appalachia suggests that the basic pattern—new spending to correct old mistakes, evasions, or lack of foresight—isn't being broken.

In Appalachia, coal mining is the chief industry and declining markets for coal the key cause of the region's decade-long depression. Appalachia uplifters propose to invest \$5 million for technical assistance to owners of small timber stands and to finance timber-selling cooperatives. But not one dime did they suggest for similar help to hundreds of small coal operators, who employ upward of 50,000 men, mostly nonunion. One reason for the apparent oversight was opposition by the United Mine Workers, a union which naturally isn't keen about Federal help for nonunion mines. At congressional hearings, Armistead W. Gilliam, Jr., counsel for the National Independent Coal Operators Association, cited "political reasons" for the neglect; "no supporter of the bill ever answered us," Mr. Gilliam now recalls.

This year the Agricultural Research Service budgeted \$122.7 million for research, then, in coming to Congress for extra money to get through the year, insisted with no trace of defensiveness that "there are no agricultural research programs in the Appalachia area at this time related to specific problems of that area." Give us just \$520,000 more, the researchers pleaded, and we'll adapt what we know to Appalachia's particular needs, and we'll study improved methods of conserving soil, water, and grassland.

Another of Agriculture's research arms, the Cooperative State Research Service, is less affluent. It has just \$50.4 million to disburse this year. But more explicitly than its bigger sister, this agency outlined for Congress the kind of research needed in Appalachia. Among other possibilities, it suggested studying what low-income families eat; the aspirations of youths in Kentucky and Tennessee; and "social and economic problems facing low-income farm adjustments. (What problems do they face and what are their attitudes? What do the children do?)

"Maybe somebody should have done some of this before," one administrator concedes. "But research after the fact is better than no research at all."

In line with this view, Appalachia aiders in HEW don't intend to withhold money for health centers there until Agriculture researchers discover, from a 15-month study, "the relation of physical facilities to health in the Appalachia area."

CONVERGENCE ON ACCESS ROADS

Nor will Commerce Department roadbuilders, charged with approving 1,000 more miles of access roads, wait for a third Agriculture outfit, the Economic Research Service, to determine the effects on agriculture and rural communities of "specific proposed development programs, such as improvement in access to rural areas."

Perhaps Agriculture's administrators might be more attuned to the research needs of much-discussed distressed regions if they were more inclined to withdraw from places officially designated as part of a standard metropolitan area by Budget Bureau statisticians. Thus in 1956 and 1958, respectively, Clayton County and Gwinnett County in Georgia were deemed sufficiently urban to merit membership in the Atlanta metropolitan area. Yet in the mid-1960's four agencies of Agriculture still were giving, lending or studying there and a fifth, unrepresented in 1962, got going in 1963.

By no means all the blame for overlooking what are now said to be Appalachia's needs belongs on the administrators. Agriculture Secretary Freeman, for example, must share his responsibilities with four unof-

ficial Secretaries on Capitol Hill. "Besides Orville, don't forget, there are the chairmen of the two Agriculture committees and the chairmen of the House and Senate Appropriations subcommittees," a veteran congressional aid observes.

Not unexpectedly, the sharing of responsibility cramps the titled Secretary's freedom to choose priorities. To get much done, he must negotiate with the untitled department heads in a manner reminiscent of the way sovereigns negotiate treaties.

Early this year Mr. Freeman decided he could safely close a number of agricultural research stations and curtail work at others; he hoped thus to save \$5,151,000. The Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, reviewing his decision, found justification for reducing research by just \$2,521,000. Mr. Freeman then went to the Hill to quibble with Chairman SPESSARD HOLLAND, Democrat, of Florida, and with Senator MILTON YOUNG, Republican, of North Dakota, the ranking GOP member. Ultimately the Senate sashems agreed to cutbacks totaling \$2,985,600. Later a treaty spelling out the agreed terms was duly published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Often even more inhibiting are the allocation formulas Congress has written into most Federal grant programs. These determine what percentage of the cash appropriated by Congress for various purposes will flow to each State. Often the States with low per capita income receive a proportionately higher percentage.

Advocates of rigidly written allocations argue that they shield administrators from political temptation. But, by determining in advance where Federal money will go, they also deny discretion to channel the money to places which might use it best or need it most.

Not infrequently the region needing most gets least. For example, one-third of each State's claim on Federal highway money, both for primary highways and secondary roads, is based on population. This means that States in Appalachia, where population growth is far smaller than the national average (West Virginia actually lost people from 1950 to 1960), obtain smaller percentages with each decennial census.

COSTS NOT CONSIDERED

Moreover, road-building in mountainous areas costs twice more than the national average. But costs aren't taken into account when Washington doles out highway aid. So, to bail out the Appalachia States, the Feds now propose to pump \$840 million extra into the region for roads.

Critics, including rebellious liberals like Representative EDITH GREEN, Democrat of Oregon, fear that the new billion-dollar-a-year school aid bill to help "educationally deprived" children will similarly widen inequality and, in so doing, make another bail-out effort inevitable.

Unlike the road construction formula, school aid allotments depend on what various States have been willing or able to spend themselves. But the results of dividing grants on the basis of these education "costs" are curious.

Assuming Congress appropriates the full sum it has authorized, 10 counties with highest per capita income—including Montgomery in Maryland, Du Page in Illinois and Fairfield in Connecticut—will share in \$3.9 million. Ten poor counties, including Sunflower in Mississippi, Knox in Kentucky, and Sumter in Alabama, will divide \$4.5 million.

Just 3 percent or 6,210, of all the school-age kids in Westchester County, N.Y., (median family income: \$8,052) are regarded as educationally disadvantaged. In Williamsburg County, S.C., (median family income: \$1,631) 41 percent or 6,118, are so regarded. Yet Westchester will receive \$2,189,000; Williamsburg gets \$810,000.

The justification for the disparity is that a poor kid in Westchester is just as needy as a poor kid in South Carolina; that the Federal grants must be funneled to school districts of greatest need; that the Federal money will constitute a far larger percentage of the poor counties' school budget.

Nonetheless, one Federal education administrator, calculating that Grant County, W. Va., must bank its checks from Washington for 3 years to have enough for a new school building, thinks "this is just seed money. We'll have to have another program later on."

DENVER, COLO.,

July 2, 1965.

DEAR SIR: This may be a little different letter than you are used to getting or again it may be often and gain nothing.

I'm wondering just how this war on poverty and the VISTA programs are supposed to be helping the war on poverty.

You see, my experience is not just hearsay. I've been a part of both programs.

Denver's war on poverty is only a setup for a few high-paid people to keep doing better for themselves both monetarily and politically. These 50 who were to get training to take jobs that never materialized, why just the money paid to them would have been enough to have kept a family quite a while. The big people of the program didn't give a darn whether it worked or not; in fact, to sight an instance, the first night of class I told Dr. Hyman for a couple of weeks I'd probably have to miss a couple of nights. His reply, "It really makes no difference to me. I'm an employee of the university."

Then there is VISTA—my, the money wasted. I'm wondering how some of the group I was with in Chicago answered their application. When I arrived there was such a lack of communication I missed a part of the first meeting. The desk clerk told me what room to go to. I went. The receptionist told me the room wouldn't be ready for an hour—I could wait in the lounge. There I sat about 45 minutes, then a group came out of a room. I noticed a VISTA folder. I asked if they were interested in VISTA. "Ha, ha," the little gal said, "we are VISTA." So I joined the group—60 people, 1 man 77, myself 41, the other 58 college kids. Boy, they're having a ball in Chicago.

Assignments? You go around and talk to people, you draw a map; my assignment was a little different. I actually had a schedule 5 days a week. I did five different things always being told to build friendships with these disadvantaged people. How may I ask do you build friendships or even good will when you've been told to find out what these people need, write out your report then you're told to "just put it in the drawer". Well, I know enough about the disadvantaged to know if there is anything they don't need it is more stupid, hollow promises.

Thursday in our group discussions I was finally able to get a straight answer from our group leader. I asked if all this mixup was lack of communications. "Yes," she said, "I think you've hit it on the head. The Friday before you all came we were told we'd have 8 people then Saturday we were told 45 then finally we ended up with 60, so really we weren't ready for so many." Now maybe I don't know enough about Government spending but it seems to me it would have been much more efficient to have notified these volunteers (?) to postpone their coming for a week or two to give the people in Chicago time to sufficiently prepare for them than to set us up for the planning period.

I couldn't stand the inefficiency any longer. I asked to be relieved. I came home; others have the same idea. If there are 15 people who stick out their year, I'll be very much surprised.

Now when I get back to Denver I read in the paper the "War on Poverty" heads are getting big raises; guess I'll go down Tuesday and try and get on the gravy train. If they ask for my credentials I'll tell them I have no conscience on accepting Government money.

Sincerely,

DOROTHY LINDSAY.

P.S.—I'm sending copies of this letter to several people who I hope are interested enough to read it.

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 16, 1965]

CLASHING CRUSADES—ANTIPOVERTY PUSH RUN INTO WIDENING CONFLICT WITH ANTITRUST EFFORTS—PRESSURE GROWS FOR LENIENT TREATMENT OF ACQUISITIONS LIKELY TO AID EMPLOYMENT—ALCOA, KAISER COULD BENEFIT

(By Monroe W. Karmin)

WASHINGTON.—Of all the Great Society crusades, none is more closely identified with its leader than the war on poverty. Because of President Johnson's interest, the anti-poverty cause is having an important bearing on other, older, but less dramatic Federal campaigns—antitrust, for example.

Deep in the Justice Department antitrust division, high on Capitol Hill, and far and wide among lawyers who represent corporate clients, this message is being passed: "When antipoverty comes up against antitrust, antipoverty is going to win."

In pragmatic terms, this means the door is now open just enough to permit major corporations, heretofore scared of expansion via acquisition for fear of antitrust attack, to take over smaller businesses if—and this is the key—they can show the acquisitions protect imperiled jobs and prevent poverty.

"You have to go to the brink," explains one private antitrust attorney. "In effect, you must convince the Justice Department it's sell or shut down"—that is, the smaller company must sell to the bigger one or else it will be forced to shut down and throw people out of work.

"SOMETIMES CAN'T GO BY BOOK"

In loftier language, the magic phrase seems to be "broader social or economic considerations." Because of such considerations, says Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach to the dismay of his Department's antitrust veterans, sometimes you just can't go by the book. Effect on competition might not always be the main guideline, particularly if the company is, say, in a depressed community." This guidance is sure to be passed to Prof. Donald F. Turner when he arrives from Harvard next week to assume command of the Antitrust Division.

Though Mr. Katzenbach limits his remarks to "marginal" cases in which the antitrust argument may be thin, private defense lawyers are attempting to exploit the opening as much as possible. In recent months pleas of poverty, or the threat of it for the communities involved, have produced a succession of corporate victories throughout the antitrust spectrum: In mergers presented to the Government for review, in consent decrees negotiated to settle antitrust action and in arrangements to undo mergers declared illegal by the courts.

Beneficiaries include these major corporations—Continental Can Co., Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., General Electric Co., and Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.; these influential Senators—RIBICOFF of Connecticut, McCLELLAN of Arkansas, BYRD and RANDOLPH of West Virginia, and PASTORE of Rhode Island, all defending job-worried constituents; and these fearful communities—New Britain, Conn., Fort Smith, Ark., Wheeling and Clarksburg, W. Va., Bristol, R.I., and Barberton, Ohio.

The latest test of antipoverty's appeal is

being conducted behind the closed doors of Federal Judge Stephen W. Brennan's chambers in Utica, N.Y. Judge Brennan is deciding how to comply with last June's Supreme Court order to undo the 1959 acquisition by Aluminum Co. of America of Rome Cable Corp.

FEARS LOSING 1,200 JOBS

Sitting in on the secret deliberations is James C. O'Shea, a lawyer hired by Rome, N.Y., to represent the community's interest. That interest is to keep the Rome Cable plant, with its 1,200 jobs, in operation, preferably by Alcoa. Declares Rome Mayor William Valentine: "If Alcoa were required to divest Rome Cable and didn't find a buyer, we might end up with an empty plant. Then we certainly would be in dire economic condition."

Mr. O'Shea won't discuss the case, but he's certainly informing the Court that Rome, while not officially a depressed area, nevertheless has suffered from unemployment ills (now 6.5 percent of the work force) long enough to qualify for some Federal aid. Also, Rome sees itself as still reeling from an earlier Washington blow: Defense Secretary McNamara's decision to gradually shut down the Rome air materiel area at Griffiss Air Force Base at a cost of 2,700 jobs.

The Justice Department, of course, has no desire to close down Rome Cable and throw people out of work; it just wants to oust big Alcoa in favor of some other management. Indeed, that was the intent of the original antitrust suit: To prevent concentration by preserving competition between the two companies. But Rome Cable now contends that, if divorced from Alcoa, it won't be able to manage by itself, nor does it expect that interested buyers would rush to its doors. Thus the specter of closing is raised.

To hardened Government antitrust prosecutors, the small of contrivance is in the air. While they don't dispute the distress of Rome and other communities with a stake in antitrust actions, they do suspect that defense lawyers may be trying to achieve via antipoverty what they can't get under antitrust. In the Alcoa-Rome case, the prosecutors fear an outcome similar to that which followed Kaiser's acquisition of a wire and cable plant in Bristol, R.I. from U.S. Rubber Co.—an outcome that still pains ardent antitrusters.

KAISER SETTLES

Kaiser purchased the Bristol facilities in 1957; 4 years later the Government attacked; last summer the case came to the attention of Senator PASTORE; in January the Government and Kaiser settled on a consent decree.

Senator PASTORE's plea was antipoverty, pure and simple. He beseeched both Mr. Katzenbach and William H. Orrick, now about to step aside as Assistant Attorney General in charge of antitrust for a "commonsense" approach contending that divestiture by Kaiser would cost 700 jobs for residents of Bristol which was in an officially designated "labor surplus area."

Under the consent settlement, Kaiser is offering the Bristol plant for sale, over a 9-month period, to anyone who will pay the price of Kaiser's 9-year investment, accumulated employee pensions, and other benefits, and a plant and equipment improvement program the company has underway. All this jacks the price up pretty high. If Kaiser fails to find a buyer within the 9 months, it keeps the plant.

Few expect Kaiser to find a buyer. An aid to Senator PASTORE calls the 9-month offering a "technicality"; private antitrust attorneys regard the settlement as a "victory for Kaiser's lawyers"; and a top Government antitrust describes the decree as "the closest thing to hogwash I've seen." So, in the end, Kaiser, primarily for antipoverty reasons, may wind up retaining an acquisition

that the Government deemed objectionable on antitrust grounds.

FAILING COMPANY DOCTRINE

Actually antipoverty is not an entirely new concept in antitrust contention. It has its antecedents in the failing company doctrine to which the courts have paid some attention over the years in permitting mergers where one company might otherwise fail. But that earlier doctrine is at best vague, and its rationale is the salvation of companies only. The new antipoverty design packs more punch, defense lawyers are sure, because it seeks instead to save jobs for people and communities.

Especially with President Johnson's personal commitment to the war on poverty, the appeal can be hard to resist. Listen to the essence of an argument by Senator RIBICOFF.

"At a time when so much of our Nation's resources are being devoted to poverty, unemployment, and the problems of the urban and rural poor—at a time when the concern of all of us is with maintaining a healthy economy and expanding prosperity—one division of the executive branch of Government demonstrates absolutely no concern with the social consequences of its actions."

The culprit thus singled out is the Justice Department, of course, Senator RIBICOFF, speaking also for Senator McCLELLAN, used the argument to convince the Department to withdraw its objections to the acquisition earlier this year by General Electric of the household appliance business of Landers, Frary & Clark. At stake, the Senators contended, were 1,000 jobs in New Britain, Conn., and 600 in Fort Smith, Ark., that would disappear if Landers, Frary were denied a new parent.

SAVED THE JOBS

Though Mr. Orrick's division resisted the retreat, Attorney General Katzenbach, in the words of someone familiar with the negotiations, viewed his choice thus: "Against a minor disservice to the antitrust laws he had to balance the loss of some 1,600 jobs." In this view, Mr. Katzenbach saved the jobs.

There's evidence the courts are beginning to display similar sympathies. Certainly Federal Judge Frederick Van Pelt Bryan did so in carrying out last June's Supreme Court order to unravel Continental Can's 1956 acquisition of Hazel-Atlas Glass Co.

Continental Can sold off most of its Hazel-Atlas properties, but wanted to keep a pair of West Virginia facilities, a metal cap plant in Wheeling and a glass tableware plant in Clarksburg. West Virginians, still suffering from above-average unemployment, grew frantic at the thought that Continental Can might not be allowed to remain.

Senators RANDOLPH and BYRD, along with interested Congressmen and then-Gov. W. W. Barron, bombarded the Justice Department with pleas for leniency. At one point, Senator RANDOLPH discussed the matter with President Johnson. At another, Senator BYRD brought a delegation of State business, labor, and civic leaders to Washington and prevailed upon antitrust chief Orrick to explain his position to the crowd. Mr. Orrick reiterated his desire to keep the Wheeling-Clarksburg plants operating, but insisted that Continental Can had to sell to someone else.

In the end, Judge Bryan decreed that Continental Can could keep its Wheeling-Clarksburg plants. Even extensive hunting for a buyer might sap the hope of these two officially designated labor surplus communities, he declared, adding: "Such a result would be contrary to the declared policy of the Government as expressed by Congress, to take all steps possible to alleviate the depressed economic condition of these areas * * *."

The facet of all this that most disturbs the antitrust enforcers is the potential for pyramiding. An example is the Govern-

ment's concurrence in Firestone's recent purchase of the Barberton, Ohio, tire-making facilities of Seiberling Rubber Co. (now Seilon, Inc.). Firestone, abetted by civic leaders, claimed the acquisition saved the jobs of 1,400 Seiberling employees.

Seiberling, in shopping for a buyer, had issued an invitation to Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., among others. However, Goodyear, the No. 1 tiremaker, decided not to risk antitrust troubles. But when Firestone, No. 2 in the industry, got clearance to take over Seiberling, Goodyear decided to act to protect its leadership position. It acquired an option to buy the tire business of Lee National Corp.

As yet, the Goodyear-Lee transaction has not come before the Government. However, the Lee plant at Conshohocken, Pa., has been closed for 2 years, and if the Government complains, Goodyear can contend that its action will make available 300 jobs to the community.

Mr. ALLOTT. I now yield to my distinguished colleague from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, first of all I wish to endorse what my distinguished colleague has said about the need for cutting back this program.

Because I believe it would be edifying for the RECORD and because I believe my distinguished colleague and other Members of the Senate would enjoy hearing it, I should like to read an article into the RECORD at this point. It deals specifically with the poverty program. It is an account of the most outrageous type of scheme proposed in the name of poverty that I have ever heard. It will take a little time to read it. I can obtain the floor in my own right later today, and I do not want to put it in by reference, because it is too good. I wish to read it into the RECORD. I wonder if the Senator would mind yielding me enough time. It is pertinent to his amendment.

Mr. ALLOTT. I shall be glad to yield the floor, and my distinguished colleague can be recognized in his own right.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The junior Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, this article comes from True magazine, and it came to me in a letter. The letter was written by a man whom I can describe only as being angry. He is an angry young man, and he was sufficiently angry about the Government handouts which were not doing any good to the poor that he wrote a handwritten letter to me consisting of some seven pages. Included with the letter was the article, which is entitled, "Prosperous Town Is Forced To Accept U.S. Poverty Money."

It reads:

YPSILANTI TOWNSHIP, MICH.—On January 17, 1965, speaking at Johnson City, Tex., the President of the same name announced the approval of 88 new antipoverty grants. One of them, in the amount of \$188,252, was for a demonstration project in the Willow Village area of southeastern Michigan.

On January 18, a slim, soft-spoken fellow named Roy Smith picked up a newspaper and stared at it incredulously. He had no connection with the war on poverty. He was and is supervisor of Ypsilanti Township, which lies in Washtenaw County, the highest income county in Michigan. To be sure, the subdivisions of Smith's district were not com-

parable to some of the prestige neighborhoods of nearby Ann Arbor, where the University of Michigan is located. A good share of his constituents were hourly rated employees or lower grade executives in the automobile industry. But he was certain his township could boast average family earnings of more than \$7,000 a year. So he had no connection with any impoverished area, either.

Even so, he had good reason for being stunned upon learning "Willow Village" had been designated an official poverty area to the tune of a sizable hunk of the taxpayers' money. For one thing, there was not any such place as Willow Village. For another, where most of Willow Village had once existed, the recently built homes and schools, parks and glistening new shopping center stores of Ypsilanti Township were now standing.

Ironically enough, Roy Smith had been warned of what was coming. He'd simply refused to believe it was possible.

Some 8 weeks earlier, he'd received an inch-thick manuscript in the mail, along with a letter from Mr. Hyman Kornbluh of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations—one of the numerous research groups supported by Michigan's tax-supported universities. "Under separate cover, I am sending you a copy of the proposal we have submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington," the letter had explained. And it had gone to request the township's cooperation in a project of mutual interest.

Roy had begun reading the manuscript. And in doing so he'd also begun what was to be, for him, a long, lonely journey into a bureaucratic-academic fantasyland—a world where reality was regarded as of so little importance by officious-sounding officials that he would more than once find himself doubting his own sanity. What was labeled a report to the Federal Government from a famed and respected university sounded more like some amateur novelist's attempt to write a Michigan version of "Tobacco Road."

"By almost any standards," the script insisted, "Willow Village is an impoverished community." Actually, Willow Village was the name of a World War II housing project erected for the workers at the big Willow Run bomber plant, a project the Federal Government had abandoned to be torn down by Ypsilanti Township and replaced by privately built housing. The name still existed only on some low-rent but extremely attractive apartments that lay just over the line in Superior Township. And by any standards whatsoever, income for the designated area ran well above the national average.

Industry had "passed by the core" of this "depressed community," the report continued, and the few folks fortunate enough to find work "were in service and menial jobs." The truth was that the smoke of five gigantic automobile factories could be seen from the area's center, and the personnel manager of one of them had recently commented that anyone who could pass a physical could find employment there.

"Willow Village is a community without social services," the report went blithely on, "There is no medical facility, no newspaper, no self-government, no recreational or cultural or even entertainment facility. There are no stores in the area, and schools are a bus ride away."

Roy Smith had to shake his head hard and wipe his glasses before rereading that passage. The area not only received the social services of all Ypsilanti Community Chest agencies but even contained the headquarters of some of them. Ridgewood Hospital was just 1 mile to the north, and 3 miles to the southwest was the Beyer Memorial Hospital to which the township had paid \$58,000 last year to guarantee that none of its residents could be denied a bed.

Furthermore, a busy doctor's office shared the new Sunrise Shopping Center with a supermarket, a discount department store, and several other shops, all within sight of a library and a bowling alley and some of the parks where the township's \$10,000 summer recreation program had been carried out. Four different newspapers were delivered daily in the area. All but a few of the children walked to school because they lived so close they were specifically prohibited from receiving bus rides under Michigan law. And if there was no self-government, Roy was forced to wonder, just who the hell had elected him?

Mr. President, there is a great deal more to this. The statement points out that the whole thing had been created by six people, none of whom lived in the area, none of whom had been in the area, and most of whom were going to be receiving benefits under contracts through the university for surveys in the area, without any of the money getting into the area eventually. There is \$188,000 involved. The program is still going on; it is still in progress. There is now a community organization, which I believe is one of the best things established. The community organization is called "REPLY," standing for "Return Every Penny and Leave Ypsilanti township." That is the organization created by the citizens to tell the poverty workers, "Go home and bring your money back to Washington. It came from us in taxes. We did not want it. We did not organize it. We did not ask for it. It is being forced on us to the tune of \$188,252."

Mr. President, I believe the statement I have read is of importance in showing citizens' reactions. Next to their best shopping centers and their houses they have erected signs stating, "Attention. You are now entering a poverty area." Obviously the houses are the homes of those in the middle income categories.

A survey was conducted to determine the average monthly income in the area. It came to more than \$9,000 a year for the families there.

It is nonsense for us to be spending the kind of money that is being proposed under the bill in programs that will not reach the poor, and which are not doing what we wanted to do when we established the original program, which is still an administrative hash. That is about all it could be termed.

It seems to me the very least we can do is to cut back to last year's authorization, which is exactly what my senior colleague from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT] is requesting, plus providing a study program, which is so important in order to determine how much money is getting to the poor.

It has been pointed out that the proposal is not restricted to one item. Roy Smith, who was elected, and who, I am happy to say, is one of the few Republicans who survived in the election of last year, started receiving letters from all over the place. He received letters from New Jersey. At one point, in Newark alone, there were seven poverty fighters in the over-\$10,000-a-year salary bracket. The top wage was \$23,000.

Hearing of this, the corps of poverty fighters assigned to Paterson, N.J., where the salary was a mere \$18,500, were about to request a pay raise, but they finally de-

cided against it. After all, the mayor of Paterson was receiving only \$17,500 a year.

Floods of this material came to him from all over the country, indicating once again what we have put in our minority views, and what my colleague [Mr. ALLOTT] has reported from Denver, Colo. It was not in the minority views at that time. It merely indicates that money is going down the drain and is not doing what it is supposed to be doing. Until we correct that situation, it does not seem to me that we should double the size of the expenditure of this program.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I congratulate the Senator from Colorado for giving those examples showing how our money has been wasted. My attention was recently called to another \$230,000 grant that was made in the New York area. Shortly after they received the grant of \$230,000 all the officials went up to the Adirondacks for a weekend to study the juvenile delinquency problem in the New York City area. While they were up there their expense accounts totaled over \$2,000 for refreshments and rooms at that plush resort. There were present six consultants who were drawing \$75 a day plus all expenses for the 2 days that they were there. Luncheons, dinners, and special refreshments that were charged on the expense account for this trip were rather lavish.

In addition, I noticed that the expenses of the numerous luncheon, breakfast, and dinner meetings that this group of directors held after they were organized were consistently charged to the expense account as a part of the poverty program. At the same time those men were drawing salaries as officials of from \$12,000 up to \$20,000.

One of the high salaried officials even had the gall to charge to the Government \$12.85 for a tuxedo he had rented to attend one of these social functions. This tuxedo rent was charged as a part of the poverty program.

Ironically, all these expenditures were approved by the agency. I observed that none of those expenses were disallowed, so I assume they must have approved of the expenditures.

I join the Senators from Colorado in urging that we do cut the authorization to a more realistic level. The administration should be told that it was never intended that such items as the rental of tuxedos or liquid refreshments be included as official expenses. There was a charge of \$63.20 for flowers to be used at an open house meeting. Since when is \$60.00 for flowers a legitimate expense of the antipoverty program?

Other items on the expense account of these administrators of the poverty program in the New York City area are: \$119.50 for a movie camera; camera accessories, \$80.85; miscellaneous camera attachments, \$57.40; Yashica camera, \$59.95; special lens, \$89.50; five rolls film, \$14.25; film, \$12.17; four more rolls of film, \$9.80; photographs mostly of officials of the program, \$162.98.

Mr. DOMINICK. I sincerely appreciate the contribution of the Senator.

This is one more example of the problem that exists, and an apt one.

I yield to the senior Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, the remarks of my distinguished colleague from Colorado are accurately directed toward the heart of the subject, as are the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Delaware. They point out that we are in a full-blown process of spending \$2 billion on a program that should be in the pilot stage.

We who are genuinely interested in trying to raise the standard of living of people and who see hundreds of millions of dollars being thrown about, as this money is being thrown about, cannot help feeling that we have missed the mark for a long while. If we are going to do anything for these people, we must first find a way to motivate them. This is the most difficult thing in the world to do, as anybody who ever had anything to do with the process of education knows. Second, we must give them the opportunity, along with motivation, to improve their own lot. Without these two incentives, we shall not make any progress.

The Senator from Colorado has cited and added to the examples that I have already placed in the RECORD. One cannot pick up a newspaper without reading that politicians and bureaucrats all over the country are squabbling over the billions of dollars that Congress proposes to spend on the poverty program. The people who really need help are going to come out with nothing.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator. He is 100 percent correct. This is why we should support this amendment to cut back the amount.

I yield to the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Not only are politicians fighting over who is going to handle this multimillion-dollar program but there is also the fight over patronage. In many instances there is developing a patronage feud among the Democratic politicians as to who is going to control the jobs. Considering the lavish expense accounts, that are being permitted with the high salaries I can well understand their attractiveness as rewards to politicians.

Mr. DOMINICK. Again, I express appreciation to the Senator from Delaware. I wish to read one more excerpt from the article which deals with distribution of funds:

After all, the late President Kennedy's shock at what he's seen upon carrying his primary campaign into that State—

Meaning West Virginia—

had been one of the prime factors in creating the national mood that resulted in the war on poverty. Why then, West Virginians were wondering, had their antipoverty allotment so far been little more than \$400,000, while the high-income State of New Jersey had already received \$12½ million?

Another part of the same problem is whether the money is getting down to the areas where it is needed.

I was a little distressed last night when I drove home. I had the radio turned to one of the better-known stations in Washington. I heard one of our well-known commentators say that the

poverty program was making substantial progress; that a move to cut \$500 million was defeated "today." That was an accurate statement—absolutely accurate. There was no problem about that. The amendment was defeated, and to that extent we were one step ahead toward passing the committee bill.

But what was not mentioned was that the committee bill would double the previous year's authorization, and that the amendment which was defeated would have increased by 38 percent the amount that was spent on poverty programs in the previous year. That was the purport of my amendment.

The point I wish to make is that it is felt that anybody who seeks to straighten out the program is against the poor, and that is about as ridiculous as anything I can think of.

What we are trying to do is develop some mechanism by which the funds we supply for the war on poverty can be used for that purpose and not for the enrichment of the Government personnel who manage it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled, "A Prosperous Town Is Forced To Accept U.S. Poverty Money," published in *True, The Man's Magazine*, for August 1965.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROSPEROUS TOWN IS FORCED TO ACCEPT U.S. POVERTY MONEY—ZEALOUS POVERTY FIGHTERS SAY MICHIGAN'S YPSILANTI TOWNSHIP NEEDS \$188,252 TO GET ON ITS FEET—AND THEY WON'T TAKE NO FOR AN ANSWER

(By Gene Caesar)

YPSILANTI TOWNSHIP, MICH.—On January 17, 1965, speaking at Johnson City, Tex., the President of the same name announced the approval of 88 new antipoverty grants. One of them, in the amount of \$188,252, was for a demonstration project in the Willow Village area of southeastern Michigan.

On January 18, a slim, soft-spoken fellow named Roy Smith picked up a newspaper and stared at it incredulously. He had no connection with the war on poverty. He was and is supervisor of Ypsilanti Township, which lies in Washtenaw County, the highest-income county in Michigan. To be sure, the subdivisions of Smith's district weren't comparable to some of the prestige neighborhoods of nearby Ann Arbor, where the University of Michigan is located. A good share of his constituents were hourly rated employees or lower grade executives in the automobile industry. But he was certain his township could boast average family earnings of more than \$7,000 a year. So he had no connection with any impoverished area, either.

Even so, he had good reason for being stunned upon learning "Willow Village" had been designated an official poverty area to the tune of a sizable hunk of the taxpayers' money. For one thing, there wasn't any such place as Willow Village. For another, where most of Willow Village had once existed, the recently built homes and schools, parks, and glistening new shopping-center stores of Ypsilanti Township were now standing.

Ironically enough, Roy Smith had been warned of what was coming. He'd simply refused to believe it was possible.

Some 8 weeks earlier, he'd received an inch-thick manuscript in the mail, along with a letter from Mr. Hyman Kornbluh of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Re-

lations—one of the numerous research groups supported by Michigan's tax-supported universities. "Under separate cover, I am sending you a copy of the proposal we have submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington," the letter had explained. And it had gone on to request the township's cooperation in a project of mutual interest.

Roy had begun reading the manuscript. And in doing so he'd also begun what was to be, for him, a long, lonely journey into a bureaucratic-academic fantasyland—a world where reality was regarded as of so little importance by officious-sounding officials that he would more than once find himself doubting his own sanity. What was labeled a report to the Federal Government from a famed and respected university sounded more like some amateur novelist's attempt to write a Michigan version of "Tobacco Road."

"By almost any standards," the script insisted, "Willow Village is an impoverished community." Actually, Willow Village was the name of a World War II housing project erected for the workers at the big Willow Run bomber plant, a project the Federal Government had abandoned to be torn down by Ypsilanti Township and replaced by privately built housing. The name still existed only on some low-rent but extremely attractive apartments that lay just over the line in Superior Township. And by any standards whatsoever, income for the designated area ran well above the national average.

Industry had "passed by the core" of this "depressed community," the report continued, and the few folks fortunate enough to find work "were in service and menial jobs." The truth was that the smoke of five gigantic automobile factories could be seen from the area's center, and the personnel manager of one of them had recently commented that anyone who could pass a physical could find employment there.

"Willow Village is a community without social services," the report went blithely on. "There is no medical facility, no newspaper, no self-government, no recreational or cultural or even entertainment facility. There are no stores in the area, and schools are a bus ride away."

Roy Smith had to shake his head hard and wipe his glasses before rereading that passage. The area not only received the social services of all Ypsilanti Community Chest agencies but even contained the headquarters of some of them. Ridgewood Hospital was just 1 mile to the north, and 3 miles to the southwest was the Beyer Memorial Hospital to which the township had paid \$58,000 last year to guarantee that none of its residents could be denied a bed. Furthermore, a busy doctor's office shared the new Sunrise Shopping Center with a supermarket, a discount department store and several other shops, all within sight of a library and a bowling alley and some of the parks where the township's \$10,000 summer recreation program had been carried out. Four different newspapers were delivered daily in the area. All but a few of the children walked to school because they lived so close they were specifically prohibited from receiving bus rides under Michigan law. And if there was no self-government, Roy was forced to wonder, just who the hell had elected him?

Even more fantastic was the constant flow of phrases like "the present ghost town appearance" or "brush has overgrown the streets and roads." The report never quite claimed the inhabitants of this brush-choked ghost town were starving. Instead, it suggested "establishing a community vegetable field—to be run by the residents on a co-operative basis—with the produce available to the residents for their own consumption."

Starving or not, the manuscript noted, the impoverished people had formed a self-help group of "about 400 to 500" members called the Willow Run Association for Neighborhood

Development—WRAND, for short—and immediately appealed to the University of Michigan to help them. After a thorough study, the University was submitting a proposed budget covering the community's needs. What the poor people needed most, it seemed, was the services of some "professional directors" with salaries up to \$11,000 a year. Except for such items as \$8,970 for the first year's publication of a "community newsletter" the only thing clear about the vaguely worded budget, all of which was subject to "university overhead," was that it was just the beginning. The report suggested, for example, that Willow Village apartments be granted enough further "Title IV" funds to permit the building of "several hundred additional units."

Wondering whether to laugh or cry, Roy Smith closed the book of 90-odd pages and stared dully at the plywood walls of his office. He vaguely remembered hearing of WRAND. Someone had buttonholed him for a \$20 donation the summer before and, believing the group to be a normal community-betterment organization, he'd thoroughly approved of the idea. But the WRAND headquarters were over in Superior Township and, as far as he knew, so were its members. Yet all but a small portion of the area designated in the report was in Ypsilanti Township. Since the accompanying letter said "a proposal we have submitted," it was apparently too late to keep the university from making an incredible and perhaps embarrassing blunder. But he telephoned the man who'd written that letter anyway.

"Mr. Hyman Kornbluh? This is Roy Smith out in Ypsilanti Township. If you're going to write about this area, why don't you drive the 10 miles out here and look at it? That report of yours is just plain garbage."

The voice on the telephone sounded extremely upset, but it finally said something about "a matter of opinion."

"No, it's not," Roy asserted. "If you'd said there were 'few' stores or 'inadequate' facilities and so forth, that might be a matter of opinion. When you say there's no this, that, and the other thing—all of which are located in the area—there's no question of opinion involved. Look, you come out here, any time, at your convenience, and I'll drive you around. I want you to try defending that report while you're seeing what's here with your own eyes."

Hyman Kornbluh finally agreed and promised to call back soon. But that call never came. Roy showed the weird manuscript to several citizens allegedly living in a grown-over ghost town. And it brought laughter instead of indignation from everyone who read it.

"Why, there isn't and unpaved street in any of these three subdivisions of our they've listed," they said. "There isn't a house in the entire area more than 10 years old."

"Why worry about it?" everyone chuckled. "They'll read that in Washington and toss it in the nearest wastebasket. The war on poverty is for places like Appalachia. If they send someone out here from the Federal Government, then some professors will have some fast explaining to do. But that's not your problem."

Running into this same reaction everywhere, Roy Smith soon began wondering if he wasn't taking the ridiculous report too seriously. By the time the new year began, the manuscript was lying forgotten in his crowded files.

But on January 17—without any attempt at prior investigation, with entire sentences from the ghost town report being repeated word for word in a White House press release—Willow Village was awarded an anti-poverty grant.

For 4 full days, Roy, remained silent and did some soul-searching, chiefly while walking the streets of what was now an official Poverty Area. He didn't dispute the fact that there were a few scattered folks on those

streets, as on almost all streets, who weren't very well off. Roy wasn't opposed to the antipoverty program; he was all in favor of the Government helping poor people in any way it could.

Back in the depression, as a kid on a Tennessee farm, Roy Smith had eaten Government sowbelly the same as everyone around him was doing and been plenty glad to get it. He'd come a fair distance from that Tennessee farm, though. He'd been in the Marines in World War II and after the war had attended the University of Michigan on the GI bill. Then he'd worked in the automobile industry and, in 1959, had entered politics where he'd been quite successful. He is a moderate Republican and, along with George Romney, was one of the few members of his party to survive the 1964 Johnson landslide.

But Roy Smith had never forgotten the depression. If there was the slightest chance that any portion of that \$188,252 might eventually filter down to help folks who needed it, he certainly didn't want to ruin that chance.

For four straight evenings at home, with his wife sensing a crisis and hushing his three children, he went over the proposed budget again and again. And absolutely nothing was really being promised there. Beneath all the long-winded descriptions of what might be done, the hard fact was that some nonteaching fellows at the University of Michigan were being given a good-sized piece of public money to do with as they pleased, as a reward for branding his township a poverty area. On January 22, he finally telephoned the nearest newspaper and mentioned some of the falsities in the Institute report.

The local papers, published in the shadow of the powerful university, were extremely wary of the story. They mentioned only a few of Roy's charges, then answered them with Institute statements that "some errors of detail in describing the physical elements and population statistics of the area did occur, but none of these errors was fundamental."

"Willow Village is, of course, not totally impoverished," Hyman Kornbluh was quoted as saying. "But it does contain pockets of poverty."

Smith couldn't help wondering if this was the same Kornbluh who'd sent him the report saying, "By almost any standards, Willow Village is an impoverished community." But press objectivity seemed to be picking up in direct ratio to the distance from Ann Arbor. "Federal Government says it's impoverished; area says it's thriving," the Detroit Free Press reported. And the little Redford Record put it even more bluntly: "University of Michigan dreams up poverty ghost town." But it was a Detroit TV commentator, Larry Carino of WJBK, who got to the heart of the matter.

He made a very sensible suggestion: "Let the University of Michigan explain exactly what it intends to do with the \$188,000, or send it back with apologies."

But the Institute parried even this thrust. "The program has not yet been spelled out," Hyman Kornbluh explained, "because the cardinal point of a demonstration project is to demonstrate that the community can assess its own needs." Whether the community had assessed a need for them or not, it was also announced that the hiring of a staff "of about 12" would begin immediately.

Supervisor Roy Smith had understandably expected a cry of outrage to come from the folks who were being branded impoverished. But the issue had been so clouded and confused by academic doubletalk that only 10 people brought complaints to a township board meeting on February 2, and most of these were merely ladies who were miffed, because friends were phoning and offering to send them CARE packages. Furthermore,

their young township clerk, Tilden R. Stumbo, kept urging them to "Wait and see."

"Sure, they got the grant by falsifying a document," he argued. "But some good could still come of the grant itself—new roads or parks."

Roy Smith could only hope that none of the youngsters who might play in such parks was listening to his elders' moral logic, and he said as much 2 days later when he got off a letter to Dr. Harlan Hatcher, president of the University of Michigan. After listing two pages of the fraudulent claims made in the Institute report, then adding that this was only a sampling, that the entire report lacked reality, he invited Dr. Hatcher to tour the area with him at any time and make his own comparison. "We teach our children to tell the truth," he mentioned. "If funds have been received on the basis of false statements, those funds should be returned."

Word of the controversy had reached Washington, but there was still no hint that any investigation would be made. "We didn't force that money on those people," an Office of Economic Opportunity spokesman told newsmen. "They themselves asked for it. Four or five hundred of them formed this WRAND organization and requested the University of Michigan to apply for and administer the grant in their behalf."

Thus assured, the demonstration project proceeded as scheduled. The planting of the communal vegetable garden couldn't begin until the spring thaw, of course. But calling itself the WRAND Round-Up, the community newsletter, for which \$8,970 of a "poverty money" had been allotted in the proposed budget, appeared immediately—with headlines saying "Who Says We're Impoverished?" above a story insisting the grant was only an expression of admiration for local initiative. WRAND further explained on February 8 that the grant was needed because the designated area, although not really impoverished, was not being served by the Ypsilanti Community Chest. On February 9 WRAND announced that yesterday's press release was "in error" since the area had always been served by the Community Chest.

It seemed strange to Roy Smith, reading the next day's papers, that an organization of area residents could make such a mistake. But before he could carry this curious inconsistency to its inevitable conclusion, he was interrupted by something even stranger. Three gentlemen from the university were ushered into his office. One was introduced as a full dean. Another described himself as "merely an observer" and was actually, Roy later learned, a recognized authority on, of all things, syphilis research. The third, a plump man wearing the look of a fellow being forced to endure petty indignity, was the long-awaited Hyman Kornbluh.

Instead of discussing the matter in his office, Roy loaded the delegation into his 3-year-old Chevrolet and spent more than 2 hours touring every street of the alleged poverty area. He didn't run into any brush, but he did stop regularly to read aloud sentences from the report for comparison with what lay outside the car windows. The dean made a gallant attempt at keeping the interview genial and friendly, under formidably difficult circumstances. Chain-smoking nervously, Mr. Kornbluh remained silent most of the time, as did the syphilis expert. Not until they'd returned to the Township Hall did Roy hear anything resembling an admission that the area wasn't a ghost town after all.

"Suppose instead of 'no' stores, we say 'few' stores?" Hyman Kornbluh offered then. "Suppose instead of 'no' facilities, we say 'inadequate' facilities?"

"Suppose you apologize to the people here and return the grant," Roy suggested instead. "If you can get another one by writing an honest report, the best of luck to you."

Kornbluh countered with the accusation that the whole affair was a political publicity stunt, asserted that he himself wouldn't be in politics for anything, and walked out. That was the last Roy Smith saw of him.

Roy Smith had some questionnaires made up to be circulated in the designated poverty area, requesting residents to return them unsigned. He wanted some statistics on the average income, and to learn what percentage favored the grant and how many were members of the mysterious WRAND organization that had requested it in the first place.

On February 16, a surprise resolution was introduced at a township board meeting, and Roy found himself standing totally alone. Five to one against him, his fellow board members voted to condemn the poverty label but to welcome the poverty money.

Everyone seemed to be saying exactly what Clerk Tilden R. Stumbo had said—"Sure, they got the grant by falsifying a document, but let's keep it anyway"—including fantastically enough, the Federal Government itself. Because a tall, distinguished-looking man named William Lawrence was ushered into the township hall the next day and introduced as a consultant to the community action program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. And he soon made it clear that he'd come not as an investigator but as a peacemaker.

"I've already been around the area," he insisted, declining the offer of another tour in Roy's Chevy. "Now I want to know what sort of proposal, satisfactory to you, I can take to the university. What would satisfy you, Mr. Smith?"

"Why didn't you make the 2-hour flight out here before the grant was given?" Roy couldn't help wondering.

"We're tremendously understaffed," Lawrence explained. "But I want to assure you and every citizen that no antipoverty grant will ever again be given without an on-the-spot inspection of the area."

"Michigan has a State antipoverty director," Roy Smith persisted. "Couldn't his office have been asked to check out the proposal?"

William Lawrence further explained that the poverty program permits the Federal Government to deal directly with universities. After all, he reminded Roy, the original appeal had come from the area residents themselves. By reporting on the area and offering to administer a grant, the University of Michigan was, in effect, the agency checking out the appeal for the Federal Government.

"Well, now that you've seen the area," Smith asked, "what are you going to do about it?"

Lawrence launched into an involved dissertation on the intricacies of antipoverty grants. Contracts had already been offered to professional directors, it seemed, and other commitments had been made. But the Office of Economic Opportunity would most certainly demand that the university correct the errors in the report, redefine it and update it before activating the project. "Would that satisfy you?" he asked hopefully.

"All that will satisfy me," Roy Smith told him, suddenly feeling very tired, "is the return of any poverty money intended for Ypsilanti Township and a public apology to the people here."

William Lawrence went away worriedly predicting that "the university won't go for anything like that." And the university didn't.

Meanwhile, the Willow Village demonstration project had already demonstrated one thing—the ease with which antipoverty funds could be obtained. And predictably enough, what followed was like a run on the bank. The Washtenaw County Committee on Alcoholism decided to try for \$39,900; everyone

knows poor people drink too much. The local chapter of the Planned Parenthood League wanted \$26,290 because statistics show the impoverished do something else too much. The Ypsilanti public schools decided to go all out and ask \$375,000 for providing "compensatory education" for everyone from deprived preschoolers to the indigent aged. Before long, fully 20 poverty money requests were being feverishly prepared, and a 36-member "citizen's committee" was itself requesting \$54,501 merely for acting as a clearing house for other requests. All this was going on in just one county, the highest-income county in Michigan, one of the 10 wealthiest States in the Union.

Nor was the national picture particularly different. The controversy was bringing Roy Smith a surprising amount of mail from people in some far-flung places. Ministers and other citizens of Chicago and Cleveland and New York were claiming that their own antipoverty grants had served no purpose except as patronage plumbs for local political machines. West Virginians were writing to ask if Roy saw anything strange about the way the poverty money was being parceled out.

After all, the late President Kennedy's shock at what he'd seen upon carrying his primary campaign into that State had been one of the prime factors in creating the national mood that resulted in the war on poverty. Why then, West Virginians were wondering, had their antipoverty allotment so far been little more than \$400,000, while the high-income State of New Jersey had already received \$12½ million.

But folks from New Jersey were writing as well, and they weren't happy with all that money. People in Monmouth County, for example, had received a \$67,000 grant, only to learn that \$52,000 of it had already been budgeted for the salaries and "administration expenses" of the professional directors. The whole State had been startled to hear that Antipoverty Director John C. Bullitt would be getting a salary of \$25,000 a year and would have a pair of \$19,000 assistants. But Bullitt had insisted these wage rates were "not out of line," and in a sense he was right. This was less than his poverty-official superiors in Washington were getting and slightly more than was being paid city poverty officials. In Newark alone there were seven poverty fighters in the over-\$10,000 bracket, but the top wage was just \$23,000. Hearing of this, the corps of poverty fighters assigned to Paterson, where the highest salary was a mere \$18,500, were about to request a pay raise, but they finally decided against it. After all, the mayor of Paterson was getting only \$17,500.

Even so, Roy's chief concern was his own township, and he was pinning a large share of his hopes on the president of the University of Michigan. He still expected Dr. Harlan Hatcher to make a personal comparison of the fraudulent report and the area it supposedly described, then crack down on those responsible with all the righteous wrath that might be expected of so distinguished an educator. But on March 2, when Roy Smith finally received an answer to his letter of nearly a month earlier, it was the most mystifying and disappointing development of the entire nightmarish affair. Dr. Hatcher described himself as "satisfied that the University of Michigan and its representatives acted in good faith and in accordance with recognized procedures, both in submitting the program and in accepting the grant" because "many of the alleged errors to which reference has been made occurred in a background document which was not submitted to Washington."

Numb with amazement, Roy searched his files for the original letter from Kornbluh, dated November 25. It still read, "I am sending you a copy of the proposal we have

submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington," just as it always had. For fully 6 weeks the report had been the subject of incessant public controversy, mentioned in both news stories and editorials, and Roy himself had discussed it with both University and Federal Government officials. At no time in those 6 weeks had there been the slightest suggestion from anyone that the "background document" hadn't been submitted.

"We didn't force this money on those people," the OEO was still telling newsmen. "They themselves formed this WRAND organization and requested the university's assistance in getting a grant."

Pondering that statement that he'd heard and read so often, Roy Smith suddenly realized there was something very strange about it. Some 257 of the questionnaires he'd distributed had been returned by then, showing average family income so far of \$7,961 in the "depressed community" and turning up just 10 people who approved of the antipoverty grant. But more interesting yet, only four people had identified themselves, even unsigned, as members of WRAND. Roy had met the president and current spokesman of the group—a young junior high school teacher named Gerald Foley. But Foley himself admitted he'd joined the group months after its formation and had taken no part in the original request to the university. And the few other WRAND members who could be located locally said exactly the same thing. Who, then, had made that request? Who had started WRAND in the first place?

There was a way to find out. Any such organization had to file articles of incorporation with the county clerk, and any citizen had a right to examine those articles. Roy Smith availed himself of that right. And all of a sudden, the whole puzzling business wasn't so puzzling any longer.

The Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development had been founded by just six people—not one of whom lived anywhere near the neighborhood they intended developing, all of whom were well-to-do residents of Ann Arbor. The "self-help" group that had asked the University of Michigan to help it help itself to some antipoverty money had been formed by one University of Michigan official, one University of Michigan professor, two wives of university professors, one prominent lawyer, and the manager of the Willow Village Apartments—for which additional title IV antipoverty funds had been suggested in the resulting proposal.

At this writing, with the university already privately estimating its "overhead" at 32 percent, the antipoverty grant gained by the invention of an imaginary ghost town is still in effect. In fact, on April 27—speaking at Detroit, Mich., and still quoting the falsified phrases and statistics of a report that was supposedly never submitted to Washington—War on Poverty Director R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., threw his personal prestige behind the Office of Economic Opportunity's attempts to save face in the controversy by publicly praising the Willow Village demonstration project. (If he'd ventured just 30 miles farther, he might have seen what he was calling "an urban-fringe pocket of poverty." But he didn't.) And the OEO is still stubbornly sticking to its story that the "erroneous background material" was "not germane" to a proposal that "clearly met the criteria for demonstrations as developed by this office."

But Government glibness no longer bothers Roy Smith the way it once did—chiefly because his struggle isn't a lone one any longer. Roused by the realization that the entire scheme was both conceived and carried out by outsiders, the people of the designated area have begun battling back with every bit as much ingenuity as was used in

calling them impoverished in the first place. A group of them have decided to play the alphabet game themselves by forming a rival self-help group called REPLY—which stands for Return Every Penny and Leave Ypsilanti Township. Petitions making the same demand have so far been signed by 80 percent of the area's resident, and a similar resolution received an 87½-percent favorable vote at the annual township meeting. Recognizing the fact that as leaders of the people they'd do well to follow them, four of Roy's fellow township board members, Tilden R. Stumbo included, have reversed their earlier stand and joined him in demanding the return of the grant.

To dramatize the situation, signs have been erected informing visitors that they are entering an official poverty area where their tax dollars are hard at work. And a young man named Gordon Mattson, chairman of REPLY, even rented a horse and a Paul Revere costume, then braved a late snowstorm to go galloping through the streets shouting: "The bureaucrats are coming." He was followed by both a honking motorcade and what seemed an apt symbol of the incredible affair from its clouded beginning to its as yet undetermined end—a circus clown.

"Maybe that's the only answer for this kind of insanity," Roy Smith laughingly reflects. "A good sense of humor. But you know what worries me most? The way that fellow from Washington acted when he came out and saw for himself how the Government had been taken. He didn't get mad, and he didn't seem surprised. He wasn't even interested. All he kept asking was what would satisfy me—which meant what would shut me up, I guess. Do you think what happened here could be the rule and not the exception? That this sort of thing is going on all over the country?"

That's an interesting question.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the substance of this amendment has already been discussed. It was contained in an amendment offered yesterday by the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] to cut the amount back to this year's appropriation. That amendment was defeated by the Senate yesterday by a vote of 40 to 51.

The general increase in authorizations provided in the bill reflects two primary considerations. First, all programs last year operated only over a 9-month period. Second, none of these program existed at all before last year. Each started from scratch—at zero. If we are to carry these same programs over the present year we must therefore do more than just provide funds for a full 12 months. We must also recognize that each of these programs started this year with a capability that did not exist when they started operations last year.

Last year we began with no organization, no procedures, no Job Corps centers in operation, no community action agencies, no approved State plans. All these things now exist. They represent resources that have been created. They should be used.

This year, each month, we should be able to do just a little better than we did in a comparable month last year in reaching the 35 million people living in poverty. Certainly, there is nothing unreasonable in this. Certainly, we cannot afford to do less.

I would like to make it clear that the authorizations in the bill are designed

to allow leeway for many program improvements. They are framed on the proposition that there should be time for staff and effort that is not focused simply on producing more and more grants. In fact, if we are talking about sheer production—about what is mathematically possible on the basis of the program rates attained last year—we would not be talking about a \$1.5 billion authorization. We would be talking about a \$2 billion or perhaps even a \$4 billion authorization.

This amendment also provides for a Joint Congressional Study Committee to study the administration of the act and recommend improvements, if any, to the Senate and House of Representatives January 1, 1966, after which the Joint Committee shall cease.

Such a study is properly within the jurisdiction of the present committee to whom the bill was assigned. Those committees are better equipped to review the program of OEO. As a part of considering the authorization this year and next year, the committee reviews the program.

Further, the committee provided for more complete review of the program of OEO in the amendment to the National Advisory Council. This change sponsored by Senator PROURY provides for an annual review with recommendations reported to the President and Congress.

I am opposed to this amendment because it would create a new committee to do what the present committee does, and adequate review of OEO is provided in the act.

Therefore, I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the Senator has spoken of the fact that he is asking for an annual review by a special committee. Has the Senator been able to get a copy of the review which the OEO has already conducted of its operations?

A couple of weeks ago I was talking with the officials of the OEO. They confirmed having approved a sizable grant of several thousand dollars to obtain a review of the agency, and the numerous laws now on the books dealing with this subject.

As I understand it, the purpose of the review was to obtain a list of what they thought may possibly be four or five other laws that dealt with the same program. As it was reported to me, after the study was made this committee reported back and said that they found, not 4 or 5, but 94 different laws and programs, all dealing with antipoverty, many of which the bureaucrats had forgotten were on the books.

The report stated that it seemed to be a practice of the administration that when it wanted to do something, it had a new law passed, even though the administration might already have the existing authority. It was suggested that as we pass some of these new laws we should repeal some of the old ones.

I was very much interested in the statement in one part of the report that they did not want to suggest that 94

would be the final number since they had not concluded their studies. Apparently they were sure there were others.

Has the Senator from Michigan obtained any information as to how many other overlapping laws deal with the same subject; that is, in addition to the 94 to which I have referred? I have not been able to receive the information.

I saw the report, but they would not give me a copy. The report was twice the size of the biggest Sears Roebuck catalog that I ever saw, and, of course, I can understand the embarrassment of the agency.

I can understand why they would not want to circulate the report; but could the Senator get some information on this subject and enlighten us?

Mr. McNAMARA. No. I should say to the distinguished senior Senator from Delaware that the report to which he is referring, I am sure, is no part of the official activities of the OEO. It may be a report from some other organization. However, it is not an official report. Otherwise, I am sure that we would have it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I am amazed. The Office of Economic Opportunity sent two representatives to my office to show me a copy of the report. I wanted to borrow the report, but the representatives said that it was the only copy they had and that it could not be given out. However, I was told that they had paid for it, and if I recall correctly, they stated that they had paid approximately \$60,000 or \$80,000. If they paid for it and they had it, I do not understand why they do not own it. They paid for the report out of their own appropriation funds so they said. If they paid for it they should know, and I would think the committee would know.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I suppose that the OEO is continually reviewing their programs and reporting to the Director. I should assume that they would consider it a more or less continuing and routine report. I have no knowledge of the report to which the Senator refers. That is the only answer that I can give to the Senator.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I hope that, as the chairman of the subcommittee, the Senator will look into the matter. The report has just been issued within the last few weeks.

In the very brief time that I was permitted to look at the report I found it to be a most interesting document. Certainly it was interesting to note that there were 94 different laws all dealing with the same subject and that the existence of a substantial percentage of these laws was not even known by the bureaucrats who were operating the agency.

I felt that such a report should be called to the attention of the Congress. I wonder if the committee can get a copy of the report and furnish us with some information.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I assure the distinguished Senator that we shall make every effort to get a copy of the report to which he refers. If it is in the hands of the officials of the OEO, as

the Senator indicates, I am sure that we can obtain it.

I point out that the only report requested under the law is indicated on page 25, section 608, as follows:

Not later than 120 days after the close of each fiscal year, the Director shall prepare and submit to the President for transmittal to the Congress the full and complete report of the activities of the office during each year.

Of course, that period has not arrived as yet. One hundred and twenty days have not yet passed, so that the report would be due.

That is the only official report that is required under the law. However, we shall pursue it, as the Senator suggests.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I hope that the Senator will pursue it.

Referring again to the example mentioned in the colloquy with the Senator from Colorado, when we find that the agency's expense account listed such ridiculous charges as the rental of a tuxedo for one of the bureaucrats who is administering the program I believe that it is time for all of us to wake up to the fact that the money is not being properly spent. There was mention of an expense item of \$60 or \$80 for liquid refreshments for special entertainment. I believe that if they want to have refreshments they should pay for such refreshments out of their own pockets.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, or would he rather yield the floor so that I may take the floor?

Mr. McNAMARA. I should be glad to yield the floor.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I shall be very brief.

Mr. President, I shall ask the Senator from Michigan a question, and he does not have to answer if he does not want to. Perhaps he does not have the information with which to answer the question. This subject involves the situation which occurred in the State of Michigan. I ask the Senator whether any inquiry has been made through his staff or his office concerning how they could have gone through with this type of program, whether any action is being taken to prevent the OEO from paying a private employment agency \$80 a head for the recruitment of people in the Job Corps, whether anything is being done to bring the salaries of the administrators into line with the local conditions, and similar things of that kind. In the entire discussion that we have had now for almost a day and a half, not one single answer has been given to any of the charges.

I find it very difficult to understand.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I state to the Senator that I am not an avid reader of True magazine. I did not read the article until the matter was brought up on the floor a week or so ago.

Mr. DOMINICK. I might state that I am not an avid reader of the magazine, either.

Mr. McNAMARA. The subject was discussed in the House. They went into the matter in some detail in the House report. The matter has been investigated. I do know that it involves a

small village incident. I do not have any personal knowledge of it. It is said to have occurred in the Detroit area, on the outskirts of Detroit. However, I have great confidence in the University of Michigan and in its ability to conduct the affairs that have been referred to them by the Government. We have every indication and reason to believe that the program in the Detroit area generally is working well and that the officials in the Detroit area, the mayor and others, indicate their satisfaction with the program.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, it seems very odd, in view of the fact that apparently they have people trying to give the money back and saying that it should not have been spent in the first place. The incident is said to involve an area in which the six people who originated the original sponsoring legislation did not live. The man who was directing this type of program had never inspected the program, and refused to come down and drive over the area, according to the alleged facts in the magazine article.

I did not intend to be critical in any way of the chairman of the committee. I was trying to have an understanding for the record, if possible, why the Office of Economic Opportunity has not done something about these various problems. This is only one of the problems. To pay \$80 a head to private agencies to recruit people to go into the Job Corps is to me the most impossible situation I can think of. We are supposed to be providing funds to look after people who are to look for a method to help themselves. Here we are operating almost like a slave market, paying \$80 a head to shanghai people to the Job Corps. I can hardly conceive of anything like this going on.

Mr. McNAMARA. It is hard for anybody to conceive that these things are going on. I do not believe they are. In the Detroit area there are a great many volunteers. We do not have to go out and hire people to dig up applicants for jobs. We have had great cooperation from the radio and television industry. There is no need for an employment agency to hire people. The community is alerted about it, and the program is working very well.

Mr. DOMINICK. We even had to spend money putting together a television program—which my colleague [Mr. ALLOTT] objected to very strenuously, and correctly—to try to recruit people to go into these places. I do not understand it. It does not make sense to me to put an employment agency in the process of engaging in a slave trade, paying so much a head, at the same time we are spending money publicizing the program—in a wrong way, in my opinion—and the need for more recruits to fill the available spots in the program, and then ask us for a program that would double the size of it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Earlier the Senator from Michigan said he did not know anything about specific cases of abuse. I have already referred to

some instances of this abuse. I have others now. There was a \$230,000 grant in the New York City area. The officials held a 2-day meeting at a hotel at Suffern, N.Y., a rather plush resort area, to discuss the juvenile delinquency problem in the New York City area. The total cost of that conference was \$2,168.26 for the weekend, including motel rooms, meals, and refreshments used while discussing this problem.

The question has just been asked of me whether I meant "booze" when I said "refreshments." The answer is "Yes."

There were 35 dinners served on the night of December 14, which amounted to \$228.30. The cost of the refreshments that same night was \$90.85.

There was a cost of \$350 for a catering service at an open house meeting.

There was a \$63.20 bill from Lucille's Flowers for the same open house meeting.

There was a later bill of \$33 for a board of directors dinner meeting.

The next item on this list is one of \$46 for dinner meetings.

There was a bill of \$228.30 for 35 dinners at the Restaurant On The Mountain.

There was a bill for 29 single rooms at the motel of \$348.

Altogether their expenses on this excursion for the directors of the program amounted to \$2,168.26. Just how any group can spend over \$2,000 on a weekend junket in the Adirondacks and keep their minds on poverty is as yet unexplained.

Going further down on the list, there is a bill of \$124.20 for 36 luncheons in the restaurant at Suffern.

There is another bill for \$177.10 for 28 dinners at the same restaurant.

This is the "meetingest" group I ever heard of. Apparently they were meeting morning, noon, and night, with breakfast, lunch, and dinners all charged to the taxpayers. They even had a coffee break charge of \$14.50 while they were discussing methods of spending the money of the taxpayers.

The expense account includes an item of \$12.85 for the rental of a tuxedo so that one of the officials could attend a meeting to discuss poverty programs. I suppose that in order to get down to the level where he could discuss poverty he felt it necessary to be dressed in a tuxedo. This same bureaucrat, by the way, was drawing a salary of \$12,500, plus a liberal expense account.

Based on the expense account, they must have been in the restaurant or nightclubs much of the time. Some of these bills are for breakfast meetings, lunch meetings, and dinner meetings all on the same day.

There was no challenge of the expense account. The Department apparently supported it because all of the items were allowed.

Mr. DOMINICK. I suggest to the Senator that this is valuable information. If it were not for the fact that these funds are supposed to be going to the poor, it would be funny, but what the Senator has stated exhibits one of the glaring defects in the program.

The problem we have is the inability to be able to talk to enough Senators on

the other side of the aisle about this problem to be able to convince them. I am sure a number of them, if they heard the evidence, would vote for the amendment. I am afraid they are so busy they cannot be on the floor. It makes it difficult. I know the problems involved. I have had them myself. As a matter of fact, I have to go to a meeting shortly.

It seems to me that, somehow, we must provide enough public revelation of these problems so we can get some curative action in spending money for such items as tuxedo rental, steaks, coffee breaks, and head taxes for private employment agencies, and so forth.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I have another item or two to call to the Senate's attention. On this list of expenses there is a charge of \$15 for a "post mortem conference" on "Gospel Goes to College."

The next item is "promotional services" for "Gospel Goes to College," \$54.

The next item is one of \$50 for "prize money" for "Gospel Goes to College."

What that has to do with the poverty program is something that needs explaining.

One of the next items is a table reservation for the 25th anniversary meeting of some kind of affair, \$26.

They have just gotten the program started, and they are already planning a 25th anniversary celebration. Who says the Great Society is not planning ahead?

There is an item of \$20.94 for a breakfast meeting.

Then there is a bill for a dinner meeting, \$19.29.

The total amount of this one account is \$3,128.84 spent on luncheon-dinner meetings and various other items held while they were planning how to get rid of the remainder of \$230,000 that would be left after their salaries had been paid.

Farther down there is a list of telephone bills that vary from \$113 to \$331.

There is a bill for Western Union of \$80.33.

I do not know whom they were telephoning, unless they were calling Washington to explain what a terrific job they were doing; or it is possible that they were calling to discuss what a wonderful time they were having?

I shall not belabor the Senate by reading further the numerous breakfast, luncheon, and dinner items included on this expense account of the officials administering the poverty program, in the New York City area, but before concluding I shall mention items covering just one more meeting:

Tablecloth for open house meeting at Small's Paradise, \$11; refreshments served at open house meeting at Small's Paradise, \$10; gratuities at open house meeting at Small's Paradise, \$15.

Notwithstanding the many abuses that have been disclosed under this program the administration still insists upon doubling the cost.

Mr. DOMINICK. I appreciate the colloquy of the Senator from Delaware. I think it is healthful for the record.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

	[No. 219 Leg.]	
Aiken	Hayden	Mundt
Allott	Hickenlooper	Muskie
Anderson	Hill	Nelson
Bartlett	Holland	Neuberger
Bass	Hruska	Pastore
Bennett	Inouye	Pearson
Bible	Jackson	Pell
Boggs	Javits	Prouty
Brewster	Jordan, N.C.	Proxmire
Burdick	Jordan, Idaho	Randolph
Byrd, Va.	Kennedy, Mass.	Ribicoff
Byrd, W. Va.	Kennedy, N.Y.	Robertson
Cannon	Kuchel	Russell, S.C.
Carlson	Lausche	Russell, Ga.
Case	Long, Mo.	Saltonstall
Cooper	Long, La.	Scott
Cotton	Magnuson	Simpson
Dominick	Mansfield	Smith
Douglas	McClellan	Stennis
Eastland	McGovern	Symington
Ellender	McIntyre	Talmadge
Ervin	McNamara	Thurmond
Fannin	Metcalf	Tower
Fong	Miller	Tydings
Fulbright	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Gore	Monroney	Williams, Del.
Gruening	Montoya	Yarborough
Harris	Morse	Young, N. Dak.
Hart	Morton	Young, Ohio
Hartke	Moss	

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] are absent on official business.

I announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT].

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I am sorry that when we discussed the amendment at some length a while ago there were not more Senators present in the Chamber.

The purpose of the amendment is very simple. It should do two things: First, it would cut back the authorization to last year's authorization, which is \$947.5 million. Last year we appropriated for the program \$785.4 million. So that section of the amendment would provide \$162.1 million more than last year's appropriation.

In addition, it would not affect the terms of the Nelson amendment in relation to the \$150 million, which was tacked on in the Committee on Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare this year.

The second part of the amendment provides for a joint congressional study committee of the House and the Senate to study the progress of the program and to make recommendations to the Congress not later than January 31, 1966. It provides for a \$50,000 authorization

for the expense of the 12-man joint committee.

Mr. President, I shall speak for only a minute more, but I wish my friends to know what we are discussing. The amendment would do nothing but those two things. We would leave \$162 million more, plus the Nelson amendment, than was appropriated last year.

No matter how one looks at the program, he cannot help but be impressed with the fact that the program is shot full with faults, squabbles, and struggles between politicians to get the high paying jobs. This office has 1 supergrade for every 18 employees, the highest ratio in the Federal Government. Compare this with the Department of Defense which has 1 supergrade for every 1,000 employees. Some of the employees are paid more than the mayors of the cities in which they operate; some are paid more than the Governors; some are paid more than the superintendents of schools.

A few minutes ago the Senator from Delaware gave the Senate facts from the report of the OEO itself, showing that those who were setting up the OEO in New York live so handsomely that they had to hold their hearings in a place where they wear tuxedos. One man—a \$12,500 a year man—even charged the rental of a tuxedo to the OEO and, so far as we know, that agency is paying the bill.

In addition, a great deal of booze and entertainment and things of that sort are now being charged to the program.

In the minority views in the House report the following statement appears:

In the testimony of Mayor Wagner of New York and the representatives of Mayor Daley of Chicago it became clear that community action was being engulfed by political action on a grand scale.

The program has degenerated into a fierce and bitter battle among politicians for the jobs. If we are going to do something for poverty, let us do it. But let us peel the program back at least to the point at which we can look at what we have done—and, for God's sake, let us look at the mistakes we have made.

If we are going to spend \$1.5 billion or \$2 billion on a program like the one proposed, let us at least go about it sensibly. We must get down to the people who need the help. We must find ways to provide motivation. After that we have to find ways to make it possible for them to make a living.

Last year I suggested that one way in which we could really implement the program would be to put it under the Vocational Education Office of the Department of HEW, and then put some of the money available into the small colleges, particularly the small junior colleges, throughout the United States. We should provide a vocational educational program. But that proposal is too simple. There is entirely too much commonsense in a proposal to put the money in a vocational educational program, which would provide to those who need help an opportunity to learn and to upgrade their skills so that they can make a living.

My amendment would do two things:

First, it would provide \$162 million more than the Senate appropriated last year. To leave it as it was reported is really compounding mistake upon mistake. It is piling a circus on top of a circus. That is what the program has been.

We would not only authorize the addition of \$162 million, but we would also provide for a joint investigating committee of the House and the Senate.

We shall be remiss if we go away from this session without providing such a congressional committee to investigate and advise Congress as to what the course of the program should be.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONDALE in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado to the committee amendment. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (after having voted in the negative). On this vote I have a pair with the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "yea"; if I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." I withdraw my vote.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] is paired with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Indiana would vote "nay," and the Senator from Kansas would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay," and the Senator from California would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] is detained on official business.

The pair of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] has been previously announced.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the

Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "yea," and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] is paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kansas would vote "yea," and the Senator from Indiana would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 39, nays 48, as follows:

[No. 220 Leg.]

YEAS—39

Alken	Fong	Robertson
Allott	Hickenlooper	Russell, S.C.
Bennett	Hill	Russell, Ga.
Boggs	Holland	Saltonstall
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Scott
Carlson	Jordan, N.C.	Simpson
Cooper	Jordan, Idaho	Smith
Cotton	Kuchel	Stennis
Domnick	Lausche	Talmadge
Eastland	McClellan	Thurmond
Ellender	Miller	Tower
Ervin	Morton	Williams, Del.
Fannin	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—48

Anderson	Hayden	Morse
Bartlett	Inouye	Moss
Bass	Jackson	Muskie
Bible	Javits	Nelson
Brewster	Kennedy, Mass.	Neuberger
Burdick	Kennedy, N.Y.	Pastore
Byrd, W. Va.	Long, Mo.	Pell
Cannon	Long, La.	Prouty
Case	Magnuson	Proxmire
Douglas	McGovern	Randolph
Fulbright	McIntyre	Ribicoff
Gore	McNamara	Symington
Gruening	Metcalfe	Tydings
Harris	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Hart	Monroney	Yarborough
Hartke	Montoya	Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—13

Bayh	Dodd	Pearson
Church	Mansfield	Spamers
Clark	McCarthy	Sparkman
Curtis	McGee	
Dirksen	Murphy	

So Mr. ALLOTT's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I shall now address myself to my amendment No. 386.

This amendment has been before the Senate as the pending business since last night. I believe that it has been very appropriately called—not by me, but by those whose business it is to affix labels on amendments—the "two hat" amendment.

The question involved is a very simple one. Shall Sargent Shriver wear two hats in two offices of equal rank in the Federal Government, or shall he wear only one?

This situation does not happen very often in our Government. Normally we do not have a system in which any high

official of the Government carries more than one major responsibility. They also do many other things, but those things are not on the same level as their principal responsibility.

It is necessary in some countries, for political reasons or because of the shortage of qualified personnel, to have one official function as the minister of a number of departments and hold a number of portfolios, as they are referred to in the parliamentary system. However, with us this is most unusual. Consequently, I have challenged this arrangement ever since it began.

I invite the attention of Senators to a fine, objective analysis of the reasons why this should not be done. The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] made a speech last night which I commend to Senators. This speech appears in the RECORD at page 19903. It advances his reasons, after having considered the matter, for coming to the same conclusion that I reached. I think, in view of the fact that it represents a new and fresh point of view, it is well worth looking at.

I owe the Senate an explanation as to why I am bringing this matter up now on the poverty bill, having offered it on the Peace Corps bill, where it was accepted in the Senate but failed of acceptance in conference. I have brought the issue up here in fairness to my own point of view. I have done it in fairness to the program. I have done it in fairness to Mr. Shriver, who is an excellent public servant—I have never failed to say that. But the question should be definitively settled.

When the Peace Corps bill was being considered the amendment was accepted by the manager of the bill. As we all know, when amendments are accepted in that way, they are evaluated in conference, and if there is any real, firm objection on the part of the other body, they probably will not survive the conference. There is no do or die attitude with respect to amendments which a manager accepts in that way and which the Senate has had no opportunity to debate or consider in a detailed way.

So this question should be settled, not in any way on the basis of personal issue, because Sargent Shriver is an excellent man, but rather as a matter of principle so far as Congress is concerned. I believe the time to settle the question is today. By a rollcall vote, Members of the Senate will be able to say if this is the way we want it. The Senate may vote to say that that is the way it wants it, or it may vote to say that it does not want it that way and challenges doing it in that way.

The argument used by Members of the other body in order to kill this proposition in conference on the Peace Corps bill was a letter sent by Assistant Attorney General Norbert Schlei to the General Counsel of the Peace Corps. The letter appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 11, at page 19353.

I have answered that letter in the memorandum which is on Senators' desks. I ask unanimous consent that the memorandum be inserted in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Section 601(a) of the act establishes the office of Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and requires, as qualifications of that Office, that the Director be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The amendment would add to those qualifications the additional condition that the Director shall not hold any other Federal office of equivalent rank.

The policy issue presented is clear. The hearings before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and the Nation's press, are replete with charges that in specified places the poor are being bypassed by the antipoverty program and that the program is being manipulated for political purposes. Certainly the importance of the effort requires that it be administered on a full-time basis. Similarly, the Peace Corps deserves full-time attention. The amendment would permit Sargent Shriver to continue the antipoverty job without the Peace Corps job.

An opinion by Assistant Attorney General Norbert A. Schlei has sought to create a constitutional issue over this amendment which has no real substance. It is contended that the effect of the amendment is to remove from office an officer of the executive branch and that only the President has power to do so. This argument is controverted by the following facts:

1. Congress always retains the power to abolish any Federal office it has created, whether there is an incumbent or not. The Assistant Attorney General concedes this in so many words. Since the Congress has this much power, it surely has the lesser power to add further qualifications to an office it has created, whether there is an incumbent or not.

2. No one denies that the Congress has the power to set qualifications for Federal office. But the Assistant Attorney General's position would mean that in the case of offices with unlimited terms—and both the Peace Corps and antipoverty directorships are in this category—the power of Congress to change qualifications could be effectively defeated simply by keeping the incumbent in office. Congressional authority over qualifications for Federal office cannot be dependent upon whether the office happens to be filled at the time the qualification is prescribed.

3. The decisions cited by the Assistant Attorney General are wholly inapplicable to this case. They very clearly involved attempts by the Congress to remove named persons from office. No such attempt is involved here. There is no question about Mr. Shriver's capabilities or his qualifications to hold either of the two offices he now occupies. There is no bill of attainder.

4. Moreover, the decisions cited involved the loss of those individuals' only source of Federal employment and payment. In the instant case, there is no such effect, since Mr. Shriver accepts only one of the two salaries to which he is entitled and since, even after the amendment were adopted, he would continue to be entitled to receive that one salary.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in his letter, Mr. Schlei purported to state his opinion that the effort which was made on the Peace Corps bill—which is virtually identical to the amendment which I offer to this bill—was unconstitutional and that we could not change the qualifications of Mr. Shriver for either office while he held those offices.

As a reason for bringing up this matter, that argument alone would be sufficient.

For, if we accepted that construction of the Constitution, it would be a most severe hobbling of congressional authority.

In short, what the Assistant Attorney General has sought to do in raising this issue is to say that, once Congress creates an office by law without any set term and the President fills that office, Congress cannot do anything about the qualifications for that office until the incumbent is fired in some lawful way or the office is otherwise vacant, and that even when the Congress would have to move between the time of the vacancy and the time the President made a new appointment. If Congress did not move within that time, it would lose authority over that office.

If Congress accepted that theory, it would certainly be cutting itself from enormous power which it has under the Constitution, and would be materially damaging the powers of Congress under our division of powers. I cannot conceive that Congress would accept any such proposal.

The only decisions of the Supreme Court cited by the Assistant Attorney General relate to an effort to eliminate a particular person from office a kind of bill of attainder procedure. They were not cases in which the qualifications for the offices were dealt with.

The second type of case cited are those in which the Congress attempted simply to cut off the salaries of named officials.

Neither is attempted here. The opinion of the Assistant Attorney General is made further irrelevant by reason of the fact that, even if Mr. Shriver lost one of these offices, he would have another. So which this amendment would do would prevent him from being a Federal official of the same high rank he now holds.

If for no other reason than this opinion, which, in my judgment, does not stand up, we ought to act affirmatively on the amendment to prevent such hobbling or limitation of the powers of the Congress as the Assistant Attorney General's opinion would seek to impose upon us.

Going to the merits of the proposal, the Senate is entitled to an accounting from me as to why I did not oppose Sargent Shriver's nomination as Director of the antipoverty administration, the Office of Economic Opportunity, at the same time he held the position of Director of the Peace Corps.

I said at the time that I hoped very much that merely sharply calling the attention of the executive department to the lack of wisdom in this double barreled appointment would result in Sargent Shriver's and the President's arriving at an arrangement under which he would be left with one job.

My desire was to leave to the Executive rather than to us which of the two jobs it should be. That was why I did not move to oppose Mr. Shriver's nomination. I thought, in the interest of comity between the respective branches of Government, Congress and the executive department, we should respect the right of the President to make his choice.

But no such choice has been made, and, so far as we can see, it is going to go on and on and on for as long as the parties

in interest may desire to continue it, unless Congress stops it. This is no glamorous foray with respect to one very attractive man to show how long he can hold two jobs, or balance himself on the Washington Monument. This is a fundamental exercise of the operations of our Government. When this is pointed out to Mr. Shriver himself, as I have done, he answers, "I have no feeling in this matter. I am going to do anything the President asks me to do. If the President wants me in both jobs, I am going to remain as Director of the Peace Corps and of the antipoverty program."

The antipoverty program is probably as sensitive a domestic program as any in the Government. It is subject to the evils of politics. That has certainly come out in sharp focus, for example, in the embroilment in New York. There was a wholesale revision of the antipoverty program based upon my efforts and the efforts of others who found that it was being set up as a political satrapy for the incumbent administration. We did everything we could to call a halt to it.

It also has dangers of corruption which are endemic in any program which goes down to the grassroots, in which so much money is involved, and which is spread out in so many kinds of programs with so much opportunity for leakage. It also involves dangers of grave inefficiency. I am indebted to my friend, the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], who spelled out express examples of inefficiency in his State of Oklahoma.

I should like to read from what he said in that regard, because it is so pertinent:

It is difficult to get a sharply stated list of criteria by which programs are to be evaluated, and in many instances it is impossible to get agreement among various evaluators.

Therefore, it seems to me we must have a full-time Administrator of this program on the national level, and authorization figures should be held to the amounts approved by the Senate committee so that we allow time for the realities of the program to catch up with its aspirations.

We need a well-staffed, centrally located regional office in our area of America immediately.

The Senator from Oklahoma does not have a regional office in his area. Indeed, there is not one in any area. There has been no official regional office established, with directors having authority, in this whole program—and it is now a year old. Yet, it essentially requires that kind of local administration. Either OEO intends to centralize all power here, which itself is unwise, or it is simply unable to find and decide upon the right men to be the administrators of regional offices. The Senate committee report urges that regional offices be set up officially, as I and others requested in committee.

The Senator from Oklahoma continues:

Administrators at various levels in the program need to have a less defensive attitude toward the Congress.

Mr. President, this is a question of inspiration by the head man. In short, here is a program of the greatest vulnerability and yet with our eyes wide open, we are leaving the administration

of it to be accomplished on a part-time basis.

Let me comment for a moment on the Peace Corps. Of the two assignments in question at this time, I believe that the antipoverty program is the more complicated. I would not say that it is necessarily the more important, but it is the more complicated, and involves greater requirements for tight executive direction. Therefore, my amendment contemplates that Sargent Shriver be confined to the antipoverty office.

But the Peace Corps is one of the most significant initiatives ever undertaken by the United States. I am glad to say that I was a party to its inauguration. I think the world of it. It has been so much of an ideal for the youth of America as to be really inspiring to the Nation. I give a great deal of credit for it, without any regard to the initiation of the idea. The important thing is that in its initiation, Sargent Shriver gave it such spark, such dash, such glamour, such appeal as to attract the excitement and the interest of American youth.

In all honesty I ask Senators, where is all that enthusiasm now?

What other kind of program is there which has enlisted American youth in the thrill and excitement and the great feeling of realization which comes from participation in it? Do we not wish to have a man of Sargent Shriver's caliber to head it? I am sure there is another such man in the country. The President has been resourceful in finding personnel who will continue to give the program the vast excitement, enthusiasm, drama, and vividness which characterized the Peace Corps in its beginning.

Even assuring no loss in competent administration, is it not a shame that, because we are indulging the desire to have one man head both jobs, we are at the very least depriving the Peace Corps of the very thing which makes it such a wonderful asset to the United States—the excitement, enthusiasm, and drive inherent in the full-time leadership of a man such as Sargent Shriver, which it had but does not have now.

It seems to me almost incomprehensible that by now the situation has not been unraveled on the executive level. I wish I knew of some other way than this to manifest the sentiment of Congress upon an issue of this character. It seems to me that by now Sargent Shriver should have made his choice, or the President should have made the choice for him, and that we should have had Sargent Shriver as the Director of either program and another man as Director of the other, with all that that implies in terms of tight administration and responsibility.

Therefore, Mr. President, I believe that a protest is very much in order. I believe that this matter is so far out of the context of American executive department practice over the years as to require correction by Congress, passing on it in the deliberate way afforded to us today by the vote on this amendment.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. HARRIS. I thank the Senator from New York for his generous allusions to me, and to the statement which I made yesterday in support of his amendment.

I applaud the Senator for offering his amendment, and I incorporate here by reference the remarks which I made last night in support of it.

I should like to make three brief points: first, the extremely high regard in which I hold the present administrator of the program, Sargent Shriver; second, the great enthusiasm I have for the goals of the war on poverty; and third, the embarrassment which I, as well as other supporters of the program, have had from time to time with unfortunate mistakes and difficulties in its administration.

As I stated last night, and now repeat, I am not certain that the amendment would cure the administrative ills with which the program is beset; but I believe it is one way that I, as a supporter of the program, may indicate that I feel there are administrative difficulties which must be cleared up.

I thank the Senator from New York for yielding to me. I applaud him for offering his amendment, and I thank him for his allusions to me and to my statement.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator from Oklahoma very much for his comments and for his support. I assure him that he has been most encouraging to my spirit as well as to the fate of my amendment.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CASE. I associate myself with the Senator from New York in his amendment. He has stated in a measured and sensitive way precisely what should be said here, and precisely what should not have been necessary to debate.

Like him, I do not understand the blind spot of the administration on this point.

This extraordinarily able leader, Sargent Shriver, is being rendered about 5 percent as effective as he could be if he were permitted to administer only one of these two jobs.

It is a shame that this was allowed to happen. Each of these jobs requires a single, top man on a full-time basis, perhaps on a more than full-time basis, if that were possible.

While it is utterly wrong for Congress to try to conduct an operation, or to usurp in any way the prerogatives of the executive branch of the Government, when something like this is so wrong and is being persisted in, I believe that Congress has no choice but to express an opinion.

I am therefore glad to join in supporting the amendment of the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator. His support is most important to me. We have been colleagues and friends for many years.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, first of all, I point to the fact that Sargent Shriver, in his role of Director of the

Office of Economic Opportunity, receives no salary. He is a volunteer in the full sense of the word. He is a great inspiration to other volunteers in this program, where volunteers are needed. He has a way of attracting people and inspiring them, as he has demonstrated, not only in connection with this program, but also other governmental programs, as well as in private industry.

He needs no defense, as the Senator from New York has stated, from him or from me or from anyone else. He has demonstrated his ability.

Mr. President, the attitude of the Senator from New York toward this subject is well known.

He has brought it up in committee, on the floor, and in connection with other legislation.

Whether he is right or wrong, whether one individual can do justice to the leadership of both the Peace Corps and the Office of Economic Opportunity, is a matter that could well be debated.

However, the question arises: Is this the place to debate it?

Both of these programs, while authorized and funded by Congress, are under the administrative control of the executive department.

As Chief Executive, the President of the United States has chosen to delegate the responsibility for directing these programs to one individual, Sargent Shriver.

The Senate, through its constitutional role of advise and consent, has confirmed this Presidential decision.

Therefore, I believe we must let this matter rest where it belongs, with the President.

To do otherwise would be to publicly question the President's judgment and to intrude on his prerogatives.

Mr. President, I merely wish to add, as has been said by every Senator who has spoken about Sargent Shriver, he is truly a phenomenal young man. He works extremely long hours every day. He works weekends. I am sure he puts in twice the time that the average Government employee or Federal executive puts in. There is no question about the kind of job he is doing. To remove him at this critical time would be to indulge in false economy. He has built an organization around him, and it is beginning to function, even though it is still in the process of organization. I hope, on the basis of these facts, that the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to yield to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I thank the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. President, usually I find myself in accord with the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], but I shall vote against the pending amendment. I have voted for nearly all amendments which have been offered with the view that their adoption would improve the administration of the act.

I am afraid that if this amendment should be adopted and it would lead to the resignation of Mr. Shriver as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the chances for better administration of the act might be lost.

The hearings and the debate present a record of failures of administration, and downright abuses of the purposes of the act. Mr. Shriver, the Director, will be responsible for the correction of these failures. As one who voted to initiate the program, and believes it can help needy and deprived people, I am interested, as many other Senators are, in the continuance of the act, in its improvement, and in the correction of the failures and abuses that have thus far prevented it from being fully effective.

I believe that Mr. Shriver, a man of integrity and ability, with a magnificent record as Director of the Peace Corps, will move, and move quickly, to strengthen the administration of the act and to correct failures and abuses. Because of pride in his own capacity and record, he will take such action.

Mr. President, I would rather see Mr. Shriver continue in the office of Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, even if he should hold two offices, than some person whose abilities and character are not as well known, someone who would have to start without experience in the rather unique programs of the act.

I want the act to become what it is meant to be—an instrument to strike at the causes of poverty, and help improve the opportunities and lives of people left behind in life.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may question the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. JAVITS. I wish to be sure that the Senator from Kentucky and I understand each other, because he is my friend and normally we find ourselves on the same side of most issues. There may be involved some misunderstanding of fact. I am sure that the Senator understands that my amendment contemplates that Sargent Shriver would be called upon to give up not the antipoverty program, but the Peace Corps.

Mr. COOPER. I understand that. He would probably go back to the Peace Corps. That is what I would rather not see.

Mr. JAVITS. The amendment would not give the option to Sargent Shriver. Do I correctly assume that the Senator believes that if the amendment were adopted, Sargent Shriver would resign, which would mean he would resign from both offices and let the President reappoint him to the Peace Corps?

Mr. COOPER. I have no personal knowledge on the subject.

I believe that we are moving into a sphere that is really not within our purview or jurisdiction—in attempting to circumscribe appointments.

Second, I have stated that the adoption of the Senator's amendment might lead Mr. Shriver to leave his job in the Office of Economic Opportunity and return to the Peace Corps. I would feel more doubtful about the success of the poverty program under the act if he should resign. I make that statement despite the failures that have occurred. Mr. Shriver is a man of known success in other fields, and the Peace Corps. I believe he is a man of character. I cannot believe that he would not wish to make this act work, and clean up its administration.

Mr. JAVITS. I have one further question. Is the Senator aware of the fact that Mr. Shriver himself said that he is not making this decision, and that he will do what the President tells him to do? So far the President has told him to do both jobs. Therefore we are not dealing with a situation, according to his own statement, in which he would resign in pique and it would be necessary for the President to tell him that he wishes him to stay as antipoverty administrator in order to have him retain that job. Does the Senator understand that?

Mr. COOPER. Yes. I have so read in the newspapers.

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, I oppose the amendment. I do so because, on the record, Sargent Shriver has done a superlative job, both as Director of the Peace Corps and as Director of the antipoverty program. The record speaks loudly in that regard.

Surely, the poverty program is a political target. It is a new program. Some consider it a radical program. It is a big program in costs and in people. But it is doing something that has never been done before. But it is a program which, I submit, in a short time has accumulated a remarkable record of accomplishment.

I should like to read from page 2 of the committee report part of what already has been accomplished, under Sargent Shriver's direction, in the administration of the antipoverty program:

Job Corps: By the close of the fiscal year, 47 Job Corps centers were in operation, including 35 conservation centers operated by the Departments of Agriculture or the Interior, 7 men's urban centers, and 5 women's centers. Some 10,241 youths had been assigned to these centers by June 30.

Work-training (Neighborhood Youth Corps): By the close of the fiscal year, 639 separate projects had been approved to provide work and training to 277,699 young men and women, including 189,985 in-school and 87,714 out-of-school participants.

Work study: During the spring semester, this program had been inaugurated in 648 institutions of higher education and assisted 34,000 low-income students. By the close of the fiscal year, projects had also been approved for this summer in 766 institutions to assist 46,000 students, many of whom will be employed in jobs directly contributing to the success of other Economic Opportunity Act programs.

Community action: A total of 771 grants were made, including 311 for the actual conduct and administration of community action programs. In addition, community ac-

tion provided the basis for a nationwide summer child development program, Project Head Start, with 2,398 separate grants for 13,344 centers to serve 561,356 preschool age children.

Mr. President, I can recall that the goal of the Project Head Start was 100,000 children in school by June. Actually, there were 561,000 children in that marvelous program. For the first time in America, children from deprived background who had very little attention, understanding, and care are being given a new, bright opportunity this summer. That alone is a great achievement under Sargent Shriver's direction.

Continuing to read from the report:

Adult basic education: By June 30, 40 State plans had received some form of approval, 5 additional plans had been completed and submitted, and 43,372 participants had been enrolled.

Rural loans: Nearly 11,000 low-interest rate loans to low-income farm or rural families had been made, with an additional 82 loans to cooperatives providing marketing, processing, or other services predominately to low-income rural families.

Migrants: Fifty-three grants made to assist in meeting housing, sanitation, day care, and education needs of an estimated 73,000 migrant agricultural workers.

All of us who have taken part in recent years in the debate in the Senate over migrant workers know what a serious, sad, and unfortunate situation migrant agricultural workers have suffered and must acknowledge the great good this kind of program can do for those people.

Continuing to read from the report:

Small business loans: One hundred fifty-five loans were approved for small business enterprises in 16 States and the District of Columbia.

Work experience: By June 30, 164 projects to provide work experience, training, and other assistance to unemployed fathers and other needy persons had been inaugurated in 46 different jurisdictions (including the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands), with 88,700 participants having an estimated 276,700 dependents.

Mr. President, I submit that this is a remarkable record of accomplishment. We know that this complicated, difficult agency that has been established will be very hard to administer. It requires a man of particular prestige, acceptance, and recognition to administer it well.

It is the kind of agency that requires coordination on a top level with the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Interior.

I submit that this requires a man of Sargent Shriver's capacity, prestige, and recognition to administer a department or agency under these circumstances, and to do it well. This is an agency that, perhaps more than any other, requires daily association and decision making with mayors and Governors. Who is available at the Federal Government level that has established the kind of reputation that Sargent Shriver has? Sargent Shriver has been internationally recognized for his integrity. He is a man of honor, prestige, and real accomplishment in the Peace Corps. Newspapers have referred to him as "Mr. Clean". What an asset to this country to have such a man in charge of the

Nation's most controversial and complex program.

We all know that the antipoverty program was conceived and drafted as a domestic peace corps program. It was called that: Domestic Peace Corps to provide the kind of idealism and inspiration that Sargent Shriver had given the Peace Corps program.

In spite of all the brickbats that have been and will be thrown at this program, because it involves hundreds of thousands of people and billions of dollars, Sargent Shriver has done a great job. The argument has been made that he should resign from the Peace Corps. The Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] admitted that the Peace Corps is a great program and that Mr. Shriver had been the man responsible for its successful administration. Agencies rarely develop the kind of remarkable morale, the kind of world acceptance, and the kind of brilliant success that the Peace Corps has achieved.

In the judgment of many persons, the greatest achievement of our Government in foreign policy in the past 5 years has been the Peace Corps, not only because it is a great idea, but because it is administered by a man of outstanding imagination, inspiration and competence.

The Senator says the Peace Corps was great, but look at it now, yes, "Look at the Peace Corps now." It has never been better. Its standards are higher than ever. It is hard to become a volunteer in this program, because the standards are so high.

Only a few days ago I addressed a group at Marquette University, in Wisconsin, who are going to Brazil under the Peace Corps program. They were excited, dedicated young people. They are some of the finest young people I have met anywhere.

The Peace Corps program is twice as big as it was a short time ago. It is growing rapidly, and doing a bigger job than ever. When we ask people in this country or abroad what program they think has been serving our country and its ideals best—and, incidentally, most efficiently and competently—they will in almost all instances say it is the Peace Corps.

It would be a tragedy if with this great record of accomplishment Shriver were forcibly ejected from the Peace Corps by a vote of Congress. It seems to me almost inconceivable that a man who has served his country so brilliantly and so well, and who has done so in these two capacities, should, in effect, be reprimanded.

No matter what interpretation the Senator from New York puts on his amendment, its passage cannot be construed in any other way than as a reprimand by the Senate.

Mr. President, there are many complex jobs in the Federal Government, and they require great ability. One is the Presidency of the United States. I believe there are single jobs even more difficult and complicated than the two jobs that Sargent Shriver has. The position of Secretary of Defense is one.

And one man, Secretary McNamara, is doing this job brilliantly.

Certainly Sargent Shriver has demonstrated ability, capacity, and prestige, all of which are necessary and vital to carry on these two programs.

I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on my amendment I ask for the yeas and nays. The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I shall conclude my argument within 3 minutes. The debate has boiled down to a question of whether we want to fire Sargent Shriver. Nothing could be further from the fact. Mr. Shriver is not going to be fired. He will have a critically important job either as Director of the Peace Corps or as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In view of his attitude that it is not he who is seeking to hold two jobs, but that the President is telling him to do so—and that that is the only reason why he is doing it—he does not show any of the temperamental quality of a man who is going to resign and run away in a huff. He will do the job that Congress decides he should do.

I had hoped that the President might have given a little attention to this question a long time ago and handled it in the way it should have been handled—at the executive department level, by the President. But a year has now gone by, and nothing has happened.

The whole argument comes down to this: Are we to have a cult of personality in the United States? The Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] says that Sargent Shriver is a phenomenal young man. I agree. But there are others who are spoken of as phenomenal young men. There is McNamara, Secretary of Defense. There is Udall, Secretary of the Interior. There is Katzenbach, the Attorney General. There is Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture. There are many others in the Government who are considered phenomenal young men. More power to them.

But are we now going to proliferate offices in the hands of young men merely because it is felt they have the glamor to enable them to hold more than one job? This is a unique proposal. It seems to me that if the executive department does not wish to give this subject the attention it deserves, Congress must.

It has been a fundamental principle in our Government that positions of Cabinet or equivalent rank should not be proliferated in one person. If Congress would establish that as a firm principle in respect of the struggle over Shriver, it would be striking a strong blow for freedom. The proliferation of offices has never been the fashion in this coun-

try until this case came along. I respectfully submit that it would be a great mistake to make this exception.

I like Sargent Shriver. He is a fine public servant. But I like my country more. I do not feel that this precedent ought to be permitted to persist, if Congress can do anything about it—and I feel we can do something about it with this amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask my friend the senior Senator from New York if it is not true, in a sense, at least, that, instead of having a general directing the war against poverty, we have a "Sargent," and a part-time "Sargent" at that? I say that because he has to perform duties in two different fields. It is obviously impossible for the most talented of men to do the job that he would like to do and that we would like to have him do as Director of the war against poverty.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I thoroughly agree with the Senator.

I point out that it is similar to the direction of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Corps. If we experience trouble with the administration of one of the programs, someone will say, "Why did we not see to it that someone was riding herd on the program every minute, instead of having the administrator distracted with another job?"

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I commend the Senator. His amendment should be agreed to.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I endorse what the Senator has been saying with respect to this problem.

The House report contains quite a series of statements which support what the Senator has said. An article from the Wall Street Journal of June 9, 1965, entitled "Overlapping Uplift—War On Poverty Spills Over Into Many Federal Agencies" appears on page 77 of the minority report. I do not know whether the Senator has had that printed in the RECORD or not. It is a rather interesting article. It indicates the number of programs which this program overlaps. It demonstrates graphically to me the need for a full-time Director of this particular program, whether it be Mr. Shriver, or someone else. There have been many indications on the floor to this effect.

I have great respect for Sargent Shriver. I have known him personally for many years. I know he is a very fine person. I do not know how any person—I do not care who he is—could possibly direct two programs of this size at the same time, as he is trying to do.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am grateful to my colleagues the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] for their very helpful intercession.

I conclude my argument by pointing out that a distinguished columnist, Roscoe Drummond, who is favorably inclined to Mr. Shriver, to the Peace Corps,

and to the antipoverty program, wrote an article which I had printed in the RECORD in April 1965. The article is entitled "One and One-half Shivers Isn't Enough." Mr. Drummond points out that there is much feeling to the effect that the Peace Corps is slipping because it does not have a full-time Director.

When we had the problem of wanting to do more with one man than the law permits, in the case of General McKee, who was appointed recently to the office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency despite his military rank as a retired officer, the administration came to us and asked that a bill be passed relaxing the nonmilitary qualification for that office. We passed a bill, over some opposition, and the matter was regularized in this fashion, with deliberation by Congress.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the amendment of the senior Senator from New York should be agreed to.

Either of these important jobs would take every bit of a man's energy that he could give to the job. In fairness to him, we should not be tearing down his health. I do not care whether it is Shriver, or Mr. X, Y, or Z—no man could proceed on this basis and still retain his health.

Sargent Shriver is trying to keep two jobs, each of which contains a great deal of stress and strain. I believe in spreading the work. I believe that has been pretty much recognized as one of our policies.

Neither should we be in the position of justifying the situation by saying or implying that the Peace Corps and the poverty program are part-time jobs that can be handled at the top by one man. I believe in both programs. Both are important; both require the training of thousands of people; both call for the spending of tens of millions of dollars.

I am not going to downgrade them by going along with the idea that both can be handled by one man because they cannot.

Many others with equal ability, ought to be given one of the jobs.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it is extremely heartening to me to know that eminent Senators such as the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], and others support the position for which I have fought.

I am known in the Senate for emphasizing the positive. It is rare that I should be found in my present position. I have persisted in my position because I believe that honest conscience and judgment dictate the action which I propose.

There is a basic issue involved as to whether we want to let this happen, particularly in the case of a young man who is described as a phenomenal young man. Others will come along; and I believe that it is an unfortunate idea for the United States to fail to recognize, as

the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] has said, that we have persons with the talent to do the job, and to depart from the concept of one man, one big job.

I hope that the Senate will express itself decidedly and affirmatively on the issue at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the senior Senator from New York, to the committee amendment. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay" and the Senator from California would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "yea" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 30, nays 59, as follows:

[No. 221 Leg.]

YEAS—30

Allott	Hickenlooper	Pearson
Bennett	Hruska	Prouty
Boggs	Javits	Saltonstall
Byrd, Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Case	Lausche	Simpson
Cotton	McClellan	Smith
Dominick	Miller	Thurmond
Fannin	Morse	Tower
Gore	Morton	Williams, Del.
Harris	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—59

Aiken	Hayden	Moss
Anderson	Hill	Muskie
Bartlett	Holland	Nelson
Bass	Inouye	Neuberger
Bible	Jackson	Pastore
Brewster	Jordan, N.C.	Pell
Burdick	Kennedy, Mass.	Proxmire
Byrd, W. Va.	Kennedy, N.Y.	Randolph
Cannon	Kuchel	Ribicoff
Carlson	Long, Mo.	Robertson
Cooper	Long, La.	Russell, S.C.
Douglas	Magnuson	Russell, Ga.
Eastland	Mansfield	Stennis
Ellender	McGovern	Symington
Ervin	McIntyre	Talmadge
Fong	McNamara	Tydings
Fulbright	Metcalfe	Williams, N.J.
Gruening	Monroney	Yarborough
Hart	Montoya	Young, Ohio
Hartke		

NOT VOTING—11

Bayh	Dirksen	Murphy
Church	Dodd	Smathers
Clark	McCarthy	Sparkman
Curtis	McGee	

So Mr. JAVITS' amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield, without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. PROUTY. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Montana under those conditions.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I have discussed the proposal I am about to make, and if Senators will remain in the Chamber and not leave, I ask unanimous consent that 10 minutes to a side be allowed on the pending amendment by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], to be equally divided between him and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], the Senator in charge of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I did not hear the amendment stated.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator from Vermont asked that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. I should like to have the amendment stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] proposes an amendment:

On page 20, line 2, beginning with the word "Section", strike out everything through "the" on line 4, and insert in lieu thereof: "In Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, strike out '30' and insert in lieu thereof '20'."

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, it seems to me that there should be at least 10 minutes allowed to a side—

Mr. MANSFIELD. Or more. Let us make it half an hour.

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Ten minutes, it seems to me is not enough.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, I should like to say to the majority leader that I should like to have approximately 5 minutes to speak in favor of the amendment and, therefore, I would object to anything—

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, let me say that I doubt whether I shall speak for more than 2 or 3 minutes. There will be a rollcall vote on the amendment, and I am perfectly amenable to whatever the majority leader decides.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a half-hour limitation, with 15 minutes to a side, under the control of the distinguished Senators from Vermont and Michigan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If the Senator from Vermont will yield to me for 1 minute—

Mr. PROUTY. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I rise to thank the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] for the way in which he handled the matter pertaining to Sargent Shriver. I believe that he adopted a statesman-like attitude when he did not press the matter on the conference report relative to the Peace Corps, and I am very glad that he allowed the Senate the opportunity to vote this proposal up or down.

I would have said the same thing had the amendment been accepted.

Mr. JAVITS. I am pleased, too, because I believe that Sargent Shriver was entitled to have this question resolved in a deliberate way. I consider it settled. I shall do everything I can to make a success of the situation as I see it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator has just said what I expected him to say, and I appreciate it very much.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I should like to point out for the benefit of Senators now in the Chamber that the amendment is identical with the one offered by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] yesterday, with one exception.

Existing law grants to the Governor of a State the right to veto projects under titles I and II of this program.

My amendment merely strikes out 30 days and substitutes in lieu thereof 20 days. Under this proposal the Governor will be in a position to veto a program which he considers to be inimical to the general welfare of his State, if he acts within 20 days instead of 30 days, as under existing law.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, it is difficult to add more reasons why such an amendment should not be adopted than were given during the lengthy debate on similar amendments yesterday.

It is said that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.

It can also be said that a thorn by any other name would stick the same.

It seems to me that that is the purpose of the Senator's amendment. It is exactly the same as the amendment which was defeated yesterday except for the change in the period from 30 days to 20 days.

As the Senator from Vermont himself has practically said, I see no reason for any lengthy argument. I agree with the Senator. We do not need the amendment, and I urge that it be rejected.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield me 5 minutes?

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, this is the same issue on which the Senate voted yesterday. It is identical with the Fannin amendment, except that the present amendment would give a Governor 20 days instead of 30 days to veto a locally initiated project.

The pending amendment would give the Governors an absolute veto power without any appeal anywhere. It would give the Governors an uncontrolled, undirected, and unappealable veto power in any antipoverty program project.

Let me point out that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare took three steps to take politics out of the antipoverty program. First, it took away the Governor's veto. Second, it wrote the provisions of the Hatch Act into the law. And, third, it provided for continued consultation between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the appropriate State agencies.

We on the majority of the Labor and Welfare Commission accepted two Republican amendments in order to try to be fair and to take out politics on both sides. We accepted the Hatch Act. It is written into the bill. It is on pages 20 and 21, beginning on line 19 of page 20.

We also accepted a Republican amendment on lines 19 to 23 on page 19, including a part of it limited to continuing consultation with the appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs.

I submit, Mr. President, that if the Governor's veto is put back in the bill, then we should go back and take out all the Hatch Act provisions. If we are going to play politics, let us play it on both sides.

In good faith, the two Republican provisions having been accepted by the majority, the Governor's veto should be left as the bill now is and should not be reinstated in the bill.

May I also point out that we did not remove the Governor's veto entirely. We deleted it only concerning Neighborhood Youth Corps projects, community action programs, and adult basic education programs. Those are the three types of poverty projects which originate in the communities themselves. By striking down the Governor's veto, we leave local self-government in all the States, in its purest form, back with the people who formed the programs in their local neighborhoods.

In the committee bill the Governor still has the right to disapprove the establishment of a Job Corps center in his State, because these centers bring in people from other areas. The Governor, without the pending Prouty amendment, has the power to say, "No; we do not wish a Job Corps center established here."

Second, the Governor has the power to disapprove the assignment or referral of Vista volunteers because they might have been recruited a thousand, 1,500, or 2,000 miles away. Concerning this part of the program the Governor has the veto power unimpaired. He can say, "No; we do not wish Vista volunteers in our State."

The only place the Governor's veto was struck down was concerning local projects which people in the local area themselves formed. That is all we are dealing with. Under the proposed amendment the Governor would be permitted to veto what is best in a local county or a local city. This is a greater power than he has under the State constitution of his own State.

This amendment is against local self-government, not in the interests of furthering local self-government. Therefore, Mr. President, we submit that the amendment voted on yesterday was properly disposed of, and that to adopt the pending amendment would reopen the question of the Hatch Act which we have written into the bill. If we are going to take one part of the package out, we should take the other two parts out, also.

As I said a while ago, if we are going to put the Governor's veto back in, then we can play politics, too. We have tried to take politics out of the bill, but we submit that there is no reason for the adoption of such an amendment. It was voted on yesterday and defeated, and we submit that the pending amendment should also be rejected.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield me 3 minutes?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from North Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, as the able and distinguished Senator from Texas has just stated, the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] was like the pending amendment, except that the Fannin amendment placed a more restrictive time upon the Governor's right to veto projects. But I believe that the Senator from Vermont has rendered a public service in offering his amendment, because it is to be hoped that the Senate will be wiser today than it was yesterday when it voted down the power of the Governor of a State to veto local community projects.

If we had respect for the Federal system we would recognize that it is incompatible with the Federal system, established by the Constitution of the United States, for the Federal Government to go into a State and deal with communities within the State without the consent of the State government.

The bill undertakes to authorize agencies of the Federal Government to go into a State and deal with communities in that State without the consent of the State, as manifested by the Governor.

I appeal to Senators who respect the Federal system, a system which contemplates that the United States shall be an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States, to recognize the wisdom of the Federal system by voting for the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, if the distinguished Senator from Michigan is willing to yield back the remainder of his time, I shall yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. McNAMARA. Under those circumstances, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield back the remainder of my time.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] to the committee amendment. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. RANDOLPH (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present and voting he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. CANNON (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If he were present and voting he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator

from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Indiana would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay," and the Senator from California would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Indiana would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "yea," and the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 43, nays 44, as follows:

[No. 222 Leg.]

YEAS—43

Aiken	Fong	Robertson
Allott	Hickenlooper	Russell, S.C.
Bennett	Hill	Russell, Ga.
Bible	Holland	Saltonstall
Boggs	Hruska	Scott
Byrd, Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Simpson
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Smith
Carlson	Kuchel	Stennis
Cooper	Lausche	Talmadge
Cotton	McClellan	Thurmond
Dominick	Miller	Tower
Eastland	Morton	Williams, Del.
Ellender	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.
Ervin	Pearson	
Fannin	Prouty	

NAYS—44

Anderson	Jackson	Morse
Bartlett	Javits	Moss
Bass	Kennedy, Mass.	Muskie
Brewster	Kennedy, N.Y.	Nelson
Burdick	Long, Mo.	Neuberger
Case	Long, La.	Pastore
Douglas	Magnuson	Pell
Fulbright	Mansfield	Proxmire
Gore	McGovern	Ribicoff
Gruening	McIntyre	Symington
Harris	McNamara	Tydings
Hart	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Hartke	Mondale	Yarborough
Hayden	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Inouye	Montoya	

NOT VOTING—13

Bayh	Dirksen	Randolph
Cannon	Dodd	Smathers
Church	McCarthy	Sparkman
Clark	McGee	
Curtis	Murphy	

So Mr. PROUTY's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment to the Committee was rejected.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the Senator in charge of the bill, I should like to ask one or two questions that I think are very important, particularly to Senators who represent primarily rural constituencies.

Senators will remember that on February 4, when the President delivered his annual message to the Congress on agriculture, he went to great lengths to stress that our rural communities have special problems that require the attention of our Government agencies to make sure that rural communities and rural people are not overlooked in the administration of these programs. I am frank to say that in the so-called war on poverty, under the Office of Economic Opportunity, our rural areas have not properly shared in that program. That may not be because of any intent on the part of the administrators of the program; it is more likely because of the lack of professional personnel in many of our smaller communities who are trained and equipped to cope with the complexities, the bureaucracy, and the red tape associated with a program of this kind.

I should like to read what the President said in his message as more or less a pledge to the people of rural America. He said:

It is not easy to equitably distribute Federal assistance to a scattered rural population. Rural communities often lack the specialized organizations found in major cities which keep informed of the development programs and initiate action to make use of them. Special measures must be taken, both by the States and by Federal agencies, to reach rural people, particularly in remote areas.

Then continuing with the statement of the President:

Since it is clear that an administrative office for each Federal agency or program cannot and should not be established in every county, a method must be developed to extend the reach of these Federal agencies and programs which should but do not now effectively serve rural areas. Accordingly—

Said the President—

I have asked each department and agency administering a program which can benefit rural people to assure that its benefits are distributed equitably between urban and rural areas.

It seems to me particularly important that the Office of Economic Opportunity should give heed to this pledge and this instruction by the President, because we know that 47 percent of all the people in this country who are classified as suffering from poverty live in what can be described as rural areas.

So the question I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Michigan, the Senator in charge of the bill, is as follows: What provisions are made in the proposed legislation to take care of this very clear instruction of the President that steps should be taken to provide for our rural areas and see that they share equitably in the program?

I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, in reply to the Senator's question, the com-

mittee added two amendments liberalizing assistance to rural areas. The OEO has already launched a program to do everything possible for impoverished people in the rural areas, and they are doing a great deal. I know that is happening on the instructions of the President. As I said the committee added two amendments liberalizing assistance to rural areas.

An amendment to title V would require that workers in farm families be considered as unemployed if the family net income was less than \$1,200.

It is contemplated that in determining net income criteria would be used similar to those now employed in the rural loans program under title III-A. For this program, a low-income farm family is defined as a family with limited assets whose income is insufficient to provide it with basic needs after paying necessary farm operating expenses and making any required debt repayments on the farm itself.

It should be noted that a family that qualifies under the standard would be very poor. The poverty line for a low-income farm family of four, for example, is \$2,191. This is about 70 percent of the poverty line for a nonfarm family. The difference reflects the typically smaller cash requirement of a farm family.

Also, the amendment does not preclude inclusion of workers from poor families with an income of more than \$1,200. It merely says that a worker from a family with an income of less than \$1,200 cannot be excluded if "unemployment" is one of the criteria for the project.

Another amendment would permit loans to rural cooperatives. I am sure the Senator from South Dakota is familiar with that. So a great deal of the program is directed toward the rural areas, and I am sure that it is becoming more effective all the time and will pick up momentum as we go along.

Mr. McGOVERN. Can the Senator tell me whether there is authority in the proposed legislation that might permit the transfer of some of the administrative funds from the OEO to the Rural Community Development Service in the Department of Agriculture, which has a special responsibility for seeing that rural people in rural communities understand the benefits that are available under this program?

Mr. McNAMARA. There are provisions in the bill which would allow grants to other agencies; and I believe that is what the Senator is referring to.

Mr. McGOVERN. It seems to me that would be a most useful thing for the agency to consider. I thank the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. The Senator mentioned loans to cooperatives in rural areas. Will the Senator explain the difference between loans made by rural cooperatives and those that are available from banking cooperatives?

Mr. McNAMARA. I do not know the difference. I am not familiar enough with the other law, but loans may be made to cooperatives under the program.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Are any grants involved in making the loan?

Mr. McNAMARA. There is authorization to provide grants to other agencies; yes.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Are any grants made to cooperatives?

Mr. McNAMARA. None that I know of.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. What rate of interest is charged the cooperatives?

Mr. McNAMARA. The rate is to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, depending on the amount of the loan.

Mr. METCALF subsequently said: Mr. President, I was heartened by the remarks of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] when he told the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] that the Economic Opportunity Act would have greater opportunities for rural America.

We who support this measure, who support economic opportunity for everyone, who support the war against poverty, who voted for mass transportation, and the other acts, are concerned about the fact that 50 percent of the people who are really in the established poverty level, with an income of under \$3,000, are in rural America, and only about 15 percent of the funds are being expended for communities of less than 50,000.

I come from a State which has only two communities with a population larger than 50,000. I come from a State in which many of the projects that were proposed for community action were turned down because there was too small an application for the project.

The city of Three Forks, Mont., was refused an opportunity to participate in this war against poverty.

I hope that as this new program goes into effect, the assurance of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] to the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] will go forward and grant an opportunity to the small communities of America, to rural America, where the real poverty, the real low level of per capita income exists—an income which is lower than that received by people in many of the urban communities—and give us an equal opportunity to benefit from this program.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 20, line 2, strike out everything through line 4, and insert in lieu thereof:

"SEC. 15. Effective July 1, 1966, section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is repealed. At such time subsection '(d)' is redesignated '(c)'."

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the amendment I now offer is a simple one, and I shall need only a minute or two to explain it.

Yesterday the amendment of the distinguished junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] to restore the existing Governors' veto language was defeated by the narrowest of margins—on a tie vote. Today my amendment seeks to

meet some of the objections or Senators who were unable to support the Fannin amendment yesterday.

My amendment simply repeals section 209(c), effective at the end of this fiscal year.

The reason for waiting until the end of the fiscal year to repeal the Governors' veto is also a simple one. The war on poverty is just now getting off the ground. Every Member of Congress knows that many mistakes have been made by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Shriver candidly admits it. But as I said in my individual views on the bill in the Senate report:

In view of the magnitude of the poverty problem in America, in view of the depths of its roots and persistence of its cause, some failures were inevitable. The Congress has no right to expect perfection from the administrators of its programs.

I am willing to believe that the administration of the war on poverty is improving. I know that Mr. Shriver has been quick to recognize flaws, and sincerely eager to improve the way the program is being run.

There will come a time, I hope, when the war on poverty, having profited from its early experiences, will become a well-organized operation. There will come a time, I hope, when programs now administered on a haphazard, makeshift basis will be squared away. There will come a time, I hope, when the anti-poverty program is a relatively smooth running machine, with its present growing pains a thing of the past. I am gambling that this will happen during the present fiscal year.

In the meantime, however, it continues to be important for the Governor to have some effective voice with regard to programs which, unlike Federal research and construction programs at the local level, involve a mobilization of local people and a restructuring of socio-economic patterns, which must necessarily put a certain amount of strain on the social fabric.

My amendment, like the committee amendment now in the bill, strips the Governor of a veto; the only difference is that it permits him a brief grace period to exert some influence in shaping the untested and potentially explosive programs that may be proposed for his State before the Office of Economic Opportunity gains the benefit of extensive experience with them. When the Office acquires some real degree of experience and expertise in this area—and I am gambling that it will reach this stage in this fiscal year—the Governor's veto will be automatically repealed.

Mr. President, I hope that this is a genuine middle ground that will satisfy those who yesterday and today felt uneasy about choosing between the diametrically opposite positions taken by the committee bill and the Fannin amendment and the Prouty amendment.

Mr. President, the amendment represents a fair compromise. It merely extends until next July the veto powers of the Governor that are at present in the statute.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I can say nothing in opposition to this

amendment which has not already been said. I ask the Senator from Vermont whether he would agree to asking for the yeas and nays.

Mr. PROUTY. On my amendment, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I intend to ask for a live quorum.

Mr. McNAMARA. I have nothing else to say except that I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 223 Leg.]

Aiken	Hartke	Moss
Allott	Hayden	Mundt
Anderson	Hickenlooper	Muskie
Bartlett	Hill	Nelson
Bass	Holland	Neuberger
Bayh	Hruska	Pastore
Bennett	Inouye	Pearson
Bible	Jackson	Pell
Boggs	Javits	Prouty
Brewster	Jordan, N.C.	Proxmire
Burdick	Jordan, Idaho	Randolph
Byrd, Va.	Kennedy, Mass.	Ribicoff
Byrd, W. Va.	Kennedy, N.Y.	Robertson
Cannon	Kuchel	Russell, S.C.
Carlson	Lausche	Russell, Ga.
Case	Long, Mo.	Saltonstall
Cooper	Long, La.	Scott
Cotton	Magnuson	Simpson
Dominick	Mansfield	Smith
Douglas	McClellan	Stennis
Eastland	McGovern	Symington
Ellender	McIntyre	Talmadge
Ervin	McNamara	Thurmond
Fannin	Metcalf	Tower
Fong	Miller	Tydings
Fulbright	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Gore	Monroney	Williams, Del.
Gruening	Montoya	Yarborough
Harris	Morse	Young, N. Dak.
Hart	Morton	Young, Ohio

The VICE PRESIDENT. A quorum is present.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] to the committee amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I say to Senators that the yeas and nays have already been ordered on this amendment. I shall explain it very briefly to the Senators who were not present before.

The war on poverty is just now getting off the ground. Everyone, including the Director of OEO, is aware that many mistakes have been made during the hectic initial period.

By the end of this fiscal year, the war on poverty should develop on the basis of experience and, through the Director's constant efforts, into a smoothly run program.

In the meantime, before the requisite experience has been accumulated, it remains important for the Governor of a State to have some effective voice with regard to programs which involve a mobilization of local groups and a restructuring of local socio-economic patterns, which must necessarily put a certain amount of strain on the social fabric.

This amendment, like the committee amendment, strips the Governor of the veto; the difference is that it permits him a brief grace period to exert some influence on untested and potentially explosive programs that OEO, without the

benefit of much experience, may be willing to approve.

At the end of the fiscal year, when OEO has presumably settled down into a sound operating pattern, the right of the Governor to veto a program under section 209c is automatically repealed.

In other words, the law, under my amendment, remains as is until June 30 of next year. That is what the amendment does. It seems to be a reasonable compromise. I urge the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Vermont for his courtesy in explaining the proposal before us. I point out, as the distinguished manager of the bill said, that this is the third time we have faced up to the issue. I hope we shall face up to it finally. I am delighted that we are to have a vote on it. I urge the defeat of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the Prouty amendment to the committee amendment.

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BIBLE (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. CANNON (when his name was called). On this vote I have a live pair with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. RANDOLPH (when his name was called). On this vote I have a live pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Indiana would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Indiana would vote "nay."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 43, nays, 43, as follows:

[No. 224 Leg.]

YEAS—43

Aiken	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Allott	Hill	Russell, S.C.
Bennett	Holland	Russell, Ga.
Boggs	Hruska	Saltonstall
Byrd, Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Scott
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Simpson
Carlson	Kuchel	Smith
Cooper	Lausche	Stennis
Cotton	McClellan	Talmadge
Dominick	McIntyre	Thurmond
Eastland	Miller	Tower
Ellender	Morton	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.
Fannin	Pearson	
Fong	Prouty	

NAYS—43

Anderson	Jackson	Moss
Bartlett	Javits	Muskie
Bass	Kennedy, Mass.	Nelson
Brewster	Kennedy, N.Y.	Neuberger
Burdick	Long, Mo.	Pastore
Case	Long, La.	Pell
Douglas	Magnuson	Proxmire
Fulbright	Mansfield	Ribicoff
Gore	McGovern	Symington
Gruening	McNamara	Tydings
Harris	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Hart	Mondale	Yarborough
Hartke	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Hayden	Montoya	
Inouye	Morse	

NOT VOTING—14

Bayh	Curtis	Murphy
Bible	Dirksen	Randolph
Cannon	Dodd	Smathers
Church	McCarthy	Sparkman
Clark	McGee	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The vote on the amendment is 43 yeas, and 43 nays. The amendment is rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment to the committee amendment was rejected be reconsidered.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The vote has been announced.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, there are no more amendments.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I have an amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] proposes an amendment, on page 16, strike out "and," and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

On page 16, line 22, strike out the period and quotation marks and insert in lieu thereof: "and".

On page 16, between lines 22 and 23, insert the following new paragraph:

(6) which has been submitted to the Governor of the State in which the program is to be located and which has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, while Senators are still in the Chamber, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, this is another variation of the Governor's veto discussion. I shall not take very much more time than has been taken on some of the other amendments, but I believe it is important enough to make some comments on the pending amendment.

My amendment would put back into the bill the Governor's right of veto on the community action programs only.

Senators will remember that the action of the Senate committee by a one-vote majority struck from the bill the right of veto in the work training programs, the work study programs, the community action programs, and the adult basic education programs. It left in the veto right on the Jobs Corps and on one other section.

The pending amendment would put it back in on the community action programs, which are at least of as much importance as are the Job Corps programs within the terms of the bill.

Why am I taking this? Why am I doing it? One point to which I invite the attention of the Senate is the great expansion of funds which will be proposed in the particular program for the coming year.

The authorization for fiscal 1965 for the community action program total, for title II, was \$340 million; \$259.1 million was used for the actual expenditures under title II, which included community action programs, and adult basic education programs.

On this particular proposal for this year, backed by the committee, \$30 million only will be spent for adult education; but the community action program is being raised from the \$259 million which was spent last year to \$880 million. This is at least three and a half times what was spent last year.

These are the very programs which have been the root cause of a great many of the problems into which the poverty program is running. That is, community action programs are the ones which organize the poor through some local, politically ambitious person who tries to organize them into a political unit of his own. They are not coordinated with the existing agencies which are providing programs in this same field, whether they be governmental State agencies, governmental Federal agencies, or private voluntary associations.

They are the ones to which reference was made, obviously, in connection with Mayor Yorty's telegram of yesterday, which was read into the RECORD by the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. It strikes me that this is one area where the need for the Governor's veto is readily apparent.

I happen to know—at least I believe I do—that one of the reasons why the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH]—I do not know whether he is in the Chamber at present—was so vehement on this point was that his Governor, in Texas, was using at least the threat of a veto in order to try to have community action programs in that State coordinated within a reasonable structure.

What have we in support of this kind of proposal? The individual views of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] will be found in the committee report. On page 83, there are comments from two Democratic Governors and two Republican Governors asserting that the veto right needs to be kept. Those Governors, at that time, were shooting for the whole works.

By one or two votes we have been beaten down in our efforts to retain the Governor's veto.

I cannot conceive why we have been beaten, but we have; and now I am saying in all sincerity—and I believe in all justification—that the need for a Governor's veto is at least apparent in the community action programs.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. KENNEDY of New York in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Is the amendment of the Senator from Colorado, as presently written, directed toward the community action programs?

Mr. DOMINICK. It is.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What figures did the Senator from Colorado cite, reflecting the increase in the monetary allocation to this program as it will be financed in the ensuing year, as compared to the money which was given in the original bill?

Mr. DOMINICK. Last year, on the community action programs, we spent \$240.1 million.

This year we shall be authorizing an expenditure of \$850 million. Last year, on the adult basic education program, we spent \$19 million. This year it is proposed to spend \$30 million. The great increase in the Senate version of the bill, which is being presented here, is in the community action program, which, as I said, is the focus of infection, as far as these programs are concerned, that the poverty program is having.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Although this may sound repetitious, I should like again to ask the question: If the veto power is given, under the present composition of the political complexion of the Governors in the 50 States, 33 Democratic Governors will be vested with the power of the veto, and 17 Republican Governors. Is that correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is absolutely correct. I am happy that the Senator has brought out that fact again.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Therefore, if politics are to be played in connection with the veto, it will have to be played by the Democrats, if that factor is to be the dominating factor in the spending of this money. Is that correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is absolutely correct. I am happy that the Senator has brought out that fact again.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Again to be repetitious, it is a fact, is it not, that all but one of the Governors voted in favor of the resolution asking for the restoration of the veto power as it existed in the original bill. Is that correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is absolutely correct. I am still trying to find out who that one Governor was, but I have not been able to get his name.

Mr. LAUSCHE. It was the Governor of California.

Mr. KUCHEL. His name is Brown.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is an interesting new fact that I had not known. I thank the Senator from California for supplying the information.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I note that the Senator from Ohio has stressed the fact again that 49 of the 50 Governors favored the veto.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I said all but one.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Forty-nine of the fifty Governors favored the veto. I would point out that the Senate has already expressed itself on this issue at least three, if not four, times.

Mr. DOMINICK. I hope it will express itself a couple of more times, and I hope favorably.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Is it not a fact that when this program was urged for adoption, one of the arguments made to induce Senators to vote for it was that protection would be furnished against unreasonable intrusion by the Federal Government in the political situation that prevailed in the various States, and that that protection would be giving to the Governors the power of the veto.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is absolutely correct. I personally had some doubt as to whether those assurances would work. It is readily apparent from the testimony that those assurances have not worked, because person after person in the political structure of each of the 50 States has complained from beginning to end about the political implications that are being used and the organizations that are being set up, and the disruption of government that has resulted from the intrusion in the community action program and the lack of responsible leadership in it, and the fact that many of the people who have been involved as supervisors or organizers, and who have been paid salaries by OEO, are in fact, people of dubious reputation, to say the least. This is a crime. It should not happen this way. About the only solution we have left in clearing up this situation is to permit the Governor, when he sees someone put in charge of a community action program who should not be put in charge of it or who sees a program set up that does not make any sense, to exercise the right of the veto, or at least to threaten it—at least to threaten it—until he can have some changes made, so that it will fall within the pattern of private, State, government action in this same field.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. FANNIN. I should like to give one example to the Senator, which occurred in my State of Arizona, where the Safford Area Council employed an individual who was once a State representative. Since the distinguished Senator from Ohio has mentioned the opposite political party to mine, I should say that this man was a representative of that party.

He was convicted in 1961 of falsifying documents which enabled aliens to work in the United States. He was given concurrent sentences on four counts of falsifying documents and on two contempt charges, totaling 2½ years. He was paroled in January 1962, 9 months after he began his prison term. Now he is serving in the employ of the Safford Area Council in Arizona.

Mr. DOMINICK. This fact came to the Senator's attention only within the past few weeks. Is that correct?

Mr. FANNIN. That is correct.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is a typical example. I appreciate the Senator's bringing out what is obviously a disgraceful fact to all of us.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. As the Senator knows, I am not a member of the committee, and therefore I am not familiar with the evidence that was presented to the committee on the bill. However, I have a recollection that the mayors of the Nation also have complained about the ability, under the present setup, of the Federal Government to circumvent the governmental jurisdiction of the mayors in the assignment of these moneys to what are called the community action committees. Can the Senator from Colorado tell me whether there has been a revelation of that attitude on the part of the mayors of the country?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes; it has been very strongly expressed. I can reply to the Senator from Ohio by referring him to page 60 of our minority views, in the last paragraph, where we bring out quite clearly these facts:

Another widely publicized shortcoming of the war on poverty is the failure to coordinate Federal actions with State, local, and private programs. Time and again we have heard protests that the Office of Economic Opportunity was bypassing either local governments or the poor in establishing local programs.

These are the community action programs.

Early in June of this year a group of big-city mayors attempted to get the U.S. Conference of Mayors to approve a resolution highly critical of OEO. The proposed resolution would have accused OEO of "trying to wreck local government by setting the poor against city hall." The resolution, drafted by two Democratic mayors of big cities, was stopped at the last minute at the urging of the administration. The mayor of Syracuse pointed out that in addition to his other problems the poor in that city were being "urged to storm city hall."

"Urge to storm city hall"—at a time when our country is facing problems growing out of riots and demonstrations. Although these words were not meant in that frame of reference, they can be subject to much misunderstanding.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, am I correct in my understanding that the views expressed by the mayors were: "We are the duly elected governmental officials in the community, yet under the program we are being circumvented through the assignment of these moneys to nongovernmental agencies in the administration of the program"?

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is absolutely correct. I continue to read from my minority views:

Governors have argued that the only way they have been able to get OEO to consult with and advise State antipoverty agencies has been to threaten use of the Governors' veto.

I read another sentence:

Other local programs have been set up without consultation with local charities experienced in the local problems and often without any representation of the poor.

There has been a series of horror stories in the discussions that have been going on during the past 2 days, and in the reports, and they lead me to believe that if we are to retain any semblance of sense in this vastly expanded program of community action, we must have the veto right reserved.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. To summarize, is it not a fact that the chief executives of the States and the chief executives of the municipalities—substantially as far as municipalities are concerned, and practically fully as far as the States are concerned—manifested a protest against the circumvention of the authority granted by the people to the Governors and the mayors in the running of government?

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy the Senator from Ohio brought up the point. I yield to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. TOWER. Is it not true, or has it not been established that not only the Governors, but the mayors, seem to desire to retain the gubernatorial veto power, at least under the community action program? Is that correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. So far as we know, that is absolutely correct.

Mr. TOWER. Is it not also true that 33 of the Governors in the United States are Democrats?

Mr. DOMINICK. Thirty-three of the Governors are Democrats.

Mr. TOWER. Is it not also true that most of the mayors of the big cities that stand to profit by the program or to benefit by it are Democrats?

Mr. DOMINICK. Regretfully, I would say that that is also true.

Mr. TOWER. So the Democrats exercise State and local political control. Is that not correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct.

Mr. TOWER. Then a vote on the part of a Democratic Senator against the amendment of the Senator from Colorado will be a vote of no confidence in the State and the local officials of their own party. Is that not correct?

Mr. DOMINICK. I believe such votes could easily be interpreted in that way, and probably should be.

Mr. TOWER. I believe it would be interesting for us to record the fact that a majority of Senators on the other side of the aisle will cast a vote of no confidence in the Democratic Governors and mayors of this country.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I have talked with some Democratic Governors. They feel that they may have been deluded on this question of a Governor's veto.

For example, consider a State where segregation sentiment is strong.

Mr. DOMINICK. Will the Senator from Louisiana permit me to interrupt?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Yes.

Mr. DOMINICK. I wish to make crystal clear that the Senator is not referring to the State of Colorado.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I agree that I am not referring to the State of Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Very well.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. In such a segregationist State, the Governor must walk a delicate tightrope between allowing into his State integrated, federally-sponsored projects and keeping out these Federal funds, which will do much good for all the State's citizens.

That Governor says, "Do not throw that hot potato in my lap. If I have to veto the program or approve it, I shall get either one side against me or the other. I should like to get along with both of them." That Governor may very well say: "Will you please bypass my office? Do not say that I asked for the program, but get it done."

Mr. President, that is what the whole difficulty is about. Senators could be throwing hot potatoes in the laps of their Governors, and Governors just do not want it that way. They want to get along with everybody. They want to love their neighbors.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator states—

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Why would Governors want the veto? One reason could be that they want the program to fail. It could be a complete failure in New York, it could be a complete failure in Pennsylvania, and it could be a complete failure in Michigan if those Governors took advantage of a veto to make it so. I am not saying that it would, but it could happen this way.

It has been said, "The Republicans will get with you southern Democrats on this program. You are afraid some southern Governor might run against you. So throw this hot potato in his lap and make him lose a lot of votes, and then fix it up with the northern Republican Governors." They say, "We will mess this thing up so badly that we will hurt the President and get the payroll at the same time."

This could be one of the sweetest Republican deals imaginable if they wanted to make it so. I spoke to a number of Governors on the telephone, that reversed their position. It is as simple as that.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I do not have the floor.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator from Colorado yield to me?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Louisiana if what he has stated is the position of Governor McKeithen. Is that what he has expressed to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I would not like to single out any Governor, but I will say this about my Governor. He is a good Governor. He is a conscientious man. He has not asked me to vote differently from my conscience.

The Senator comes from Texas. I have some doubt that Governor Connally would be Governor of Texas unless he had the President's support. Governor Connally used to work under the President. In my opinion—and I make this statement after some meditation—Lyndon B. Johnson thinks that Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH was never more right in his life than he is about this—as much as he likes and admires Tom Connally.

Mr. TOWER. I believe the Senator is referring to John Connally.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I am glad the Senator reminded me of that. Tom Connally was a great Senator from his State. In the past the President has expressed himself to me on the subject of sabotaging programs.

He said to me, "Senator, what will kill a program, and hurt me, is that someone will insist on making me take an incompetent individual to run a program in his State."

Some State senator or State legislator might come to the Governor and say, "Governor, I would be willing to support your projects."

Let us face it. That Governor is not as much interested in the Governor's salary as he is in the prestige and authority that goes with the job.

So the legislator might say, "I would be willing to vote for your projects provided you let me name my brother-in-law, who is without a job, to take charge of the local community program. Put him on a salary, and I will be willing to work to let you have a project that you may want."

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I yielded to the Senator so that he may ask a question.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I believe I have made my point.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. DOMINICK. Before I yield further, I should like to point out to the Senator from Louisiana that last year, on the motion of the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] to insert in the bill a provision for a veto, the Senator from Louisiana voted for the amendment. So obviously he has had a change of heart since that time.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Since the Senator has used my name, will he yield to me at that point?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Yes; I voted for it. What did we get? We got as head of our program a man that many

felt would not make the program go. Fortunately after the matter was discussed with the Governor he made a change in appointments and came up with men who appear to be doing a good job.

Why should a Governor appoint men like that? Why should we not get honest, decent men to administer the program in Louisiana, Colorado, or any other State? I do not understand. Consider what happened in my State. So far as we are concerned, any Governor might have a veto, but they could use this power to put in people who are not capable by either ability or conviction to do a good job.

What we are worried about is that we shall be given an incompetent, and we shall not be able to fire him because some Governor holds the right of veto.

Mr. DOMINICK. My understanding is that the four cases—

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I trust that the Senator does not desire us to put such men in charge of our programs to make sure that they do not succeed.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, do I have the floor? I shall not be shouted down by the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. DOMINICK. In a moment. I wish to say something about the speech or tirade to which we have just listened. It strikes me that we have something more important to consider than whether a Governor is in an embarrassing political spot or not. It seems to me that the basic principle is whether the Federal Government will move in and take over the whole program that has been adopted originally and for which the people voted, through their mayors, city councils, and State systems of government.

Here they are not going to give the elected heads the right to determine whether this is going to fit in with their program.

It strikes me that we must adopt a principle. It should have nothing to do with whether the Governor is in a politically embarrassing position, or whether his friend is or is not a Democrat. I do not see how that has anything to do with the amendment.

I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I want to make it very clear that insofar as the Senator from Florida is concerned this is not a personal matter or a partisan matter.

So far as the Senator from Florida is concerned, he agrees completely with the distinguished Senator from Colorado that a very great principle is involved here: Shall we or shall we not continue the tradition in our country, and the law for 180 years, that we have a dual system of government with the Federal Government and the State government, both sovereign in their spheres? Shall we or shall we not allow the chief executive in a State who, as the chief executive, has been named by his people and knows his people and his State probably better than any other individual living, to have any say about the proj-

ects under this program which are proposed for his State?

So far as the Senator from Florida is concerned he only wishes to set the record straight on one matter—this is not a Republican conspiracy. If Senators will look at the list of rollcalls throughout the time this issue has been discussed by the Senate, they will find that a good many former Governors of Southern States have been voting for these amendments and none against them.

Looking around I note two former Governors of the State of South Carolina—former Governors who have been continuously voting in that particular group.

I note that two Governors from the State of Georgia, or former Governors, have been continually voting in that group.

I note that one former Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia has been voting in that group.

I note that one former Governor of the State of Florida has been voting in that group.

I do not know what the condition may be in any one State and I hope there is no State in the abject condition we have heard described here on the floor.

But so far as the Senator from Florida is concerned I know that the people of our State who have recently elected a Governor by an overwhelming majority of something like 700,000 or 800,000 votes, would like for him to have something to say about projects of this kind which are brought into communities of his State.

I believe that the same situation obtains in reference to other Southern States.

I believe there is no difference between States which have Democratic Governors and States which have Republican Governors. The people of the several States have spoken by a majority for whomever is their Governor.

I do not believe it makes a scintilla of difference whether that Governor belongs to one party or to the other party.

The real question is: Are we going to continue to have the dual system of American government?

I have been sitting on the sidelines and watching as we have been passing legislation through the last several months and it seems to me that almost with every passing vote we have been chipping away rights and responsibilities of the States at a time when the Nation is growing bigger, growing greater, growing more unwieldy, having more pressing problems in the international field, and becoming less able to wisely handle local programs.

We have been consistently trying to downgrade the States and downgrade the Governors and downgrade State and local government and downgrade the responsibility of local people. I believe we have slipped much too far in that direction already. I shall hope that we will not continue to slip, to slide, to nosedive in that direction.

I remind Senators that only last year this particular provision was voted into this bill by the vote of 80 to 7. I remind

Senators, as to what I believe is a fact; I do not believe the bill could have been passed last year without recognition of the rights of the States and the status of the Governors of the States.

It is too bad that we have slipped so far in this 1 year that now we are willing to eradicate the Governors, eradicate State responsibility, and take a position here on the floor that is attempted to be made partisan, when clearly it is not.

I desire the RECORD to show very clearly that this is not a partisan issue and that in my judgment the Southern States, as they have been referred to, and other States which have Democratic Governors, are just as much interested in this issue and in the preservation of the American form of government and the preservation of some recognition of State independence and State responsibility, as are those States which have Republican Governors.

Mr. President, I shall support this amendment as I have supported the previous amendments of this kind, both last year and this.

Mr. DOMINICK. I think the Senator from Florida. His speech has demonstrated why. It was magnificent. I sincerely appreciate his support.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I should like to have the attention of the Senate. I ask unanimous consent that on the pending amendment there be a limitation of 20 minutes, 10 minutes to be controlled by the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] and 10 minutes to be controlled by the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA].

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, may I have an understanding that I may be yielded 2 minutes?

Mr. DOMINICK. That is agreeable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I do not understand the proposed unanimous-consent request.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That there be 10 minutes to a side on the pending amendment.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. May I have 3 minutes?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Texas.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Governor of Texas has been mentioned. It has been said that he owes his present position to the President of the United States. But, in that connection, the polls show that in Texas the Governor is more popular than the President; he is Governor in his own right.

It was suggested that politics was instrumental in the administration of the present program. The Governor of my State is not of my party; he is a Democrat. He has not acted through politics; he has acted with dispatch. He favors

the program. He has acted in a singularly efficient way. He has drawn no criticism from either party in our State for the way he has acted in administering the program. He is certainly wholeheartedly in favor of the exercise of the gubernatorial veto.

It seems to me that all that has been implied is that this program is, indeed, politically motivated, politically oriented, and politically administered. That is why it should not have been enacted in the first place. It will continue to be administered in that way, whether there is a gubernatorial veto or not.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, may I be yielded 3 minutes?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Politics gets into the program when someone tries to get a part of the benefits for his people. Local governments are willing to go along and initiate a program if they feel their people will benefit. Suppose the local government has contributed \$100,000, and the Federal Government \$900,000. Neither the Governor nor the State government has contributed a nickel. But suppose there is an influential State politician who goes to the Governor and says, "Governor, I will do you a big favor. All you must do is to put my brother-in-law in charge of the new antipoverty program." Therefore, the Governor takes the brother-in-law, regardless of his record. Maybe everything that we find out about him is bad. But he is put in charge of the program. That is practically a guarantee that the program will not succeed. That is what what we are trying to get away from.

Let us say that the Governor happens to be against the President. Let us say he does not want the program to succeed. He tells the influential politician, "I would not hire your brother-in-law to be dog catcher, but I will give him the job of running this Federal program."

We should not make it possible for something like this to happen.

It is possible that Governors of a political party different from the President could try to use this method to gain political advantage. They could conceivably sabotage a program then point to it as a failure of the administration.

It is true that Southern Governors attended this Governor's conference where an agreement was apparently reached that Governors should have this veto.

However it is my feeling that when most of them got back home and thought over the situation they were inclined to let their Senators go uninstructed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask that I be recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I want to wind up by saying this: Along the lines I have discussed, the Republican Party could use this veto to

bring criticism to a Democratic program and a Democratic President. I do not think we should give them the power to do that. That is what we are talking about.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, this amendment is directed at the heart of the community action program. I hope that the amendment will be defeated.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, we have seen how narrow the issues can be. Governors will be deprived of their veto because a Senator does not like his particular Governor. We have an opportunity here to vote an expression of confidence in our Governors. If we like our Governors and think that they can be trusted in establishing the proper execution of this program to help the poor, we should want them to have the veto. If we do not trust them, we would not want them to have the veto.

Reference has been made to Governors Rockefeller, Romney, and Scranton. In my judgment, all three of those Governors, and many others, have compiled an excellent record for responsible administration and have cherished and protected the rights of persons involved and affected, the people who are trying to administer the program at the local level.

The distinguished Senator from Louisiana has made reference to the possibility of corruption in the Governor's office of his State. The possibility of corruption is multiplied manifold by the danger existing in city halls and in local administrations throughout the Union.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Kentucky.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I do not profess any expertise on this particular amendment.

I rise merely to remind my colleagues—I am sure they already know it—that, on our very limited side of the aisle, we have some rather distinguished Governors.

I start with the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BOGGS], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND].

In this particular case, I shall abide by their opinion.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, how much time have I remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado has 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I shall take a few more moments to summarize the amendment.

There have been only four occasions in which the veto has been exercised. The veto has been exercised once in the great State of Florida, once in the great State of Alabama, once in the great State of Texas, and once in the great State of Montana. With a total of 1,500 projects which were started, the veto has been exercised only four times.

It seems to me to be of the utmost importance that we tell the Governors that we are going to comply with the program and cooperate with the Governors and give them some authority over this type of program.

I cannot see how we could eliminate this and, at the same time, expand the program by three and one-half to four times what was spent last year, and create more projects in the local areas in which the Governor would have no voice as to what would happen, and create any confidence that these programs will be operated in conjunction with State and private efforts in the same field.

I urge support of the amendment.

Mr. President, if the Senator from Michigan will yield back the remainder of his time, I am ready to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, on that basis, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado to the committee amendment. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BIBLE (when his name was called). On this vote I have a live pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore I withhold my vote.

Mr. RANDOLPH (when his name was called). On this vote I have a live pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. JAVITS (after having voted in the negative). Mr. President, on this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "yea." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." I therefore withdraw my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Vir-

ginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE] is paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay" and the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] would each vote "yea."

The pair of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] has been previously announced.

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 43, as follows:

[No. 225 Leg.]

YEAS—42

Aiken	Fong	Pearson
Allott	Hickenlooper	Prouty
Bennett	Hill	Russell, S.C.
Boggs	Holland	Russell, Ga.
Byrd, W. Va.	Hruska	Saltonstall
Cannon	Jordan, N.C.	Scott
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Simpson
Cooper	Kuchel	Smith
Cotton	Lausche	Stennis
Dominick	McClellan	Talmadge
Eastland	McIntyre	Thurmond
Ellender	Miller	Tower
Ervin	Morton	Williams, Del.
Fannin	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—43

Anderson	Inouye	Moss
Bartlett	Jackson	Muskie
Bass	Kennedy, Mass.	Nelson
Bayh	Kennedy, N.Y.	Neuberger
Brewster	Long, Mo.	Pastore
Burdick	Long, La.	Pell
Case	Magnuson	Proxmire
Douglas	Mansfield	Ribicoff
Fulbright	McGovern	Symington
Gore	McNamara	Tydings
Gruening	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Harris	Mondale	Yarborough
Hart	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Hartke	Montoya	
Hayden	Morse	

NOT VOTING—15

Bibie	Dirksen	Murphy
Byrd, Va.	Dodd	Randolph
Church	Javits	Robertson
Clark	McCarthy	Smathers
Curtis	McGee	Sparkman

So Mr. DOMINICK's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was rejected be reconsidered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Vermont proposes an amendment to the committee amendment on page 20, line 2, beginning with the word "Section", strike everything down to and including "(c)" on line 4 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

At the end of section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, add this proviso:

"Provided further, That the Governor of a State may disapprove a plan setting forth a contract, agreement, grant, loan or other assistance resulting from title I and title II of this Act only where such plan would (1) provide for or permit the payment of excessive salaries greater in amount than the annual salary of the highest State welfare official, thereby denying a proper proportion of aid to the poor, or (2) permit political exploitation of the poor, or (3) ignore or deny the rights of poor people to adequate participation in the planning and administration of projects, or (4) ignore or deny the rights of the poor people to effective representation on the governing or policy advisory boards of community action agencies, or (5) permit a person convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude to become or remain an officer or employee of an agency conducting a community action program if such person would have an unwholesome influence on the poor people to be served by such agency, or (6) if executed, create great social unrest and serious disturbances of the peace."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield, without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. PROUTY. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. There will be no further voting this evening.

ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL NOON
TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business today, it stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the prayer tomorrow, there be a time limitation of 1 hour on each amendment, the time to be equally divided between the proposer of the amendment and the Senator in charge of the bill, or whomever they may wish to designate.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I discussed this matter with the majority leader earlier

and explained to him that it was perfectly agreeable to me, with the understanding that I may request a little more time, particularly on one amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I assure the Senator that he will receive every consideration.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President reserving the right to object—

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, this applies to amendments which may be offered as well as the pending amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator restate his question?

Mr. MUNDT. Reserving the right to object, I should like to know whether the unanimous-consent request applies to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont which is pending or to all others as well.

Mr. MANSFIELD. To all others. An hour on each one.

Mr. DOMINICK. Would the Senator from Montana mind amending his unanimous-consent request to apply to the one amendment pending? Then we can discuss tomorrow what time we may need, because on some amendments we may need more time than on others, and I would not wish to commit myself at this point.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Frankly, I have no choice. I am at the mercy of the Senate or any Member thereof. This suggestion was made by the Senator from Vermont. Would it be reasonable to have it apply only to his amendment?

Mr. PROUTY. There is one amendment which I shall offer which may require an hour on each side. I am guessing at the time. Other amendments probably will not take 5 or 10 minutes. Therefore, if I could be assured of an hour on my amendment, I will indicate to the majority leader which one it will be tomorrow—

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator knows that I am following the suggestion which he made to me. I talked with him three or four times, and to other Senators, to try to reach a unanimous-consent agreement, and I failed. Every time a unanimous-consent request has been submitted, the initiative has come from the interested party on that side.

Mr. PROUTY. I wish to cooperate with the majority leader.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I wish to add further to this one amendment—

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is fine.

Mr. DOMINICK. We can progress faster that way.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I submit the request. I point out to my colleagues on the Republican side of the aisle that the leadership on both sides is trying to achieve the goal of adjournment around Labor Day. We have plenty of business to take care of, but if we are going to make that date, or any date approaching it, we must get on with the business on the calendar which comes from the committees.

So far as I am concerned, whatever the Senate wishes will be done. In view of the fact that the request is made that the unanimous-consent request apply to only one amendment, I will make that

request at this time, and if there is any objection, I shall withdraw that request.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if there is any objection, I shall withdraw the request, and we will take our chances.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, what is the request?

Mr. MANSFIELD. One hour on the pending amendment, to be equally divided.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, in view of the fact that the distinguished majority leader would hope to have the Senate adjourn somewhere between Labor Day and the first of October—

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator from Missouri is a little too pessimistic, from my point of view.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I would hope so. I sympathize with the position of the majority leader, but I respectfully ask, if Members of this body who are offering all these amendments with respect to the power of the Governor's veto will not object to a unanimous-consent request, except on one amendment, why do we not continue the session and work until 10 o'clock or 11 o'clock tonight?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The leadership must exercise its best judgment. In view of the existing circumstances, there will be no further votes tonight. Let me say to the Senator from Missouri that the leadership had intended to stay in session until 8 o'clock or 9 o'clock this evening, but we think it advisable not to do so.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I should like to impose one further reservation, or have it understood, that in case we should have a quorum call, live or otherwise, that it will not be taken out of my time at least, or out of the time of the other side.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, again I point out that the leadership is at the mercy of the Senate. Whatever any Senator wishes, he will get.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, a question.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, a question.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I wish to have it quite understood that whatever any Senator wishes, he will get. Any Senator can control this body any time he wishes.

Mr. PROUTY. Let me say respectfully to the majority leader that all we wish is an opportunity to make our case.

I am talking about my amendment. I am sure I shall want to have a live quorum call before a vote is had on it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senate is on notice. The Senator has had plenty of time to make his case on the amendments he has offered. He has called for three or four live quorum calls, so that a sufficient number of Senators would be here to understand what the amendments provided. They have all been important amendments, to which the Senator from Vermont has given great consideration and much time.

After starting on a request to limit debate to 1 hour, 30 minutes to a side, on all amendments, we are now down to an agreement to limit debate to 1 hour on one amendment, and perhaps up to 2 hours on another amendment. Now we are to include live quorum calls, and this, that, and the other thing. Whatever the Senate wishes to do, it can do.

I include that request in the unanimous-consent request on the one amendment, Mr. President, although I do not believe it is worth it.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request?

Mr. KUCHEL. So that the Senate may understand, the unanimous-consent request is that there be 1 hour of debate allowed on the amendment, to be equally divided, with a live quorum to be made available to the Senator from Vermont thereafter.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If the Senator from Vermont desires it.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the order is entered.

The unanimous consent agreement subsequently reduced to writing, is as follows:

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Ordered, That effective on Thursday, August 19, 1965, immediately following the prayer, further debate on the pending amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] No. 403, shall be limited to 1 hour to be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA].

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT AMENDMENTS—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5401) to amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to strengthen and improve the national transportation system, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report. (For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the conference report.

The Senate amendment of the House bill is a complete substitute for the text of the House bill, but differs substantially from the House bill in only four respects, which I will discuss hereafter. The conference substitute is a substitute for both the House bill and the Senate amendment.

The first difference upon which agreement was reached is as follows: Both the House bill and the Senate amendment amended section 222(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act to provide that any person injured as a result of operations by another person in clear and patent violation of operating authority requirements of the motor carrier provisions of the act could apply directly to a district court of the United States for an injunction to restrain such violations. The House bill contained language providing that nothing in its amendment to section 222(b) was to be construed to deprive the Commission of its jurisdiction to interpret or construe certificates of public convenience and necessity, permits, or rules and regulations issued by the Commission. The conference substitute is the same as the Senate amendment. The conferees agreed that this provision in the House bill was unnecessary in view of the provision adopted on the House floor and by the Senate Commerce Committee to insure that the courts could not be used to decide initially cases involving important issues of transportation law of policy.

The second difference upon which agreement was reached is as follows: The House bill amended section 417(b) of the act—relating to freight forwarders—to provide that any person injured as a result of operations by another person in clear and patent violation of operating authority requirements of the freight forwarder provisions of the act could apply directly to a district court of the United States for an injunction to restrain such violations. The Senate amendment contained no such provisions allowing injunctive relief against persons violating freight forwarder provisions of the act. The conference substitute is the same as the House bill, except for the omission of provisions relating to jurisdiction of the Commission to interpret or construe permits or rules and regulations issued by the Commission. These provisions relating to Commission jurisdiction were omitted as unnecessary in accordance with the omission of similar provisions from the amendment to section 222(b).

The language of this section relating to freight forwarders makes it clear that private suits could be entertained only in those cases where the violation complained of, and for which relief is sought, is a clear and patent violation of the law. This section requires the posting of a bond, and calls for the recovery of attorney's fees and court costs where the action is not warranted by the facts and circumstances.

Further, in any action brought under this amendment, the Interstate Commerce Commission could notify the district court in which the action is pending that the Commission intends to consider

Aug. 19, 1965

13. PERSONNEL; MANPOWER. Received a report of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee on current manpower issues in the Federal Government (H. Rept. 816). p. 20322
14. WATER RESOURCES. Rep. Brock spoke in support of his bill, H. R. 10539, to establish a national water resources trust fund for research and development of water resources and their use. p. 20310
15. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Rep. Albert announced that H. R. 9567, the proposed Higher Education Act of 1965, will be considered next week. pp. 20299-300
16. ADJOURNED until Mon., Aug. 23. p. 20321

SENATE

17. POVERTY. Passed with amendments H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (pp. 20325, 20326-30, 20332-37, 20340-78). Conferees were appointed (p. 20377). The bill amends title III (Special Programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas) of the Economic Opportunity Act so as to make clear that prohibition against loans to cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes does not prevent loans to cooperatives processing dairy products or similar edible farm products; to clarify the authority granted with respect to the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which assistance may be extended to migrant workers and their families; and to authorize the appropriation of \$55 million for fiscal year 1966 for carrying out the purposes of title III.
Agreed to the following amendments:
 - By Sen. McGovern, to assure that benefits under the legislation are distributed equitably between the urban and rural areas. pp. 20353-54
 - By Sen. Javits, to authorize hearings on a Governor's request regarding proposed contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance for carrying out titles I and II covering youth programs for urban and rural community action programs. pp. 20354-57Rejected the following amendments:
 - By Sen. Prouty, 44-48, and Sen. Dominick, 49-42, to permit a Governor's veto on youth, urban and rural community action programs. pp. 20326-37
 - By Sen. Prouty, 35-58, to provide that all functions under title III (relating to rural areas) be transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture. pp. 20341-46

18. STOCKPILE. The Armed Services Committee reported without amendment H. R. 9544, to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period, of approximately 620,000 long tons of natural rubber from the national stockpile (S. Rept. 626). p. 20378
19. LOANS. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported with amendment H.R. 4152, to provide means for expediting the retirement of Government capital in the Federal intermediate credit banks, including an increase in the debt permitted such banks in relation to their capital and provision for the production credit associations to acquire additional capital stock therein, and to provide for allocating certain earnings of such banks and associations to their users (S. Rept. 630). p. 20378

Aug. 19, 1965

2. FOREIGN AID. Agreed to 244 to 150, the conference report on H. R. 7750, the foreign aid authorization bill (pp. 20228-33). See Digest 152 for items of interest.
Rep. Udall commended the Alliance for Progress on its fourth anniversary. pp. 20315-6
3. TRANSPORTATION. Agreed to the conference report on H. R. 5401, to amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to strengthen and improve the national transportation system. This bill will now be sent to the President. pp. 20234-5
4. STATE-JUSTICE-COMMERCE-JUDICIARY APPROPRIATION BILL. Agreed to the conference report on this bill, H. R. 8639. pp. 20233-4
5. FOREIGN TRADE. Conferees were appointed on H. R. 7969, to correct certain errors in the Tariff Schedules of the U. S. (p. 20228). Senate conferees have already been appointed.
Conferees were appointed on H. R. 5768, to extend for an additional 3-year period (until Nov. 7, 1968) the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk (p. 20228). Senate conferees have not yet been appointed.
6. RESEARCH. The Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported with amendment H. R. 3420, to provide economic growth by supporting State and regional centers to place the findings of science usefully in the hands of American enterprise (H. Rept. 817). p. 20322
7. FOREIGN SERVICE. The Foreign Affairs Committee reported with amendment H. R. 6277, to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946 (H. Rept. 830). p. 20322
8. APPROPRIATIONS. The Appropriations Committee reported without amendment H. R. 10586, making supplemental appropriations to HEW for fiscal year 1966 (H. Rept. 818). p. 20322
9. RECLAMATION. A subcommittee of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee voted to report to the full committee with amendment H. R. 4851, to amend the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956. p. D823
10. TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) with amendment H. R. 5863, to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation. p. D823
11. INSECTICIDES; FISHERIES. A subcommittee of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee voted to report to the full committee S. 1623, to authorize a continuing study by Interior of the effects of insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, and other pesticides upon fish and wildlife for the purpose of preventing losses, and H. R. 23, with amendment, to authorize Interior to initiate a program for the conservation and development of anadromous fish in cooperation with the States. p. D823
12. ORGANIZATION; LAWS. A subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee voted to report to the full committee H. R. 10104, to codify the general and permanent laws relating to the organization of the Federal Government and to its employees. p. D823

Senate

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1965

(Legislative day of Wednesday, August 18, 1965)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridi-
an on the expiration of the recess, and
was called to order by the Vice Presi-
dent.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown
Harris, D.D., offered the following
prayer:

Father of all, whose righteous laws
condemn, and at last break, whatsoever
bars Thy children from abundant life,
we thank Thee for the legions of the un-
coerced who even now in the name of
freedom are marching, to blast a way for
all Thy threatened children to escape
tribulation.

We thank Thee for the clear call to all
freemen to help build a highway to a
realm and a reign of peace and good will,
to a kingdom of human rights where
mouths shall not cry for bread, where
hands and feet shall not be shackled,
where speech shall not be silenced,
where eyes shall not be bandaged, and
where truth shall not be distorted by
lies which hide the light. Save us from
the fatal folly of being unwilling to pay
the price of better things.

As we destroy the worst things, to
make ready for the fairer earth of our
dreams, treading the winepress of sor-
row and sacrifice, even though we are
called to walk through the valley of the
shadow of death, may we fear no evil
because Thy rod and Thy staff comfort
and strengthen us.

We ask it in the name of that One
whose truth makes free. Amen.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMEND- MENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration
of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the
war on poverty and enhance the effec-
tiveness of programs under the Eco-
nomic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the
unanimous-consent agreement, the
question is on agreeing to the pending
amendment of the Senator from Ver-
mont [Mr. PROUTY] to the committee
amendment. Debate on the amend-
ment is limited to 1 hour, the time to
be equally divided, and controlled by the
Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY]
and the Senator from Michigan [Mr.
McNAMARA].

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I
yield myself 2 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Sena-
tor from Montana is recognized for 2
minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I
ask unanimous consent that the reading

of the Journal of the proceedings of
Wednesday, August 18, 1965, be dis-
pensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without ob-
jection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the Presi-
dent of the United States, submitting a
nomination, was communicated to the
Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secre-
taries.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The VICE PRESIDENT announced
that on today, August 19, 1965, he
signed the following enrolled bills and
joint resolution, which had previously
been signed by the Speaker of the House
of Representatives:

H.R. 1291. An act for the relief of the chil-
dren of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Dombrowski;

H.R. 7181. An act to provide for the com-
memoration of certain historical events in
the State of Kansas, and for other purposes;
and

H.J. Res. 95. Joint resolution to designate
the lake to be formed by the waters im-
pounded by Stanford Dam, Canadian River
project, Texas, as "Lake Meredith."

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by
unanimous consent, the Subcommittee
on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights
of the Judiciary Committee was author-
ized to meet during the session of the
Senate today.

On request of Mr. NELSON, and by
unanimous consent, the Subcommittee
on Constitutional Amendments of the
Committee on the Judiciary was author-
ized to meet during the session of the
Senate today.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask
unanimous consent that the Subcom-
mittee on Constitutional Rights of the
Judiciary Committee be authorized to
meet during the session of the Senate
today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without ob-
jection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZATION TO HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., OF MASSACHU- SETTS, TO ACCEPT A FOREIGN DECORATION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I
ask unanimous consent that the Senate
proceed to the consideration of Calendar
No. 605, H.R. 10132.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will
be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R.
10132) to authorize the Honorable JO-
SEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of Massachusetts,
former Speaker of the House of Repre-
sentatives, to accept the award of the
Military Order of Christ with the rank of
grand officer.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there ob-
jection to the request of the Senator
from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate
proceeded to consider the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is
open to amendment. If there be no
amendment to be proposed, the question
is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to a third reading,
read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I
ask unanimous consent to have printed
in the RECORD an excerpt from the report
(No. 622), explaining the purposes of the
bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt
was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,
as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

This bill will authorize the Honorable
JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of Massachusetts,
former Speaker of the House of Represen-
tatives, to accept the award of the Military
Order of Christ with the rank of grand officer
tendered by the Government of Portugal, to-
gether with any decorations and documents
evinced this award, and will give the con-
sent of the Congress to such acceptance as
required by section 9, article I of the Con-
stitution.

BACKGROUND

The Constitution provides in article I,
section 9, paragraph 8:

"No person holding any office of profit or
trust under [the United States] * * * shall,
without the consent of the Congress, accept
of any present, emolument, office, or title,
of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or
foreign state."

An Executive order of April 13, 1954, ap-
plicable to employees of the executive
branch, further provides that no department
is to request congressional approval for ac-
ceptance of such gifts by any employee until
that employee has retired and that each
agency transmit to the Secretary of State a
list of its retired personnel for whom the
department is holding decorations, etc., and
directs the Secretary to compile an omnibus
list of such retired persons for submission to
every other Congress. This order does not
apply to the legislative and judicial
branches.

Since the end of World War II, Congress
has authorized the following incumbent
Members to accept foreign decorations:
Speaker Sam Rayburn (1956), Senator Wil-
liam F. Knowland (1956), and Representa-
tives JOHN W. MCCORMACK and JOHN J.
ROONEY (1957). All of these bills were
passed in the Senate without reference to
the committee.

Since 1957 it has been the practice of the Committee on Foreign Relations not to act favorably on bills authorizing the acceptance of awards by incumbent Members of Congress. In fact last year the Senate adopted a committee amendment striking from omnibus foreign decorations legislation the name of one incumbent Congressman. The committee's report at that time (S. Rept. 1520, Sept. 1, 1964) explained that—"this action constitutes no reflection on the individual involved or the donor government, but merely represents the committee's traditional views in matters of this kind. On at least 13 occasions, the committee has refused to approve the delivery of decorations, awards, or presents to incumbent Members of Congress."

This still remains the policy of the committee. The committee stresses that its approval of H.R. 10132 does not constitute a precedent for future such approvals, but is recognition of the high and distinguished office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, which the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., filled with great distinction.

Because of this factor, the committee voted to report H.R. 10132 favorably to the Senate and recommend that the Senate enact the bill.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of Charles R. Simpson, of Illinois, to be a judge of the Tax Court of the United States, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. HILL, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

Stephen Potkay, and sundry other persons, for personnel action in the regular corps of the Public Health Service; and

Douglas L. Johnson, and sundry other persons, for personnel action in the regular corps of the Public Health Service.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, from the Committee on Armed Services, I report favorably the nominations of 15 brigadier generals and 40 major generals for temporary appointments in the Air Force. I ask that these names be printed on the Executive Calendar.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar, are as follows:

Brig. Gen. William E. Creer, Regular Air Force, and sundry other officers, for temporary appointments in the Air Force.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, in addition, I report favorably the nominations of 51 officers for appointments in the Regular Air Force in grades not above that of captain. Since these names have already been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in order to save the expense of printing on the Executive Calendar, I ask unanimous consent that they be ordered to lie on the Secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to lie on the desk, are as follows:

John D. Best, and sundry other persons, for appointment in the Regular Air Force; and

Walter D. Alexander, Jr., and sundry other distinguished military students of the Air Force Reserve Officers' Training Corps, for appointment in the Regular Air Force.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of John E. Maguire, Sr., of Florida, to be U.S. marshal for the middle district of Florida for a term of 4 years.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE

The Chief Clerk read the nomination of Anthony J. Celebrezze, of Ohio, to be U.S. circuit judge, in the Sixth Circuit.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to say a few words in relation to the elevation, if such it is, of the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Anthony J. Celebrezze, to be a U.S. circuit judge for the Sixth Circuit. I suppose now he should be referred to as Judge Celebrezze. He has made an outstanding record as Secretary for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He has been of inestimable benefit to the leadership in considering proposed legislation which came from his Department. He has shown a sure touch, a common touch, and a recognition of the needs of the people of our country, which I believe speaks well for a man of his caliber.

Personally, I do not like to see him leave the Cabinet of the President, but I feel that he is entitled to this new position. I wish him well. All those who come before him can be sure that they will receive fair, impartial, and just consideration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, the time necessary for the quorum call to be taken from the time allocated to the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA].

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] will permit me to do so, I should like to yield 4 minutes to my colleague from Montana [Mr. METCALF].

Mr. PROUTY. I am happy to have the Senator from Montana proceed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. METCALF. I thank my colleague, and I thank the Senator from Vermont.

From time to time I have read editorials and seen articles criticizing the operation of the Economic Opportunity Act with respect to the American Indian. I have had prepared a general statement as to how the act has operated for these impoverished areas of America and these impoverished individuals.

At times Indian tribes have worked with their local communities in local operations such as Project Head Start or community action programs. At other times, under the special provisions of the act that goes through all the various titles, they have had an opportunity to work as a tribal council, and they have had their own programs and their own organizations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the general summary to which I have referred, together with a table of the various Indian organizations, be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I point out, however, that encouraging as is the picture so far as Indians and Indian tribes are concerned, a statement from a Montana member of the tribal council has brought into focus the fact that even though we have better schooling for our Indian people through Operation Head Start and we have in operation a program which has the possibility of enabling these people to help themselves, the people on the Indian res-

ervations need jobs. For example, we have a report that more than 60,000 of the labor force of 116,000 Indians on the reservations are currently unemployed. So these programs, desirable and as worth while as they are, and working as well as they have worked, still do not reach the primary trouble on Indian reservations—the need for jobs on reservations to put 60,000 people to work.

Welfare is fine and keeps the Indians from starving, but welfare is not the answer to people who have demonstrated ability to handle difficult problems, such as the manufacture of chemicals, the manufacture of electronic equipment, and so forth, once given the opportunity.

I am grateful that the program has worked so well and has done so much for the Indians and the reservations. I am glad to be able to put this report in the RECORD. But we have only begun to take care of a serious American problem.

I thank the Senator from Montana and the Senator from Vermont.

EXHIBIT 1

GENERAL STATEMENT: AMERICAN INDIANS— ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

Indians have generally responded well to the opportunities provided under the Economic Opportunity Act. Most of the programs provided under the various titles of the act are complementary to Bureau of Indian Affairs' programs, and Indian applicants are familiar with the benefits to be derived.

The work-training program, title I-B, has made possible a tremendous expansion in summer program activity for Indian young people. Indian communities have submitted more than 50 Neighborhood Youth Corps proposals, to cost more than \$6 million, and to employ and train more than 9,000 Indian young people.

Work-study funds, under title I-C, will be available at many colleges and universities next school year, and many of the 3,600 or more Indian students who will be enrolled in colleges next fall will be eligible to supplement their income through employment on the work-study program. Colleges and universities are also being encouraged to establish off-campus work-study programs on Indian reservations, and assign Indian and non-Indian students to employment at these locations during the summer months.

More than 60 Indian communities have submitted community action programs under title II, with emphasis on extending educational programs of various types and at all grade levels. These communities have requested more than \$10 million for these programs. Approximately half of the programs have been approved, but regrettably, only a half dozen have been funded and are operating at this time.

The Head Start program for preschool youngsters has gained response from communities with predominantly Indian population which was prompt and gratifying—if all the requested programs are approved and funded, more than 10,000 Indian children will enroll in this program this summer, at a cost of more than \$1½ million.

Encouraging as this picture is, a statement

by a member of the tribal council on a Montana reservation brings into sharp focus a need which is not being met by the anti-poverty program.

"Better schooling and training for our young people is all right, but what we really need is jobs here on the reservation * * * if our people have to leave the reservation to work this summer, the kids won't be here for these programs they are talking about."

A member of a South Dakota tribe says, "I believe if they create some nonskilled labor projects so all can work in such projects." A Sioux girl writes, "If some kind of project were set up at the reservation for Indian men and women to work at and earn their financial needs, they would send more of their children to school."

Family counseling, employment counseling, and motivation toward self-sufficiency through employment, all become rather meaningless when conducted in the deadly apathy of the reservation where earned income is the exception. In a situation where efforts are being made to establish a strong family base from which youngsters can emerge equipped to compete for an adequate living, a father with no job—or who earns less than his son earns on a high school work-training program, is usually not the model on which the children will mold desirable attitudes and motivations.

Unearned income—public assistance—is a necessity for some, but without constant attention and drive toward motivation, it can be self-perpetuating.

In March 1965, preliminary tabulations show Indian reservations reported a labor force of some 116,000 of whom more than 60,000 were unemployed. Yet, these same people respond well when work opportunities are immediately available.

If each reservation had approved work projects to which workers—male and female—of all age groups, depending only on their need for a job, could be employed, the counseling, training, and motivation programs could be conducted in a meaningful and realistic atmosphere.

SUMMARY STATEMENT: AMERICAN INDIANS— ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

American Indians are participating in all programs authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The extent of Indian participation may be summarized as follows:

Job Corps

Ten conservation centers have been approved for construction on Indian reservations. They are: Winslow in Arizona, and Mexican Springs in New Mexico, on the Navajo Reservation; Poston, Colorado River Reservation, and San Carlos, San Carlos Reservation in Arizona; Eight Canyon, Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico; Chippewa Ranch, White Earth Reservation in Minnesota; Kicking Horse, Flathead Reservation in Montana; Swiftbird, Cheyenne River Reservation in South Dakota; and Neah Bay, Makah Reservation; and Fort Simcoe, Yakima Reservation in Washington. An amount of \$5,243,775 has been allotted for the construction of these centers and \$2,506,346 for equipping and operating them for a total of \$7,750,129. Two centers are in operation—Winslow on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona, and Neah Bay on the Makah Reservation in Washington. The size of the centers vary from 100 to 250; the Swiftbird Conservation Center in South Dakota is planned for 250.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

The Neighborhood Youth Corps program provides work-training opportunities for young men and women aged 16 to 21 while in school and out of school. Fifty-five Indian communities have submitted programs; of these, 27 have been approved for an amount of \$3,500,000. More than 9,000 Indian young men and women will participate. These young people will work part-time in hospitals, schools, libraries, Government offices, and with private, nonprofit agencies while completing high school.

Operation Head Start

This program assists communities who will organize and operate preschool programs that will ease the adjustment of young children entering school for the first time this fall. Health services, as well as verbal skills, development and identification of special abilities are the purposes of the program. Of 20 applications for funds submitted by Indian tribal groups, 18 have been approved to serve more than 1,600 children at a total cost of \$271,000, in addition, more than 65 local school districts in predominantly Indian areas are sponsoring Head Start programs to include over 9,000 children. More than \$2 million has been committed for these programs.

VISTA

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)—the Domestic Peace Corps—have already 18 workers assigned to Indian reservations and have scheduled classes to train several hundred more volunteers requested by Indian groups. More than 400 requests have been received from the Indian people and it is anticipated that more requests will be made.

Community action program

Indian communities have submitted 66 requests for community action programs, totaling more than \$10 million. There have been 26 programs approved for an amount of more than \$2,500,000. Included in the proposals, have been requests for adult enrichment programs; evening study halls for students; nursery schools and day care centers for children of working parents; family counseling and guidance clinics; preemployment training for service jobs; homemaker's service; manpower availability surveys of reservations, and a proposal to preserve for posterity Indian legends, folklore, tribal and family histories on recordings prepared by tribal elders.

Title III, small loans to individual families

About 150 individual loans have been approved. It is estimated that loans average \$1,700, ranging from a minimum of \$300 to the maximum of \$2,500.

Title IV, loans to small businesses

One loan has been approved to an Indian logger on the White Earth Reservation for an amount of \$7,500. With this loan he expects to be able to employ an additional five to ten men.

Title V, work-experience programs

Title V of the act offers unemployed adult Indian workers an opportunity to be employed and trained for permanent employment. Two work-experience programs thus far have been approved. These are at Turtle Mountain, N. Dak., for \$458,400 and at Fort McDermitt, Nev., for an amount of \$180,700.

	Aberdeen	Anadarko	Muskogee	Billings	Gallup	Juneau	Minneapolis	Phoenix (California 1 NYC program)	Portland	Central office (Seminole and Cherokee)	Total
Community action programs:											
Number submitted.....	9	None	2	4	11	2	14	14	8	2	66
Amount of funds.....	\$2,038,256		\$90,000	\$439,942	\$2,327,887	\$61,422	\$2,411,654	\$1,423,531	\$753,445	\$571,010	\$10,117,147
Number approved.....	4		None	None	7	None	7	5	3	None	26
Amount of funds.....	\$360,246		None	None	\$1,060,407	None	\$611,371	\$327,070	\$91,115	None	\$2,450,209
Head Start (tribal sponsored):											
Number submitted.....	6	None	1	2	1	None	3	2	4	1	20
Number of students.....	468		120	221	60	None	242	376	142	16	1,645
Amount of funds.....	\$92,414		\$20,125	\$30,577	\$13,441	None	\$36,346	\$53,061	\$21,879	3,647	\$271,490
Head Start (community proposals that include Indians):											
Number submitted.....	4		35	6	8	10	1	2	1	2	69
Number students.....	256		2,032	315	2,418	2,377	60	260	20	1,575	9,913
Amount of funds.....	\$44,214		\$400,083	\$58,140	\$396,723	\$1,044,699	\$11,658	\$37,372	\$3,543	\$249,937	\$2,246,379
Work training, Neighborhood Youth Corps:											
Number submitted.....	14	2	6	4	3	3	1	15	6	1	55
Number of workers.....	1,429	97	3,317	242	945	625	40	1,817	329	149	8,990
Amount of funds.....	\$679,786	\$79,195	\$1,613,075	\$131,167	\$603,395	\$1,383,522	\$47,344	\$1,058,940	\$109,003	\$145,900	\$5,871,327
Number approved.....	7	1	5	1	2	1	None	7	3	None	27
Amount of funds.....	\$366,057	\$49,600	\$864,820	\$43,890	\$215,160	\$1,179,700	None	\$812,300	\$25,635	None	\$3,557,162
VISTA workers:											
Number requested.....	56			40	37	51	51	96	60	16	407
Number approved.....	33	None	None	None	0	0	49	10	None	0	92
Number assigned.....	6			None	0	0	8	4	None	0	18

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] is recognized. How much time does the Senator yield to himself?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The amendment would permit the Governor of each State to veto title I and title 2 projects, which would promote abuses and prevent the proper execution of such projects.

The amendment would not restore the full Governor's veto in existing law which the committee deleted, but it permit the Governor of each State to veto projects which would promote or permit outrageous abuses.

Under the amendment, a Governor could disapprove a plan where such a plan would—

First. Provide for or permit the payment of excessive salaries greater in amount than the annual salary of the highest State welfare official, thereby denying a proper proportion of aid to the poor.

Second. Permit political exploitation of the poor.

Third. Ignore or deny the rights of poor people to adequate participation in the planning and administration of projects.

Fourth. Ignore or deny the rights of poor people to effective representation on the governing or policy advisory boards of community action agencies.

Fifth. Permit a person convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude to become or remain an officer or employee of an agency conducting a community action program if such person would have an unwholesome influence on the poor people to be served by such agency.

Sixth. If executed, create great social unrest and serious disturbances of the peace.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, it seems to me that we are reaching the point where we are losing count of the number of times we have voted on this precise issue in principle.

It is true that the language of each amendment that has been offered in the past 2 or 3 days on the subject of the Governors' veto is somewhat different from the previous amendment, but in each case the intent is the same.

The Senate thus far has turned down each of the amendments by a very close margin. Nevertheless, I believe it is obvious that the will of the Senate is to accept the present committee position.

I hope that each Senator, regardless of his position on the basic issue, will study the language before he decides whether or not to have his name recorded in favor of the provisions of this amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum?

Mr. NELSON. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. It will be a live quorum.

Mr. PROUTY. I do not desire a live quorum at this time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Very well. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT: The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am greatly disappointed that the Senate has rejected by very close margins various amendments which would retain in whole or in part the Governor's right of veto under various projects in this program. The defeat of these amendments will substitute for the judgment of the Governors the opinion of remote bureaucrats in Washington who have little contact or knowledge about the problems of the poor in a local situation.

At a recent Governors' conference, a resolution urging Congress to keep the Governor's veto was adopted with but one dissenting vote.

My own convictions are clear. I firmly believe that the chief executive of each State should have the right to disapprove any project or activity if he feels this project or activity is not in the public interest.

However, those of us who hold this view have been defeated by the narrowest of margins and I now submit an amendment which permits a Governor to veto projects only where they would promote or permit outrageous abuses.

Under this limited veto proposal, a Governor could veto a plan which provides for or permits the payment of excessive salaries greater in amount than the annual salary of the highest State welfare official, thereby denying a proper proportion of aid to the poor.

Certainly a veto in this type of situation is absolutely justified. A man who heads up a neighborhood agency or a local or citywide project should not be paid a salary greater than the chief State welfare official whose authority and responsibility cover a great deal more territory and people.

Where excessive salaries are paid, the poor are denied their proper proportion of aid, and the Governor certainly ought to be able to disapprove such flagrant abuses.

The second situation in which my amendment would permit a Governor to exercise his veto power would be where a project is not designed to elevate the poor and give them a fair chance to succeed, but is instead designed to exploit the poor for political purposes.

We have seen many instances of the distortion of the antipoverty program for political purposes. Jobs have been passed out to ward heelers and political bosses who know how to exploit the poor, while worthy applicants trained in social work have been shunted aside.

"Giant fiestas of political patronage." These are the words used by Chairman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL of the House Education and Labor Committee in describing the actual operation of the war on poverty.

Indeed, one Chicago clergyman said:

How do you think we poor feel when we know that men who drive Cadillacs, eat 3-inch steaks, and sip champagne at luncheon meetings, discuss our future while we are pushed off the highways of self-help and told to keep our hats in hand.

When a Governor sees that a project is designed for political exploitation of the poor, should he not have the full authority and power to stop such outrageous activities?

Another case in which the Governor would be permitted to have the power of disapproval would be where a particular project is so drawn as to ignore or deny the rights of poor people to adequate participation in its planning and administration, or where the plan is so drawn as to ignore or deny the rights of poor people to effective representation on the governing- or policy advisory boards of community action agencies.

We have seen case after case where political hacks from wealthy suburbs sit on the governing boards of community action agencies while able poor folks who know the people and problems of a given area are silenced and kicked out of the decisionmaking process.

When we have a farm program, we consult the farmers. When we have a housing program, we seek out those who know something about housing. How then, in Heaven's name, can we have projects and programs that will effectively aid poor people without giving any voice to those who were born in poverty, who have lived in poverty, and who want to escape from poverty.

Mr. President, my amendment would also permit a Governor to veto a project which would permit a person convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude to become or remain an officer or an employee of an agency conducting a community action program if such person would have an unwholesome influence on the poor people to be served by the agency.

One Governor brought to my attention an antipoverty program headed by a man who had been engaged for a long time in all kinds of shady operations, in collecting or extorting money from various groups. In fact, this racketeer had collected fees from hundreds of war veterans under the phony guise that he could be of assistance to them.

How is the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington to know about shady individuals such as this? Do we want men such as the one I have just mentioned, who have a record of cheating veterans or poor people, to run the antipoverty programs? Or do we want a Governor to be able to nail a known thief in his tracks and require that he be ousted before project approval is given?

In his minority views, cosigned by Senators FANNIN and MURPHY, the distinguished junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] points out that in Arizona a man was hired to serve in a community action program. Among his qualifications were two convictions for grave offenses. These were not old crimes but recent ones. In 1960 the individual was jailed for violation of elec-

tion laws, and in 1964 he was imprisoned for falsifying documents.

My limited veto amendment would permit a Governor to disapprove a plan if an exconvict heads up or works for an agency conducting a community action program, if he feels that the exconvict would have an unwholesome influence on the project.

Moreover, my amendment would allow a Governor to disapprove a plan which, if carried out, would cause great social unrest and serious disturbances of the peace.

Nothing can ruin a program quicker than public dissatisfaction. And if a project tends to divide rather than unite people, or if it is calculated to divert aid away from those for whom aid was intended, then certainly we are going to have great social unrest and serious disturbances of the peace.

We cannot raise the hopes of poor people—lead them to believe they are on their way out of a rut into a new life—and then present them with a project that they know is a hoax from start to finish.

Such a project will only result in upheaval and strife among our people, and a Governor should have the right to strike at trouble before trouble begins.

In summary, Mr. President, my amendment would not permit a Governor to veto a title I or title II project for trifling or petty considerations. But it would allow him to stop projects which would promote and permit abuses of the antipoverty program.

The amendment would give the Governor of a State the power to veto a plan only if the plan would:

First. Provide for or permit the payment of excessive salaries greater in amount than the annual salary of the highest State welfare official, thereby denying a proper proportion of aid to the poor;

Second. Permit political exploitation of the poor;

Third. Ignore or deny the rights of poor people to adequate participation in the planning and administration of projects;

Fourth. Ignore or deny the rights of poor people to effective representation on the governing or policy advisory boards of community action agencies;

Fifth. Permit a person convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude to become or remain an officer or employee of an agency conducting a community action program if such person would have an unwholesome influence on the poor people to be served by such agency;

Sixth. If executed, create great social unrest and serious disturbances of the peace.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PELL in the chair). The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized. How much time does he yield himself?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the six

provisions listed by the distinguished Senator from Vermont as grounds for a Governor's veto of any plan, contract, or agreement, would cover every conceivable circumstance. Since the Governor would be the one to make the decision, he could decide in any case that a plan would create social unrest or a serious disturbance of the peace. I believe that perhaps it would be better to shorten the amendment and provide that the Governor could, at his whim, decide whether to veto a plan. That would accomplish the same purpose. It would allow the Governor to veto any plan that he saw fit to veto, for any reason that occurred to him, particularly since item No. 6 would leave it in his discretion to make a decision as to whether social unrest would be created as a consequence of the proposed action. There would be no appeal from that action.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I point out that this amendment would merely establish certain criteria which the Governor would have to follow. The Governor of any State would be conscious of the problems within that State. He would be concerned with the problems and interests of the voters and constituents of that State.

I am sure that the Governor would not take any advantage of the authority granted under this limited veto approach.

I believe that this is something that is desperately needed. We have seen many examples in the administration of the program in which politics has raised its ugly head. The poor have been ignored in some cases, and many other things have happened which could not be justified.

It is only in the hope that we can prevent these things from happening in the future that we attempt to place the responsibility in the hands of the Governor. However, by the same token, the Governor must be guided by these criteria. No Governor would take action contrary to the general interests of the State over which he is presiding.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, under title VI the Governor might require that any agreement, plan, or contract be amended to comply precisely with whatever his wish might be. If such amendment were not made, the Governor would be able to say that such plan, contract, or agreement would create social unrest and that he would therefore veto it.

I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time if the Senator from Vermont is.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am not prepared to yield back the remainder of my time. I shall perhaps suggest a live quorum at this time.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask that I be permitted to speak for 3 minutes.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Kentucky.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky is recognized for 3 minutes.

SPECIAL INDEMNITY INSURANCE FOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES SERVING IN COMBAT ZONES

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate reconsider the third reading of S. 2127 and the vote by which the bill was passed, and proceed to the immediate consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2127) to amend title 38, United States Code, in order to provide special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Kentucky?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to reconsider the bill.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment. I have cleared this matter with both the author of the bill, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], and with the Senator in charge of the bill, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to add a new paragraph.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with, but that it be printed in the RECORD. I shall explain the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

At the end of the bill add a new paragraph, as follows:

"(6) Section 3107 of such title is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

"(d) If the surviving spouse of a deceased person covered by indemnity insurance has remarried, or if any of such person's children are not in the custody of a surviving spouse, all or any part of the indemnity insurance otherwise payable to such spouse may be apportioned on behalf of surviving children or parents as may be prescribed by the Administrator."

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, this is an amendment to the bill that was passed on the call of the calendar yesterday. It deals with indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces killed in combat zones, specifically Vietnam at the present time.

Under the present law, any pension, compensation, or indemnity payment can be divided between a widow and the children, or in any way that the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration chooses to divide it.

A young man who was married and had 2 small children was killed in Vietnam. At the time of his death, he was

legally separated from his wife, but she had the children. He had made her the beneficiary of anything that would accrue to his estate as a result of his death.

Subsequently, she had remarried. The children are now with the grandparents, the mother and father of the boy who was killed. The boy's father is a retired lieutenant colonel in the Air Force. The grandparents are raising the children.

The issue is how to divide the \$10,000. Under all existing laws, the money could be divided as the Administrator wished to divide it or as he considers proper and just. However, under the bill that was passed yesterday, it would be mandatory that the money go to the widow who has remarried and has adequate support, but who is not supporting her own children. The children are in the hands of the grandparents.

This amendment would permit the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration, if, in his judgment, he thinks it is right, to divide the amount in such manner as he considers is just.

I have discussed this amendment with the author of the bill, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], and with the Senator in charge of the bill, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG]. They have both agreed to accept the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Kentucky.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

The bill was passed, as follows:

S. 2127

An Act to amend title 38, United States Code, in order to provide special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 19 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"§ 789. Special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones

"(a) Any person on active duty with the Armed Forces in a combat zone shall, as provided in this section, be automatically insured by the United States, without cost to such person, against death in the principal amount of \$10,000. Such person shall be insured during the time that he serves in a combat zone, and shall be deemed to have been serving in a combat zone at the time of his death if he dies outside of a combat zone and (1) his death is determined by the Administrator to have been the direct result of an injury or disease incurred while serving in a combat zone, and (2) the injury or disease from which such person died was incurred not more than two years prior to death.

"(b) Upon certification by the Secretary of the military department concerned of the death of any person automatically insured

under this section, the Administrator shall cause the indemnity to be paid as provided in subsection (c) only to the surviving spouse, child or children (including a stepchild, adopted child, or an illegitimate child if the latter was designated as beneficiary by the insured), parent (including a stepparent, parent by adoption, or person who stood in loco parentis to the insured at any time prior to entry into the active service for a period of not less than one year), brother, or sister of the insured, including those of the half-blood and those through adoption. The insured shall have the right to designate the beneficiary or beneficiaries of the indemnity within the classes herein provided; to designate the proportion of the principal amount to be paid to each; and to change the beneficiary or beneficiaries without the consent thereof but only within the classes herein provided. If the designated beneficiary or beneficiaries do not survive the insured, or if none has been designated, the Administrator shall make payment of the indemnity to the first eligible class of beneficiaries according to the order set forth above, and in equal shares if the class is composed of more than one person. Unless designated otherwise by the insured, the term 'parent' shall include only the mother and father who last bore that relationship to the insured. Any installments of an indemnity not paid to a beneficiary during such beneficiary's lifetime shall be paid to the named contingent beneficiary, if any; otherwise, to the beneficiary or beneficiaries within the permitted class next entitled to priority, but no payment shall be made to the estate of any deceased person.

"(c) The indemnity shall be payable in equal monthly installments of one hundred and twenty in number with interest at the rate of 2¼ per centum per annum.

"(d) In the event any person was covered at the time of his death by automatic indemnity under this section and was also insured against such death under a contract of national service life insurance or United States Government life insurance, the indemnity authorized to be paid hereunder shall be a principal amount equal to the difference between the amount of insurance in force at the time of death and \$10,000.

"(e) The Administrator is authorized to promulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with this section, as are necessary or appropriate to carry out its purposes.

"(f) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section for the payment of liabilities under this section.

"(g) Any person guilty of mutiny, treason, spying, or desertion shall forfeit all rights to an indemnity under this section, but restoration to active duty after commission of any such offense shall restore all rights under this section. No indemnity shall be payable for death inflicted as a lawful punishment for crime or for military or naval offense, except when inflicted by an enemy, as defined by the President.

"(h) As used in this section the term 'combat zone' means any area outside the United States determined by the President to be an area in which units of the Armed Forces of the United States have engaged in combat operations on or after January 1, 1962, and before such date as may be determined by Presidential proclamation."

(b) The analysis of subchapter III of chapter 19 of such title is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"789. Special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones."

SEC. 2. Title 38, United States Code, is further amended as follows:

(1) Section 417(a) is amended—

(A) By deleting therefrom the words "under section 724 of this title" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "in effect on January 1, 1969, and continued in effect under section 724(a) of this title".

(B) By adding at the end thereof the following: "The prohibition against the payment of dependency and indemnity compensation contained in this subsection shall not apply to insureds who on or after the effective date of this amendment die while on active duty in a combat zone as defined in section 789 of this title, or within 120 days after duty in such a zone, or (1) whose death is determined by the Administrator to have been the direct result of an injury or disease incurred while serving in a combat zone, and (2) the injury or disease from which such person died was incurred not more than two years prior to death."

(2) Delete from the last sentence of subsection (c) of section 704 the words "or section 725" each time they appear and insert in lieu thereof the words "section 725, or section 726".

(3) Subsection (b) of section 724 is repealed and the following new subsections are added to section 724:

"(b) After the date of enactment of this subsection any person who is on active duty with the Armed Forces in a combat zone, as defined in section 789 of this title, for a continuous period of 30 days or more and any person hereafter ordered to such duty under orders for 30 days or more in such a combat zone, who is insured under National Service Life Insurance or United States Government Life Insurance shall be entitled, upon written application, to a waiver (with the right to a refund after termination of such duty) of all premiums paid on term insurance and that portion of any permanent insurance premiums paid representing the cost of the pure insurance risk, as determined by the Administrator. All premiums due during the period the waiver is in effect must be timely paid to maintain the insurance in force. Such waiver shall apply to premiums becoming due after the first day of the first calendar month following the date of enactment of this subsection, or the first day of the first calendar month following entry on active duty with the Armed Forces in such a combat zone, whichever is the later date, and during the remainder of such continuous active duty in a combat zone for 120 days thereafter; however, no premium becoming due prior to the date of application for waiver under this subsection shall be waived or refunded. Any premium waiver granted under this subsection on a participating contract of insurance shall render such insurance nonparticipating during the period such premium waiver is in effect. Upon certification of the period of combat zone duty by the Secretary of the military department concerned, and upon application by the insured, or in death cases by the beneficiary of his insurance, the Administrator shall refund to the insured or to the beneficiary the amount of premiums waived under this subsection. Premiums on term insurance waived under this subsection shall be refunded with interest as determined by the Administrator.

"(c) Whenever benefits become payable because of the maturity of such insurance while under the premium waiver provided by this section, liability for the payment of such benefits shall be borne by the United States in an amount which, when added to any reserve of the policy at the time of maturity, will equal the then value of such benefits under such policy. Where life contingencies are involved in the calculation of the value of such benefits, the calculation of such liability or liabilities shall be based upon such mortality table or tables as the Administrator may prescribe with interest at the rate of 3 per centum per annum as to

National Service Life Insurance which was participating before waiver was granted, and 3½ per centum per annum as to United States Government Life Insurance. The Administrator shall transfer from time to time from the National Service Life Insurance appropriation to the National Service Life Insurance Fund and from the Military and Naval Insurance appropriation to the United States Government Life Insurance Fund such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section."

(4) Subchapter I of chapter 19, of such title is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"§ 726. Post-service insurance for persons serving in combat zones

"(a) Any person entitled to indemnity protection under section 789 of this title who is ordered to active duty with the Armed Forces in a combat zone as defined in such section for a period of 30 days or more, or who served in such zone for 30 days or more, shall, upon application in writing made within 120 days after separation from active duty and payment of premiums as hereinafter provided, and without medical examination, be granted insurance. The insurance granted under this section shall be issued upon the same terms and conditions as are contained in standard policies of National Service Life Insurance except (1) term insurance may not be renewed on the term plan after the insured's 50th birthday; (2) the premium rates for term or permanent plan insurance shall be based on the 1958 Commissioners Standard Ordinary Mortality Table; (3) all cash, loan, extended and paid-up insurance values shall be based on the 1958 Commissioners Standard Ordinary Mortality Table; (4) all settlements on policies involving annuities shall be calculated on the basis of the Annuity Table for 1949; (5) all calculations in connection with insurance issued under this subsection shall be based on interest at the rate of 3½ per centum per annum; (6) the insurance shall include such other changes in terms and conditions as the Administrator determines to be reasonable and practicable; (7) the insurance and any total disability income provisions attached thereto shall be on a nonparticipating basis and all premiums and other collections therefor shall be credited to a revolving fund established in the Treasury of the United States and the payments on such insurance and total disability provision shall be made directly from such fund. Appropriations to such fund are hereby authorized.

"(b) The Administrator is authorized to set aside out of the revolving fund established under subsection (a) of this section such reserve amounts as may be required under accepted actuarial principles to meet all liabilities on insurance issued thereunder and any total disability income provision attached thereto. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to invest in and to sell and retire special interest-bearing obligations of the United States for the account of the revolving fund. Such obligations issued for this purpose shall have maturities fixed with due regard for the needs of the fund and shall bear interest at a rate equal to the average market yield (computed by the Secretary of the Treasury on the basis of market quotations as of the end of the calendar month next preceding the date of issue) on all marketable interest-bearing obligations of the United States then forming a part of the public debt which are not due or callable until after the expiration of four years from the end of such calendar month; except that where such average market yield is not a multiple of one-eighth of 1 per centum, the rate of interest of such obligation shall be the multiple of one-eighth of 1 per centum nearest such market yield."

(5) The analysis of subchapter I of chap-

ter 19 of such title is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"726. Post service insurance for persons serving in combat zones."

(6) Section 3107 of such title is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

"(d) If the surviving spouse of a deceased person covered by indemnity insurance has remarried, or if any of such person's children are not in the custody of a surviving spouse, all or any part of the indemnity insurance otherwise payable to such spouse may be apportioned on behalf of surviving children or parents as may be prescribed by the Administrator."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1196) for the relief of Wright G. James, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 7750) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5519) to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize language training to be given to a dependent of a member of the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps under certain circumstances.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5768) to extend for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. MILLS, Mr. KING of California, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. KEOGH, Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin, Mr. CURTIS, and Mr. UTT were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 7969) to correct certain errors in the Tariff Schedules of the United States; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. MILLS, Mr. KING of California, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. KEOGH, Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin, Mr. CURTIS, and Mr. UTT were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 1319) for the relief of Joseph Durante, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 1319) for the relief of Joseph Durante, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and it will be a live quorum. I hope the attachés of the Senate will notify Senators on the respective sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do Senators yield back their time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. No.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 226 Leg.]

Aiken	Harris	Moss
Allott	Hart	Mundt
Anderson	Hartke	Murphy
Bartlett	Hayden	Muskie
Bass	Hickenlooper	Nelson
Bayh	Hill	Neuberger
Bennett	Holland	Pastore
Bible	Hruska	Pearson
Boggs	Inouye	Pell
Brewster	Jackson	Prouty
Burdick	Javits	Proxmire
Byrd, Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Randolph
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Ribicoff
Cannon	Kennedy, Mass.	Robertson
Carlson	Kennedy, N.Y.	Russell, S.C.
Case	Kuchel	Russell, Ga.
Church	Lausche	Saltonstall
Cooper	Long, Mo.	Scott
Cotton	Long, La.	Simpson
Dirksen	Magnuson	Smith
Dodd	Mansfield	Stennis
Dominick	McClellan	Symington
Douglas	McGovern	Talmadge
Eastland	McIntyre	Thurmond
Ellender	Metcalf	Tower
Ervin	Miller	Tydings
Fannin	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Fong	Monroney	Williams, Del.
Fulbright	Montoya	Yarborough
Gore	Morse	Young, N. Dak.
Gruening	Morton	Young, Ohio

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, inasmuch as few Senators were able to be in the Chamber during the explanation of my amendment, I should like to go over it again briefly, and for that purpose yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the amendment grants to a Governor a limited veto. The Governor could disapprove a plan if such plan would—and I should like to emphasize this point—provide for or permit the payment of excessive salaries greater in amount than the annual salary of the highest State welfare official, thereby denying a proper proportion of aid to the poor.

I wonder how many Senators can conscientiously object to that proposal.

Second, it would outlaw political exploitation of the poor. Can any Senator, in good conscience, oppose that provision?

Third, it prevents antipoverty officials from ignoring or denying the right of poor people to adequate participation in planning and administering antipoverty projects. We have heard a great deal of discussion along that line, and it seems to me that in good conscience every Senator should support that part of the criteria.

Fourth, a Governor can veto a plan when it will ignore or deny the rights of the poor people to effective representation on the governing or policy advisory boards of community action agencies.

Fifth, a person convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude cannot contrive to be an officer or employee of an agency conducting a community action program if the Governor finds that such person would have an unwholesome influence on the poor people to be served by such program.

Sixth, the Governor would have the right to change a plan if, in his judgment, its execution would create social unrest and serious disturbances of the peace.

Mr. President, I should like to quote from "Conversations with Saul Alinsky, Part II," published in Harper's magazine for July 1965:

EXCERPTS FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH SAUL ALINSKY, PART II

The most important lesson is that people don't get opportunity or freedom or equality or dignity as a gift or an act of charity. They only get these things in the act of taking them through their own efforts. Nearly every American city still needs to learn the same thing.

That's why the poverty program is turning into a prize piece of political pornography. It's a huge political pork barrel, and a feeding trough for the welfare industry, surrounded by sanctimonious, hypocritical, phony, moralistic hogwash. For instance, in Chicago one of our top poverty officials is dragging down \$22,500 and before that he was making 14 grand. That's what I call really helping the poor. Directors of the baby city halls which are called Urban Progress Centers are getting about \$12,400. Before that they were averaging between \$8,000 and \$9,000. A police detective who was making \$7,000 is now a Credit Education Consultant (you figure out what that means) and he is getting \$10,000. People like that really know right down to the guts of their billfold what Johnson means by the Great Society. Across the country, city halls have their committees on economic opportunity to identify what they call positive and negative programs and leaders. Positive means you do whatever city hall tells you to do and negative means you are so subversive that you think for yourself.

Mr. Alinsky is certainly not a right-winger by any stretch of the imagination. He describes himself as a radical, a radical who is dedicated to help the poor.

I should like to quote from this morning's Washington Post:

In a telegram to Senator GEORGE MURPHY, Republican, of California, Yorty spoke of "a reckless effort to incite the poor for political purposes," adding that the funds held up by Washington "are our tax funds."

Meanwhile, the New York Herald Tribune News Service reported that Yorty wired President Johnson on May 24 and asked: "Does OEO really want to fight poverty or fight your friends?"

Yorty told the President, according to the report, that Los Angeles regional director for the Office of Economic Opportunity issued directives which he described as "confusing, changing, and chameleonic."

Shriver, at a Washington news conference, said he considered it "unfortunate that a few local officials in Los Angeles" were impeding the development of an antipoverty community action program for the city.

The people who are being helped under this program to a great degree are those who are administering the program. It seems to me that no Senator wishes to perpetuate this type of thing.

Therefore I hope very much that the Governors will be given a limited veto power. If the Governor of California had been aware of the situation in Los Angeles, perhaps the problem might never have arisen. No one can be sure about that, of course. But under the existing law he could have exercised sufficient influence to make sure that the Los Angeles program would be effective and would be highly valuable to the poor people of that city, for whom the program was designed. It seems to me that this is a reasonable and honest approach.

We could cite example after example in which great latitude has been taken by some of the people administering the program. It seems to me that in establishing these criteria we are in a position to say to a Governor, "It is your responsibility to see that these programs will be carried out effectively and primarily in the interest of the poor, and that the poor people will have representation on policy advisory boards."

The amendment is worthy of our serious consideration. I hope very much that the Senate will approve it.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. With regard to the remarks of the Senator from Vermont about Los Angeles, and to expand on the remarks made by the Senator, the mayor of Los Angeles and the members of the supervisory board of Los Angeles, and members of the assembly who had been working to put into operation a poverty program all agreed in my presence, as of last Monday, that there had been a continuing change of criteria on the part of the head of the office in Washington, Sargent Shriver, and that for a period of 2 months they had begged him to let them know what the guidelines would be. They had been continually changed. After 2 months, they were able to get

Mr. Berry, one of Sargent Shriver's assistants, to come out to Los Angeles. They asked me to come out, which I have done. They also asked Sargent Shriver to come out. They wanted to set up their committee. They are still in the process of setting up the committee to do the job, which very obviously has not been done. The poor have not been helped. The net result has been confusion and political partisanship. I might add that the partisanship is all within the Democratic Party.

I wish to associate myself with the Senator's amendment.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am grateful to the distinguished Senator from California. It seems to me that the people whom the program was designed to help in many instances have been exploited by those who are administering it. It seems to me that in the interest of simple justice and to bring about a workable, viable program, we should establish some guidelines. Within each State the Governor is in a position to determine far better than some bureaucrat in Washington the needs of his State and of the people who reside in the State.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. NELSON. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I wish to point out the fallacy in the argument that removing the Governor's veto is taking away a power that a Governor has. The Governor never had such vast power until we conferred it last year.

The Governor of my State, for example, cannot veto projects in our towns or cities. We have a home rule provision in our constitution providing that the State government cannot interfere in the affairs of counties or cities.

The majority on the committee merely proposes to return the powers of the Governor to the status in which it was before 1964. Our proposal is not an attempt to take away some powers which the Governor had before January 1, 1964; it is an endeavor to leave those powers where they were. The action in the committee applies only to locally initiated programs, the programs started by the people themselves. The provision would let the people in the State originate their own programs. It would preserve local self-government.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. BAYH in the chair). One minute remains on each side.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, to summarize, I wish to make unmistakably clear what the amendment would do. It would provide a limited veto for Governors.

The amendment would prohibit the payment of excessive salaries, salaries greater in amount than the annual sal-

ary of the highest State welfare official; thereby a proper proportion of aid to the poor would not be denied.

The amendment would prevent the political exploitation of the poor. It would prevent denying the right of poor people to actively participate in the planning and administration of projects. It would make it impossible to deny the rights of poor people to effective representation on governing or policy advisory board of community agencies.

The amendment would make it impossible for a person convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude to become or to remain in office or as an employee of an agency conducting a community action program if, in the judgment of a Governor, such person would have an unwholesome influence on the poor people to be served by such agency.

Lastly, if executed, a Governor could veto a program if, in his judgment, it would create great social unrest and serious disturbances of the peace.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield myself 30 seconds. I do not wish the record to be closed with the argument of the Senator from Vermont that the veto would be a limited veto.

Mr. President, the amendment would provide an unlimited veto by the Governor, since he would be empowered to veto any program if he should think that it would create social unrest. The provision would make the Governor of a State absolute dictator over all programs under the act.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. All time has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont to the committee amendment. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. RANDOLPH (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay"; if I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is

necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea" and the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 44, nays 48, as follows:

[No. 227 Leg.]

YEAS—44

Aiken	Fong	Prouty
Allott	Hickenlooper	Robertson
Bennett	Hill	Russell, S.C.
Boggs	Holland	Russell, Ga.
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Saltonstall
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Scott
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Simpson
Cooper	Kuchel	Smith
Cotton	Lausche	Stennis
Dirksen	McClellan	Talmadge
Dominick	Miller	Thurmond
Eastland	Morton	Tower
Ellender	Mundt	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Murphy	Young, N. Dak.
Fannin	Pearson	

NAYS—48

Anderson	Hart	Monroney
Bartlett	Hartke	Montoya
Bass	Hayden	Morse
Bayh	Inouye	Moss
Bible	Jackson	Muskie
Brewster	Javits	Nelson
Burdick	Kennedy, Mass.	Neuberger
Cannon	Kennedy, N.Y.	Pastore
Case	Long, Mo.	Pell
Church	Long, La.	Proxmire
Dodd	Magnuson	Ribicoff
Douglas	Mansfield	Symington
Fulbright	McGovern	Tydings
Gore	McIntyre	Williams, N.J.
Gruening	Metcalf	Yarborough
Harris	Mondale	Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—8

Clark	McGee	Smathers
Curtis	McNamara	Sparkman
McCarthy	Randolph	

So Mr. PROUTY's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment on which I shall probably not ask for a vote, if I may engage in a colloquy with the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. President, the amendment that I have sent to the desk should be stated at this point.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Colorado will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 15, between lines 18 and 19, in the committee amendment, insert the following new section:

JOB CORPS—PAYMENTS TO EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES PROHIBITED

SEC. 7. Subsection (e) of section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the period and adding after the word "terminated" the following: "Provided, however, That the Director shall make no payments to any individual or to any organization in compensation for the service or referring candidates for enrollment in the Corps or names of such candidates."

Renumber the following sections accordingly.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, reference has been made on a number of occasions to the fact that the Office of Economic Opportunity is paying private employment agencies \$80 for each person recruited and sent to a Job Corps. I should like to bring this practice to an end. If this practice is going on—and I have no reason to think it is not, in view of the testimony—it strikes me that a kind of bondage or bonded-labor type of operation is being practiced. An agency is paid \$80 to recruit labor at a low wage for a job project. In many cases it is a project in which the recruits have little or no interest.

The employment agency profits by sending unskilled labor and having the Office of Economic Opportunity, for the \$80, recommend that the man be sent to the Job Corps.

I wish to make it clear that Congress does not sanction this type of operation. An investigation should be made by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and wherever that practice is going on the director should issue rules to prevent the practice in the future.

I should like to have the opinion of the Senator from Wisconsin about an amendment such as I have offered.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I did not understand the Senator. Is the Senator saying that the Director has used some funds appropriated directly under the Department to pay an employment agency?

Mr. DOMINICK. No. I make no such accusation. What I am saying is that funds have been used from Job Corps appropriations to pay a private employment agency for recruiting and sending youths, both boys and girls, to the Job Corps.

Mr. NELSON. What I am trying to get clear is what funds have been used from the Job Corps.

Mr. DOMINICK. The funds to which I refer have been appropriated in general for title I of the bill and allocated by the OEO to the Job Corps.

Out of that general fund, they have been using a part of the money for payment to employment agencies for that purpose. That is a practice that ought to stop.

Mr. NELSON. Would not the Director have to approve such an expenditure? I assume that he would be in control of the program.

Mr. DOMINICK. He is a man of great talent. However, if he can approve of every individual expenditure that is made in the individual offices or by the administrator of each Job Corps project in each State, I would be surprised. I do not believe that he would have the time to do all that.

Mr. NELSON. Was there unrefuted testimony given to that effect before any of the committees?

Mr. DOMINICK. Not to my knowledge, on this particular point. The question came up during the debate.

A series of articles has brought out the fact that this is the practice in some parts of the country. It seems to me that, if it is, it ought to stop.

If the Senator would agree that we could establish a pattern declaring that

Congress does not approve of the practice and that the Director ought to take whatever steps were necessary to stop it, I would withdraw my amendment.

If the Senator from Wisconsin would listen to me for a moment, I shall read from an article from the most recent issue of U.S. News & World Report. This is on page 19882 of the RECORD. It reads as follows:

The Government, besides using the U.S. Employment Service, pays some private employment agencies \$80 per every youth accepted as a trainee.

One charge made is that some agencies, in order to collect as many \$80 fees as possible, often conceal from Government screeners the fact that some applicants have criminal records.

Standards for admission to the Job Corps—which is expected to number 40,000 by the end of this year—specifically bar criminals, drug addicts, and youths with serious emotional or psychological disorders.

Nevertheless, it is charged, hundreds of youths who have been involved in serious crimes have turned up at the camps.

Another complaint is that \$80-a-head recruiters lie to prospective enrollees about the type of training which is available and give them a false impression that life in the Job Corps is a "country club" existence.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I do not know anything about the accuracy of the assertions made there. However, as I understand, the amendment of the Senator is directed solely to the question of paying some private organization a fee for referring somebody for placement in the Job Corps.

Mr. DOMINICK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I am perfectly willing to accept the amendment and take it to conference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAYH in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] proposes an amendment, as follows:

On page 20, lines 3 and 4, strike out "repealed. Subsection '(d)' is redesignated '(c)'" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "amended by striking out 'title I and title II' and inserting in lieu thereof 'part A of title II' and is amended further by striking out 'any State or local public agency or'."

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment. The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, this amendment deals with the Governor's veto. We have not had much opportunity to discuss this amendment. I wish to discuss it once more.

I believe that this has perhaps as much substance as any previous amendment. They have all involved a great deal of substance and principle.

My amendment would provide that the Governor retain the right to veto any community action program run by a non-

governmental unit. In any case in which a community action program is headed by a governmental or quasi-governmental unit, the Governor's veto is not present. However, whenever the unit is headed by a so-called voluntary organization, a group of citizens who suddenly get together and decide that the project is of some interest to them, the Governor would have the right to exercise control by exercising his veto, or, at least, by threatening to exercise it, in order to make sure that what the private group is doing would fit in with other governmental efforts in this field.

I frankly cannot conceive of any more needed mechanism than this provision to try to coordinate the program for the aid of the deprived areas which we are trying to aid in this poverty war.

Here we have a situation in which community action programs have been under attack by Democratic mayors and Republican mayors, by Democratic Governors and by Republican Governors. We have a situation under which the existing program has been funded to the tune of \$259 million last year, and now suddenly it is proposed to expand the community action programs, already under attack, from \$259 million to \$850 million in 1 year, when the program is already subject to sharp criticism.

The only possible method that is provided in the act is the veto. The veto has been eliminated in the committee bill. Therefore, my position is to say, "All right. You have beaten everything else down. You said that you do not want the Governors to exercise any control over certain of these programs."

I say to you, at least let them have some control over the local organizations which are not affiliated with local or State governmental units." Let them have some control over the local voluntary groups which grow up like mushrooms whenever there is money available, whether or not such groups actually have the ability to accomplish anything.

How in the world are we going to be able to develop a meaningful exercise of a program of help to the poor unless we can coordinate programs, whether they are local, State, or Federal groups?

It strikes me that, with the information which has been presented on the floor in the past 2½ days, the need for this provision is crystal clear. I placed in the RECORD information with respect to the Ypsilanti township. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] discussed it. I asked the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] about it. He seemed to be somewhat confused about it.

Over \$188,000 of so-called poverty money was forced into a community that has the highest income level of any county in Michigan. When the elected official told the poverty program officials they did not know what they were talking about and asked them to take back the money and put it in the general fund so it could be used for the poor where it was needed, they refused to do it. Why? Because they had a contract. They had all kinds of research programs for study. They had all kinds of new programs they thought were going to be helpful. The local organization had chosen the pro-

gram and was not about to be deterred by the discovery that there was no need for the program.

That is a typical example. Those who organized the so-called local group were professors and wives of professors at the University of Michigan, who had not toured the area and did not know that much had been done in the way of remodeling and revamping to make it a model community. Here they were talking about taking \$188,000, which does not seem to amount to much and is only peanuts when compared with some of the money being spent on programs. Nevertheless, it should go to the poor.

The same thing happened in New York, where local groups have been created, but have not bothered to coordinate their efforts with other governmental units.

I can say with conviction that, after all, the people of our country have elected officials to their town councils, county governments, and representatives and senators in State legislatures. They do this every 2 or 4 years, as the case may be. Those people are put into those positions for the purpose of trying to regulate the conduct of affairs in their community. To have the Federal Government suddenly inject money into the local area or local organizational group, without any control over them of any kind, sets up a completely separate government area to deal with problems which may not be coordinated in any way with respect to what is going on in the community.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield. Perhaps the Senator is willing to accept the amendment.

Mr. NELSON. For a question.

Has the Senator any information as to how many community action programs are headed or operated by private agencies?

Mr. DOMINICK. I do not have that information. There are quite a few of them. Does the Senator have that information?

Mr. NELSON. One of the staff members went to find out.

Mr. DOMINICK. I believe there are quite a few around the country, as shown by articles from daily newspapers which were placed into the RECORD, which have been doing a fine job covering the war on poverty program to see how it is operating. But I do not have those figures.

Let me make one last plea to Senators who are present. Any time a program of this magnitude and depth is created and started, it is bound to run into problems. That cannot be helped. Any big, nationwide program, I say with all deference, must involve overlapping between Federal departments and State governments. This particular war on poverty has run into more problems than any well-principled program should have. It has happened because, suddenly, masses of people have been infected with the fever of trying to do something which will be helpful so far as the poverty program is concerned, and which will be funded by the Federal Government.

There is nothing wrong with voluntary organizations using maximum efforts, in their own way and with their own funds,

to try to help the poverty stricken. One of the great things in this country is the voluntary organizations that try to do this very thing.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I merely point out what is happening in many places through the instrumentality of supposedly aiding the poor under the economic opportunity program.

In Ohio a person who labeled himself as an expert, previously connected with the AFL-CIO, but now separated from that organization, conceived the idea of going into county after county, advising supposed civic leaders to establish a community activity in the war against poverty. He drew up the plan. He told the leaders how they should organize. In one instance he stated that the objective was to give advice to the housewife on how she should shop. They were told that if she followed the advice, financial savings would be achieved. He set up the plan and organized the community agency. In each instance his bill was from \$4,000 to \$6,000.

Those applications are pending in the Economic Opportunity Office. I am glad to say that thus far they have not been granted. However, I give this information because it clearly describes the danger of allowing programs to go on without being checked. A man has been going from county to county, submitting the same prospectus, and in each instance including his bill of about \$4,000 to \$5,000, to be paid by the taxpayers of the United States.

Mr. DOMINICK. This is exactly on point and exactly the position which I have been trying to outline with my amendment, and I am sincerely grateful to the Senator from Ohio for adding this information to the RECORD. Not only is this going on in Ohio, but there have also been many instances in which the National Farmers Union has been active in creating community action programs and operating them. It has been said by many people, including members of the National Farmers Union themselves, that this provision was largely designed for political purposes, and not for the purpose of really getting down to the poor.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Complaints came to me on the Ohio programs, pointing out that vacant buildings were to be used at extravagant rentals, completely unjustified by their capital value.

Mr. DOMINICK. That reminds me of the women's Job Corps camp in Florida which rented a hotel for 18 months at \$250,000, when the market value of that hotel was \$150,000 to \$200,000.

This is the kind of thing which creates so many difficult problems. That is why we have been trying to give some control to the Governors who know what the situation is in each of the States, and are better able to determine whether the local group sponsoring the program is a responsible and legitimate group, or whether it is not.

I am also reminded of the point where I yielded to the Senator from Ohio, when I was talking about voluntary associations doing such a fabulous job.

I have often thought that if we could put together their energies and the funding which they are able to get, and operate on as a joint group, they would quite possibly, be able to do far more than we shall ever accomplish under a federally directed program. Each one of the voluntary associations is doing this with funds which have been contributed to it and which it has to account for regularly. This is being done on gifts and bequests. But the Democrats and the administration would rather have a Government-dominated program paid for by Federal funds.

Actually, it is nothing but taxpayers' funds. We have a duty as responsible lawmakers to determine that this money, when it is spent, will be spent on proper causes and on something which is for the good of everyone. It does not seem to me that the examples which have been cited over and over again in the last 2½ days as to the inequities of this program will present any great shining picture of the program supposedly designed for the good of the people.

Let me say this to the distinguished Senator now in charge of the bill, the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH], although this, I am sure, is not going to be met with approval from him because the Senator from Texas was a leading spirit in getting the Governor's veto eliminated entirely. With all due deference to his feelings and his principles, any time he proposes to triple or quadruple an expenditure on a program which is only beginning, and from which the bugs have not yet been eliminated, he had better have some controls or there will be scandals with which those that have previously occurred will not even begin to compare.

I say further to the Senator from Texas that unless we provide the opportunity for Governors to exercise responsible control over voluntary organizations within their own States, there will not only be scandals, but also chaos in administering the program.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I point out that the pending amendment would strike out the use of private organizations if the Governor so chose. It would give him veto power over private organizations. That is exactly why the Governor's exercise of this veto is so much a detriment to the program.

In Montana, Governor Babcock vetoed a program because the Farmers Union was one of the sponsors. He stated that he did not believe private organizations should spend Federal funds for the benefit of the poor in a community. We have had other States besides Montana where Governors have vetoed programs because some private organization participated. The purpose of the whole poverty program is private and public agencies interested in employment of the unemployed. In other words, to make this a true war on poverty.

The Senator from Colorado wholly overlooks the fact that section 209(c) which was the law last year and is in the law now, reads as follows:

(c) No private institution or organization shall be eligible for participation under this

part unless it (1) is itself an institution or organization which has, prior to its consideration for such participation, had a concern with problems of poverty—

This means that we cannot form a new organization and say, "I am interested in poverty. I am going to get it organized."

Mr. DOMINICK. They have already been doing that. They have been getting the money.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Continuing reading from section 209(c):

or (2) is sponsored by one or more such institutions or organizations or by a public agency, or (3) is an institution of higher education (as defined by section 401(f) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963).

The House has added this provision, which the Senate committee left in the bill.

When the Director receives an application from a private nonprofit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs—

In other words, he shall notify the others, so that there will be no conflict. Thus, there is plenty of protection, and there are plenty of safeguards in the bill.

The pending amendment is only another effort to cripple the three-part amendment which we brought out in committee.

I point out that as the Governor's veto power was limited in these three instances only, we of the majority on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee voluntarily accepted the amendment from the other side of the aisle to include the Hatch Act in the poverty program. This had not been done before. We wished to take it out of politics; and the Hatch Act was therefore written into the poverty program. We also wrote in provisions for continuing consultations with the proper State agencies. We voluntarily included these amendments to take the program out of politics.

If, now, we reinstate the Governor's veto, after including the Hatch Act in the program, we shall be putting politics back in the bill.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question of the Senator from Texas, if he will respond.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Certainly.

Mr. MILLER. I had intended to support the amendment, but the Senator from Texas speaks of crippling the program. Could he tell us how many times the power of veto by a Governor has been exercised since the program has been operative?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I know personally of only four times, but I have heard from many States innumerable examples of the threat to veto. By holding this threat over the people, we would do great damage, such as making them reduce their wages, or stripping from the people the right of a local person to be a director, and would put the program into the hands of the Governor. It would mean great damage to have the veto by the Governor, who could use the threat adroitly in regard to the 30-day provision, until the program would be stripped and emasculated.

Someone telephoned me last night to say, "They have approved our project but we have only 30 days to work until school is over."

Mr. MILLER. Might it not be that the threat to veto has had a salutary influence on some programs?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I have received a great deal of correspondence that said this helped the program. I get letters both ways. I have also received many more letters of complaint on the damage that has been done to county, city, or area program by the threat of the Governor's veto and by the 30-day provision.

However, there are only four instances of which I know in which the veto power has been used.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, that is correct.

Mr. MILLER. How many programs have been approved?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I do not know how many have actually been vetoed, but the power has been used in hundreds of instances.

The power is used to strip down the programs and actually to abolish them.

Mr. MILLER. Out of how many programs?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I do not know.

Mr. MILLER. There have been several thousand programs.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Yes. There are hundreds that I know of that were stripped down and cut down by the threat of the veto in many different States.

Mr. MILLER. I may say to the Senator from Texas that my own Governor, to the best of my knowledge, has not vetoed a program. To the best of my knowledge he has not threatened to veto a program for the purpose of emasculating or crippling it, or doing anything except to make it a workable program. I cannot speak for any other State. Speaking for my own State—and I am now referring to a Democratic Governor of my State—I have every confidence that he is not using the veto power to cripple the program.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I say to the distinguished Senator that there have been intimations from his side of the aisle that I oppose the idea of the use of the veto power merely because the Governor of my own State has vetoed a program. If it were only in the Heartland State that it was used, and all the other 49 States were right, I would not be arguing here. This is not a State issue. It is a national issue. It is an issue for the 50 States. It is an issue as to whether there will be one overall program or a program fragmented into 50 units. It will not work if it is fragmented into 50 units.

Mr. MILLER. I wish to add a final statement. It seems to me that if the Governor of a State is using his veto power or his threat to emasculate a program which is a good program, the people of the State will probably turn him out of office at the next election. I would suppose that the power of the people to veto what the Governor has threatened to do would serve as a very salutary influence over an abuse of such power.

I am not saying that there have not been abuses. I am not saying, either,

that the veto might not in certain cases be used to cut down a program, over which there could have been a difference of opinion as to its merits. However, speaking from the standpoint of my own State, I cannot understand that the threat of a veto has caused any difficulty. If it has caused the threat of a veto, which in turn has emasculated a good program, I should think that the people of the State would retaliate at the next election.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I heard the Senator from Texas read certain portions of the act, but I must say that I did not get the reference to those portions.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. They are printed at page 38 of the report, in the third and fourth paragraphs.

Mr. DOMINICK. I see. I thank the Senator. The Senator is aware, as I am, that it is possible for any group to form a nonprofit corporation for the announced purpose of treating with a program that the bill treats with. That is what they have done in order to comply with subsection (c) (1). What the Senator has read is actually a part of the law, but it has not solved the problem.

The problem is, as the Senator knows as well as I do, that a group of idealistic citizens can form a corporation and suddenly start working on a particular project with Federal funds, which may be wholly unrealistic so far as the State effort is concerned.

I cite the typical example of Ypsilanti, Mich. That is an absolute example. The other side had to get up an organization called REPLY, whose purpose was to return every penny left in the Ypsilanti township program. They called themselves REPLY. That is a pretty good name. What they were saying was, "We did not want it. We did not ask for it. A group of people came in and forced it on us. We are doing fine. We are a high income county. Please put the money where it is needed. Put it down in Texas, if it is needed down there, or put it in Harlem, if it is needed there." I am sure it is needed there. They said, "Do not put it in Ypsilanti County." Nothing could be fairer.

If these situations are brought to the attention of a Governor, he has an opportunity to say, "Either get in line or I will veto it." It is this threat of the veto that is some kind of red flag so far as the Senator from Texas is concerned.

The Senator from Texas has stated that the threat of the veto has crippled some programs. I do not know how many programs he has referred to. Perhaps he can give me some enlightenment on it. Does the Senator have any information on that point?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I have already answered the distinguished Senator from Iowa. It ran into the hundreds, I said. I do not have the exact figures.

Mr. DOMINICK. It has crippled the program?

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Certainly it has.

Mr. DOMINICK. I suppose the crippling of the program is the basis for the argument that the amount of money has been cut down. I get a little nervy—I believe that is the correct expression—

when someone talks about crippling a program simply because an amendment is offered. I will say once again—then I shall be quiet and we can vote on the amendment—if there ever was a specific issue which needs to be controlled, this is it; namely, a community action program sponsored and developed by a local, nongovernmental unit, which is uncoordinated with the State effort. Suddenly a group is set up, and the wrong people get into it, and it is used for political purposes, or whatever it may be.

Some way or other we must have some governmental control. By adopting the amendment is one way in which we can do it, by giving the Governor a right to veto.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] to the Committee amendment. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. RANDOLPH (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 49, as follows:

[No. 228 Leg.]

YEAS—42

Allott	Domink	Holland
Bennett	Eastland	Hruska
Boggs	Ellender	Jordan, N.C.
Byrd, Va.	Ervin	Jordan, Idaho
Byrd, W. Va.	Fannin	Kuchel
Carlson	Fong	Lausche
Cotton	Hickenlooper	McClellan
Dirksen	Hill	Miller

Morton
Mundt
Murphy
Pearson
Prouty
Robertson

Russell, S.C.
Russell, Ga.
Saltonstall
Scott
Simpson
Smith

Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—49

Aiken
Anderson
Bartlett
Bass
Bayh
Bible
Brewster
Burdick
Cannon
Case
Church
Cooper
Dodd
Douglas
Fulbright
Gore
Gruening

Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hayden
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalfe
Mondale

Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Neuberger
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Symington
Tydings
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—9

Clark
Curtis
McCarthy

McGee
McNamara
Randolph

Smathers
Sparkman
Williams, N.J.

So Mr. DOMINICK's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I should like to suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold his suggestion?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York withdraw his request for a quorum call?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I withdraw my request.

NORA ISABELLA SAMUELLI

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 618) for the relief of Nora Isabella Samuelli, which were on page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike out "\$35,000 as a gratuity for the sacrifices" and insert "\$38,114.90 for loss of compensation", and on page 2, line 15, after "2251, et seq." insert "Provided, That, she makes the required employee contribution".

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on August 3, 1965, the House passed S. 618 with substantial amendments.

I move that the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House and request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer (Mr. RUSSELL of South Carolina) appointed Mr. DODD, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, and Mr. JAVITS conferees on the part of the Senate.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I call up my amendments Nos. 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, and 401, and ask that they be considered en bloc.

FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF SERVICE OF MARK TRICE IN THE SENATE

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, today marks the 45th anniversary of a distinguished attaché of the U.S. Senate. I believe it is timely that we make a few remarks on this occasion. May I ask the Senator from Vermont to yield to the distinguished lady from Maine?

Mr. PROUTY. I am very happy to yield.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Illinois and the Senator from Vermont for giving me this opportunity to speak.

Mr. President, this is Mark Trice Day in the U.S. Senate, and I am delighted to join my colleagues in the Senate in paying the richly deserved tribute to him on this 45th anniversary of his affiliation with the U.S. Senate. For 45 years he has given outstanding and distinguished service to the U.S. Senate.

No one has been conducting Senate business that long except our President pro tempore of the Senate, the senior Senator from Arizona. And one of the most remarkable facets of this brilliant record of Mark Trice is that it has been achieved at such a relatively young age. I do not know what his age is, but, from his youthful appearance, it seems to me that Mark Trice must have been born in this Senate Chamber to have been with the Senate for 45 years.

He does so many things to facilitate and expedite the work of the Senate and he is such an indispensable executive on the minority side that it would be futile to try to list all of his indispensable activities. About the best way that I can summarize his role is to say that he is to the Republican side of the Senate what John McGraw was to the New York Giants, or Miller Huggins, Joe McCarthy, and Casey Stengel to the New York Yankees, or Knute Rockne to the Irish of Notre Dame, and Bud Wilkinson to the Sooners of Oklahoma.

For while they were not the players of these teams on the baseball diamond and the football gridiron, they were the brains of the teams and they devised the plays and the strategy. In equal manner, while Mark Trice has not been a Senator from the standpoint of actually casting votes, engaging in debate, or making motions and offering amendments, he has been the manager and coach on the Senate Republican sideline and in the Senate Republican dug-out masterminding the Republican team that he fielded in the Senate.

Among the many fine things that he has done for me and which I shall never forget has been his constant vigilance to help me prevent missing rollcall votes. Without him I could not have accomplished the string of nearly 2,100 consecutive votes.

We all—regardless of political party—on both sides of the aisle—wish him well today—and another 45 years as the coach and manager of the Republican team in the Senate.

In closing, Mr. President, I should like to observe that the recognition and praise that mean the most to any one of us is that which come from our own family—particularly our children. It is in this spirit that I would like to read the letter of Mark's daughter, Linda:

VENICE, ITALY,
August 13.

DEAR DADDY: I know that August 19 is a big day in your life, for it will be then that you will have served for 45 years in the Senate. This is a most impressive service record for anyone, but it means so much to me that my father has accomplished this. I have heard it said that you would do anything for anyone—you have been faithful to your work and you have always strived to be a friend to everyone on the Hill.

More important, to me at least, is the fact that you have set a wonderful example for me to follow. I only hope that I will be able to do this and that I will never do anything to harm you and, more important, your name.

I am so sorry that I won't be there on the 19th, for I remember your last party very well. I was so proud of you that day as I stood beside you, and I will be even more proud of you this year.

In fact, I am extremely proud to have you as my father.

Love always,

LINDA.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to the minority leader.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I have often been curious about the name of Mark Trice, just as I was curious about the name of Mark Twain. Mark Twain used to be a deckhand on a barge or steamboat on the Mississippi River. His real name was Samuel Langhorne Clemens. The deckhand had to sit out in front, because the sandbars formed so quickly that he had to use a sounding line and then shout up to the pilothouse: "Mark 1; mark 2; mark 3." But instead of saying, "Mark 2," he said, "Mark twain," and soon he was known as Mark Twain, and that became his pseudonym as he wrote many durable books.

It is not generally known but I believe Mark Trice was once a deckhand on a Potomac River steamer. He used to call out to the pilot, "Mark 1; mark 2"; and then he would say, "Mark trice." I think that is the way the name stuck, because he has been Mark Trice ever since that time.

It is rather interesting to recall that when Mark Trice came with the Senate it was the year when the peace conference at The Hague was trying to get Holland to surrender the Kaiser, so that he could be tried.

It was about the year when the 18th amendment became effective. One distinguished Member of the Senate is still trying to make it effective so far as certain areas of the Capitol and Senate Office Buildings are concerned. I shall not mention his name, but I think everybody knows it.

It was the year when there was a testimonial for William Jennings Bryan in New York. It was his 60th birthday anniversary. On that occasion, William Jennings Bryan said, "The liquor issue is as dead as slavery." In the light of hindsight, he was wrong on both counts,

because the 18th amendment was repealed; and it was not until recently that the voting rights bill was approved.

When Mark Trice came to the Senate 45 years ago, it was the age of moonshine; now we think of moonshots.

People were thinking of homebrew; now they think of a baseball player named Killebrew.

In those days, we knew the name Pussyfoot Johnson; now, quoting the television, it is Sugarfoot.

In those days, we talked about speak-easies; today, we talk about easy speeches on the Senate floor.

Many other things happened 45 years ago. Woodrow Wilson fired Lansing as Secretary of State. The railroads were returned to private ownership, under a heavy load of debt.

It was the year in which Jack Dempsey was indicted for dodging the draft. It was the year when eight Chicago White Sox players were indicted for throwing the World Series to the Cincinnati Reds.

Also, I believe it was about the time when the KKK went into action. It has taken us 45 years to catch up, and for the first time we are having a Federal investigation of that group. Incidentally, in that time the market for pillow slips and sheets has dropped sharply.

It was about the time when Harding and Coolidge were licking Cox and Franklin Roosevelt. The Nation's population was only 105 million; yet Harding and Coolidge won the election by 9 million votes. So when we consider the disparity of the vote in the 1964 election, really, in the light of hindsight, it was not quite so bad.

It was the year when Theda Bara, for the first time, made popular the characterizations of the "vamp" on the screen. Today, Washington and the woods are full of them.

It is rather interesting to talk about the Senate, because at that time Oscar Underwood, Cotton Ed Smith, and Tom Heflin were here. So were Joe Robinson, of Arkansas, and Hiram Johnson, of California.

Charles Curtis of Kansas was here; Hoke Smith, of Georgia and William Edgar Borah of Idaho were here; as was Jim Watson of Indiana, and Arthur Capper of Kansas, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and old Knute Nelson of Minnesota, whom I knew; Frank Kellogg, who later became Secretary of State; Pat Harrison; Tom Walsh, the great inquisitor from the State of Montana, who investigated the Teapot Dome scandal. George Norris was here, and I believe our friend from New Hampshire, George Moses, who once characterized a good many people around here as the "sons of the wild jackass."

So Mark has been here a long time. To this list I could add the name of Robert M. La Follette, whose portrait graces the wall in the reception room; Reed Smoot, of Utah; Carter Glass, of Virginia; Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania; James Wadsworth, of New York, who, after being defeated for the Senate, went to the House as a Member of that body. Claude Swanson, of Virginia, was here. Claude Swanson later became Secretary of the Navy.

So Mark Trice has seen them come and go.

I shall now let Senators in on a little secret. Mark, I want you to listen to this. I am telling them a secret now. Mark is in the process of writing a number of books. The first one is going to be a dandy. Its title is going to be, "Senators Who Have Known Me." His second book is going to be even better. The title is going to be "The Stuff You Hear."

His third book is going to be "From Harding to Hubert."

I believe that we ought to salute Mark Trice for 45 years of service to the Senate of the United States. What an amazing record. [Applause, Senators rising.]

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I join in the commendatory remarks made by the distinguished senior Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] and the distinguished minority leader, the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] on what they have had to say about the secretary for the minority.

I have not known Mark Trice very long—only 13 years. I have always found him to be impartial and just in his dealings, and aware of the interest of those whom he has served so efficiently, so capably, and so well down through his period of service in this body.

As I listened to the distinguished minority leader, a great deal of history went through my mind. I was taken back to the days of my early manhood. When I think of what has happened during the course of my lifetime in the United States, I have to pause and think of what has happened in this Chamber in 45 years.

I feel quite certain that, except for the institutionalized aspects, it is quite different today from what it was in the early twenties. I wish to join in all these kind and gracious remarks toward Mark Trice. They are well merited. As a public official and a public servant, he has done his job efficiently and well, with extreme courtesy and impartiality.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I join in congratulating Mark Trice on his 45 years of service in the Senate.

The distinguished minority leader has spoken to us about some of the events 45 years ago. It does not take us 45 years to catch up on what is going on in the Senate today because Mark Trice keeps us informed. He keeps track of the issues and tells us what they are and does it in a very courteous and gentle way. He makes us feel our responsibility and keeps us on the job.

Mark should rightly be congratulated. He helps us all. He helps the minority. He helps the entire Senate.

I hope that he will be here for a long time to come so that we can come back and see what he looks like and how he is helping our future colleagues.

I congratulate you, Mark.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, although Mark Trice has been here a longer time than anyone except the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona, the President pro tempore [Mr. HAYDEN], he has a unique record, a record of which we can all take note. Although he is on the Senate floor every day, he has never had occasion to characterize anyone unkindly. He has never had occasion to disagree with anyone else on the floor. He has never had occasion to say anything which he would perhaps regret at some time. He has never had occasion to take anything out of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which he wished he had not put in the RECORD in the first place. He has a singularly unblemished record amongst us.

His popularity is not due to that. His popularity and the warm friendship which we all hold for him, the regard in which he is held by all Senators, is due, I am sure, to his unfailing courtesy, his enduring patience, his kindness and thoughtfulness, his readiness to help all of us when we first arrive and do not know how much help we need, and to help us even more when we begin to find out how much help is available.

For all these qualities, I am pleased to have the opportunity to join in marking the celebration of his 45th anniversary in the Senate.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I know that time is pressing, and that Mark Trice would be the last one to want every Senator to join in extended remarks. The only reason why I feel I am qualified to take 1 moment of our time is the fact that, while some of the younger Members of the Senate may not know it, though many other Senators may have more years and more seniority in this body, in one sense I claim to be the senior Senator here, because I came to the Senate in 1925, 40 years ago, as a member of the staff of George H. Moses, of New Hampshire.

I served here for 4 years as an attache to the old Post Office and Post Roads Committee. In that capacity I had the privilege of the floor, and I well remember those men who have been named here by Senators who have spoken so eloquently this afternoon.

Mark Trice had been here 5 years when I came 40 years ago.

I believe that I can claim that I have known Mark longer, perhaps, than any other Senator, no matter how much seniority and importance other Senators may have. Mark is my friend, and I have never known a man whom I admired more. He is a man whom I value warmly as a friend.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER].

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I thank the Senator from Vermont. I do not want to take an undue amount of time, but I could not let this opportunity pass with-

out joining other Members of the Senate who are expressing their friendship, gratitude, and admiration to Mark Trice for the services he has rendered the Senate and for the kind of man he is.

I have known Mark for a little longer than 21 years. In many ways he is a sort of father confessor, from a political standpoint, to most of us, and in that field he has never failed. His well of experience and the sagacity of his advice on all manner of subjects involving the Senate and situations in the Senate are among the most valuable attributes that he has and the most valuable assets that we have.

If we had the time to go into Mark's background and fully exposed the self-help which he has used since his early youth, we would learn that Mark is indeed a self-made man in every sense of the word. He has a personal integrity of fitness and a code of conduct which could be emulated by every young man, and every older man, too.

All the encomiums we can heap on Mark are well deserved. In appreciation of his services to the Senate we can be thankful, indeed. If young people, not only those who work in the Senate, but all over the country, will take a leaf from Mark's book and emulate him in his conduct and his successes, they will have no trouble in making their way in this world under our self-responsible system. The Senate is to be congratulated for having had the services of Mark.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to my colleague from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN].

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I rise to take exception to one observation in which it was said that Mark Trice, during his term of office in the Senate, has never had occasion to characterize Members of the Senate or criticize them or speak unkindly in any way. I say he has had plenty of occasion to do all these things, but he has never done it. That is why we like him so well.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL].

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I do not know whether 45 years ago there was a child labor law in the District of Columbia which applied to employment in the Congress, but if there was, I rather fear the U.S. Senate may have broken the law, for there is a great deal to be said for the point of view of our able friend the lady from Maine in describing the vigorous and youthful appearance of our dear friend. Here is a young man who does not look 45 years of age; and to know that on this noble day Mark Trice passes this imposing milestone, in concluding 45 years of honorable and devoted service to this country here in this Senate Chamber is a thrilling thing for all of us over here on the Republican side, but, I feel assured, for my colleagues on the other side. It is a proud thing to know that one of the unsung heroes of American Government has ever been so faithful and so dedicated. We look forward to many more years of public service on his part.

The distinguished majority leader commented a few moments ago on the

great impartiality of our able friend, the secretary to the minority. That is true, but I have a constructive amendment. He does have a magnificent impartiality, tinged, nevertheless, with a proud partiality toward the Republican Party, which he has served so valiantly for so long.

So for this friend—and you have a hundred of them in this Chamber, Mark—I want to say that Mrs. Kuchel, like many other wives of Senators, is coming here later this afternoon to pay our respects to you and your wife. We look forward to shaking your hand and wishing you Godspeed for many years in the future.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON].

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I cannot add anything to what has been said by my colleagues about Mark Trice, but I want to associate myself with their remarks and, as the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] said, congratulate the U.S. Senate for having had the privilege of his services for many years. Mark Trice is truly a symbol of a dedicated public servant whose dedication and service should serve as a model for the youth of our land.

Personally, I am indebted to Mark for the services he has rendered to me over many years and the kind way in which he has done it. I shall always be indebted to him. I wish him many more years of service in this body.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to Mark Trice as a man, as a friend, and as a public servant for whom we have great respect.

Our opinion of Mark can best be summed up by saying he is the kind of public servant we would all like to be.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE].

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I cannot add anything to what has been said, especially to what the Senator from Delaware has just said. Mark is a wonderful guy. I value him as a friend and as an adviser. He has been of invaluable service to all of us as individuals and to the Senate. One thing I do not charge to him is the reduced estate of the Republican Party which has taken place during his tenure.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield to the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks which have been made by my colleagues, and pay my respects to Mark Trice. From the standpoint of a freshman Senator, I can assure him that the help he has given me and his consideration, kindness, and help which he has extended to the new Members, I shall always remember.

Beyond that, I can remember coming to Washington in 1953, when I was charged with the arrangements relating to the Eisenhower inauguration, at which time the Republican Party was the

majority party. The assistance that Mark gave me on that occasion I shall also remember, and always be thankful for.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I know the Senate will not mind being detained on so significant an event. I, too, rise on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the services of Mark Trice to testify to his impartiality and the fact that he has never attempted to make any moral or ideological judgments. He is as pure a servant of Senators as any Senator could be. I cherish his services and share great pride in the very constructive way in which he has served the Senate.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I understand that today is the 45th anniversary of the service of the capable secretary to the minority, Mark Trice. I have had the pleasure of knowing Mark Trice over the span of the past 11 years, but only this year on the Republican side.

However, I am pleased to state that Mark Trice is one of the finest men I have ever had the privilege and pleasure of knowing. He is a man of integrity, intelligence, and initiative. He is a man full of energy, and he is always courteous and accommodating.

The Republicans are very fortunate—and I believe the Senate and our Government are very fortunate—to have such an able, fine representative as Mark Trice in the position he occupies. Mark Trice has the ability and character to fill even bigger shoes and a bigger position. I predict that some day he will.

I am pleased at this time to commend him for the outstanding job that he has done. I wish to express to him my appreciation for the personal courtesies that he has rendered to me and for his always accommodating disposition to the Members of the Senate.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I want to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the secretary of the minority, Mark Trice. This marks his 45th year in the service of the U.S. Senate. He has seen most of the Senators of past years come to the floor and go. During this entire period his cheerfulness, knowledge, skill and cooperation have been extended to every Member with whom he has had contact.

I want to express my own congratulations to him for this long period of public service, but particularly do I want to express my deep and sincere thanks for the thousand and one small ways in which he has been of help to me personally. Without his all encompassing knowledge of the Senate, its history, and I may say, its rules, life would be more difficult—particularly for the new Senators who arrive in this body.

May I again congratulate him—as well as his lovely wife Margaret—and wish him many more happy years in the service of the Senate.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, it is with pride that I add my congratulations to

our most eminent secretary, Mark Trice, to whom we are paying tribute today.

As a freshman Senator I am particularly grateful for the counseling that has been so graciously forthcoming from a man of such great knowledge and experience.

The achievements of our party and the U.S. Senate have been greater as a result of his dedicated services.

The atmosphere of the Senate Chamber is a more pleasant one because of his friendly personality.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, unselfish, loyal, and devoted service to the Senate as an institution has been the hallmark of Mark Trice for 45 years.

Many a Senator's career has been made more meaningful and more effective by reason of Mr. Trice's constant vigilance and solicitude. This Senator has often been the recipient of helpful and wise suggestions from him.

His vast storehouse of workable knowledge has always been held available to those who asked for its benefits.

His devotion to his family is well known. His wife and his daughter as well as his mother have been a part and parcel of his career here—well adapting themselves to the demands made by the rigorous and unpredictable time schedules.

For their cooperation and contribution to his success as an outstanding public servant and official, they too are deserving of recognition.

It is with deep appreciation and sincere gratitude that I add my plaudits and congratulations to Mark Trice, to those of my colleagues.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I delight in joining my colleagues of the minority in paying tribute to a fine gentleman, a selfless servant, and a man whose advice and assistance have been of immeasurable benefit to me in my short term in the U.S. Senate.

Pierre Corneille, in his work "Surenna," speaks of "a service beyond all recompense." That is the type of service I have found the secretary to the minority always willing and able to render in a cheerful and enthusiastic manner. His ready hand has eased me over many hurdles in the Senate and smoothed the path before me.

Mark Trice, whose 45 years on Capitol Hill we honor today, came to Washington as a page at the age of 12. The excellence of his service and the perfection of its execution earned him an appointment as secretary to Senate Sergeant at Arms in 1919. He held that post for a decade.

Back in the tender days when Republicans were the majority in Congress, Mark Trice was elected secretary to that majority and served through that 80th Congress, after which, through the actions of the electorate, he remained on as secretary, but this time as the minority secretary to the 81st and 82d Congresses.

After service from 1953 to 1955 as Secretary of the Senate, he was reelected secretary of the minority and has held that post with distinction, honor, dedication, and zeal.

No vocal tribute could adequately explain my high regard for the secretary of the minority. May I say, as he nears the apogee of a half century of service to the U.S. Senate, that his has truly been service "beyond all recompense."

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it is a pleasure to associate myself with the statements of solicitude and commendation being made on the floor of the Senate today in tribute to a great American—Mark Trice. Mrs. Mundt and I are proud to consider Margaret and Mark Trice among our close personal friends and they are, indeed, a real addition to the Senate family.

Mark serves as every Republican's "Man Friday" here in the U.S. Senate. He is the first to greet newcomers when they enter the Senate and he is with them at the graveside when time or unhappy incident or accident brings them to the final rollcall. Of more importance, he is a trusted adviser, a walking encyclopedia of information, an archivist who keeps us consistent in our voting patterns through the years, an able political tactician and a wise counselor in affairs of state or in the tactics of our political wars.

To have served 45 years in the Senate in one capacity or another at his early age portends that before he finally retires he will have established a new all-time high record of continuous service in this august body. I join my colleagues in the hope that he will enjoy another three decades of service and thereby establish a record of 75 years in the Senate. After that, even his stern taskmasters and supervisors in the Senate should concede that he is entitled to a peaceful and carefree retirement.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5401) to amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to strengthen and improve the national transportation system and for other purposes.

The letter also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8639) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I should like to query the distinguished

majority leader about the program for the remainder of the day and also tomorrow, and to inquire whether or not there could be an arrangement made this afternoon with reference to the pending bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, first let me try this one.

I ask unanimous consent that there be an hour on each amendment to be considered in relation to the bill, and that the time be equally divided between the proposer of the amendment and the Senator in charge of the bill.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, would the Senator add a little time on the bill?

Mr. MANSFIELD. And with 1 hour on the bill.

Mr. JAVITS. That would be all right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENNETT in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I discussed this matter with the majority leader a short time ago. I am not going to object, but I wish to make it clear that many Senators offering amendments should be permitted to have quorum calls, or live quorum calls, without the time being charged to either side.

Mr. PASTORE. We do not want that.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Let it go.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I do so only in order to give the leadership an opportunity to arrive at an arrangement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the unanimous-consent request is agreed to.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized, but before the Senator proceeds, the Chair would like to remind the Senate that before this very pleasant exercise began, there was pending before the Senate a unanimous-consent request which was not resolved. This was the request of the Senator from Vermont that his six amendments be considered en bloc.

Is there objection?

The Chair hears none, and the unanimous-consent request is agreed to.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I offer the six amendments and ask that they be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk proceeded to state the amendments.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendments be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the amendments will be printed in the Record at this point.

The amendments offered by Mr. PROUTY are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 396

On page 16, after line 6, insert the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY AND OTHER AMENDMENTS

"SEC. 9. Effective July 1, 1965, part C of title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended as follows:

"(1) By striking out 'Director' in the first sentence of section 122(a) and inserting in lieu thereof 'Commissioner of Education (hereinafter in this part referred to as the 'Commissioner')' and, by striking out 'Director' wherever that word appears in the other provisions of such part C and inserting in lieu thereof 'Commissioner';

"(2) By amending that part of section 121 that follows the section designation to read as follows: 'The purpose of this part is to stimulate and promote the part-time employment of students, particularly students from low-income families, in institutions of higher education who are in need of the earnings from such employment to pursue courses of study at such institutions.'; and renumber subsequent sections accordingly;

"(3) By redesignating clauses (2), (3), and (4), of paragraph (c) of section 124 as clauses (1), (2), and (3), and by striking out so much of such paragraph as precedes such redesignated clauses and inserting in lieu thereof the following: '(c) provide that in the selection of students for employment under such work-study program preference shall be given to students from low-income families and that employment under such work-study program shall be furnished only to a student who'; and

"(4) By striking out 'June 30, 1966,' in paragraph (f) of section 124 and inserting in lieu thereof 'June 30, 1967.'"

AMENDMENT NO. 397

On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF LABOR

"SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under part B of title I are hereby transferred to the Secretary of Labor.

"(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available, in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Department of Labor."

Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

AMENDMENT NO. 398

On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 30. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

"SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under part B of title II are hereby transferred to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available, in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare."

Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

AMENDMENT NO. 399

On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

"SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under part A of title III are hereby transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture. "(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available, in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Department of Agriculture."

Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

AMENDMENT NO. 400

On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

"SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under title IV are hereby transferred to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

"(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available, in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine shall be transferred to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration."

Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

AMENDMENT NO. 401

On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

"TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 29. (a) Section 501 and section 503 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 are each amended by striking out 'Director' and inserting in lieu thereof 'Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare'.

"(b) Section 502 of such Act is amended by striking out 'Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable him' and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to utilize funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title.'"

Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is the hope of the leadership that action on the pending measure can be completed today. We are prepared to stay with it until a reasonable time this evening, and it is hoped that we shall be able to take up the military construction bill tomorrow.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business today, it

stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I wish to make clear to the majority leader, as to the limit of 1 hour for discussion on the bill, that actually it will require more time for discussion on the bill. I myself have not discussed it yet, but I believe we have an agreement that the request will be made for an extension of time on the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If needed, yes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I hope that the Senate will pay strict attention to the discussion by the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] on the amendments.

We are inclined, in the course of the hot debate we have had on one question, to overlook the fact that there are other provisions of the bill which are critically important. The Senator from Vermont has a creative and constructive series of amendments to which I hope the Senate will give its most serious attention.

I respectfully suggest to the Senator from Vermont that he soon ask for a quorum call, which will bring Senators into the Chamber so that they can hear some of the discussion.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am grateful to the distinguished Senator from New York for his suggestions, and I will do that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator from Vermont yield himself?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 15 minutes.

ORGANIZING FOR VICTORY OVER POVERTY

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the purpose of these amendments is simply to vest complete authority for the conduct of six programs now under the Economic Opportunity Act directly in the respective agencies that administer those programs.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps provisions of the act, title I-B, now administered by the Secretary of Labor, would be assigned by statute to the Department of Labor.

The college work study provisions of the act, title I-C, now administered by the Commissioner of Education within HEW, would be assigned by statute to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The adult basic education provisions of the act, title II-B, now administered by the Commissioner of Education, would be assigned by statute to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The rural loan provisions of the act, title III-A, now administered by the

Farmers Home Administration within the Department of Agriculture, would be assigned by statute to the Department of Agriculture.

The small business loan provisions of the act, title IV, now administered by the Small Business Administration, would be assigned by statute to the Small Business Administration.

Finally, the work experience provisions of the act, title V, now administered by the Welfare Administrator within HEW, would be assigned by statute to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. President, let us take a moment to look at history. How is it that these six programs, ranging over such a broad field of governmental activity, today find themselves a part of the Economic Opportunity Act? Let us turn back the clock to 1963, prior to the tragic events of that November.

THE SITUATION IN 1963

Here was the situation at that time:

The administration, through the Department of Labor, was asking Congress to create a Hometown Youth Corps. This program, which was to have been established by title II of S. 1, the Youth Employment Act of 1963, provided for 50-50 Federal matching grants by the Secretary of Labor to local public and private groups conducting work training programs for needy youths between the ages of 16-21. The enrollees would have taken jobs in schools, hospitals, libraries, and recreation areas, and in private community service agencies. This bill passed the Senate in April of that year and was pending in the House.

The administration, through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, was asking Congress to create a college work study program, which was to have been established by title I-C of S. 580, President Kennedy's omnibus education bill. This program authorized the Commissioner of Education to pay up to half the cost of work study programs operated by institutions of higher education. The recipients were to be chosen by the college on the basis of, first, need; second, ability to maintain academic status while working up to 15 hours a week, and third, fulltime enrollment. The work was required to be of a type related to the educational objectives of the particular student.

The administration, again through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, was asking Congress to create an adult basic education program, which was to have been established by title VI-B of S. 580, President Kennedy's omnibus education bill. This program authorized the Commissioner of Education to pay 100 percent of the cost of an approved State adult basic education plan for the first year, and 50 percent in subsequent years.

The Farmers Home Administration was administering a number of farm loan programs, dating back to those authorized by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act of 1937. Among these programs were some providing loans to poor farmers for land acquisition, land improvement, and equipment purchase. The various loan provisions had been

reorganized and consolidated by title III of the Agriculture Act of 1961.

The Small Business Administration was administering a loan program to aid small businessmen who were unable to obtain credit on reasonable terms elsewhere, and was providing technical management assistance to those firms. This program, established by the Small Business Act of 1953, was beginning its second decade of existence.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was administering a small program under title XI of the Social Security Act, which authorized grants to the States for experimental, pilot, or demonstration work training projects to increase the employability of unemployed heads of households and other needy persons.

THE PRESIDENT'S ELECTION YEAR PROBLEM

Now, Mr. President, let us move on to 1964. The Nation had a new President, intent on securing reelection of his newly acquired office. He knew that he had only 1 year to put his brand on legislation that would win him the support of the American electorate. It was not humanly possible, in the brief time available to him, to devise an entirely new legislation program. His only hope was to collect programs already in operation, or proposed by his predecessor, and give them some kind of new twist.

That new twist, Mr. President, was what is now known around Washington as the "poverty angle." The heart of the subsequent war on poverty was a major new venture—the community action programs of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act. In order to flesh out this idea into a superomnibus piece of legislation, the President surrounded it with an assortment of other programs quite familiar to Members of the Congress—some of them borrowed directly from the days of the New Deal.

The Job Corps arose from the corpse of the Youth Conservation Corps of 1963, which in turn emulated the Civilian Conservation Corps of the thirties.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps emerged from the Hometown Youth Corps of 1963, which emulated the National Youth Administration of the Roosevelt administration.

The college work study and the adult basic education programs were minor modifications of proposals in President Kennedy's omnibus education bill.

The rural loans program was a slightly disguised version of the Bankhead-Jones Act of 1937.

The family farm corporation proposals, happily deleted by the Senate, were copied from the old Resettlement Administration of the late New Deal period.

The small business loan program was a slightly liberalized addition to the existing Small Business Administration legislation.

The work experience program merely expanded, by direct reference, an existing HEW program.

The volunteers in service to America provisions were merely renamed provisions of the National Service Corps, proposed in the 88th Congress.

It was not enough, Mr. President, for the administration to ask Congress to pass these very familiar proposals. There had to be an overriding concept tying them all together. That concept was the Office of Economic Opportunity—a special assistant to the President who would knock heads together to insure that these multifarious programs actually were operated for the benefit of the poor, and not just for people generally.

Thus I am suggesting, Mr. President, that the decision to lump this grab bag of programs under a supercoordinator arose not from a demonstrated need for coordination, but from a need for political publicity for a President attempting to build an instant record.

Down to the Hill came Mr. Sargent Shriver, urging Congress to enact the Presidential package. Naturally, Congress wanted to know why this super-bureaucracy was needed on top of the existing agencies. Congress was told that it was not the intention of the Poverty Director to actually administer most of the requested programs, but that this new Office was necessary to insure that the administering agencies actually focused on meeting the needs of the poor. By implication, it was suggested that the regular heads of the affected Federal agencies might not keep sight of the President's wishes for diligent attention to the needs of the poor, but might just administer their portions of the program for people generally. The Director of OEO, it was emphasized, would not actually knock heads; he would merely expound sweet reason to the agency heads, keep reminding them that the poor are yet with us and bother them for an occasional report on their activities.

A majority of Congress enacted the Economic Opportunity Act into law, although some of those who supported the act remained skeptical of the rationale for the superbureaucracy it created.

NOW, THE ADMINISTRATION'S ABOUT-FACE

Now, Mr. President, let us move to the present. What is happening? The administration has made the first step toward peeling off programs included in last year's war on poverty bill and vesting the authority for them directly in the operating agencies.

I refer here to the college work study provisions of title I-C. Originally, as I have noted, these provisions were requested as part of President Kennedy's omnibus education bill, and were to be administered by the Commissioner of Education. When college work study was included in the poverty bill, the administration explicitly withdrew from congressional consideration the previous provisions of S. 580 and H.R. 3000 and certain changes were made in the language.

Previously, the administration had urged Congress to limit the jobs to be taken under work study to jobs directly related to the student's educational objectives. In the Economic Opportunity version, students were allowed to take jobs off campus with private antipoverty organizations; it was required that the work either be related to the student's educational objective, or be in the public

interest and not otherwise provided for. In answering questions as to why the earlier limitation on educationally related work had been so drastically broadened in the poverty bill version, Commissioner Keppel replied that the limitation of no more than 15 hours per week of work would serve the same purpose of the earlier substantive limitation—even though the earlier bill also contained a 15-hour-per-week limitation.

Previously, to be eligible for participation a student had to be in need, capable of maintaining his academic status, and a full-time student. In the poverty bill version a new criterion was added ahead of these three—that the student also be from a low-income family. This was the poverty angle.

Previously, the Commissioner was directed to allocate funds among the States on the basis of the number of students attending college in that State. In the poverty bill version, the basis for the allocation was changed to the number of students attending college, the number of high school graduates, and the number of children under 18 from families with less than \$3,000 annual income in the State, in equal weight. This third factor is the poverty angle.

Then, with the poverty bill passed and the election over, President Johnson sent to Congress his aid to higher education bill, S. 600, on January 19 of this year. Section 441 of that bill transfers the authority for administering the work study program from the Director of OEO to the Commissioner of Education, and eliminates from the work study program the requirement that the benefits of the program go only to students from low-income families. For this latter provision new language is substituted, providing only that students from low-income families shall get preference over more affluent students.

OEO ADMITS ITS PRESENT AUTHORITY IS UNNECESSARY

In testimony on this part of S. 600, Mr. Shriver, in answer to a question from Senator JAVITS, stated that cooperation between the Office of Education and his own Office had been excellent. He went on to say that he possessed, pursuant to his coordinating authority in title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act, all the authority he needed to insure that the college work-study program, transferred out of his direct jurisdiction, would continue to be integrated with the overall antipoverty effort.

Part of Mr. Shriver's testimony on this point is worth quoting in full:

The transfer of the work-study program to the Office of Education will spur the development of a comprehensive, varied, and fully integrated range of financial assistance programs for the educationally deprived and I include in this group not just the poorest of Americans but all for whom opportunity has been withheld * * *. The transfer of this program to the Office of Education does not mean the surrender of the traditional jurisdictional line staked out by the teaching profession. Rather, the poverty program in this act marks a new era, one in which the educational needs of our entire society will be approached systematically and one in which our educational system will be enriched and transformed by a full and continuing confrontation between

the academic world and the other America.

And in its presentation to Congress, the Office of Economic Opportunity asserts:

To provide further support for internal coordination, the President has recommended the administrative transfer of the college work-study program to the Office of Education.

THE RELEVANT CONCLUSIONS

Let us sum up, Mr. President:

First. It was originally intended that the college work-study program be a direct responsibility of the Office of Education.

Second. When it became necessary to flesh out the President's antipoverty package, a slightly revised college work-study program was included as title I-C, and enacted by Congress.

Third. Now that the need for an omnibus antipoverty bill—and the 1964 election—has passed, the "poverty angle" on the college work-study program is to be virtually removed, and its provisions amended to closely resemble the original Kennedy prepoverty proposal.

Fourth. The return of the college work-study program to the Office of Education is required by the principle of "internal coordination."

Fifth. Similar programs—in this case programs to aid individuals attending institutions of higher learning—should be administered together as a functional unit, instead of scattered throughout the Government.

Sixth. Ample authority exists under title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act to enable the Director of OEO effectively to coordinate the overall antipoverty effort, even though he does not actually control the operation of specific programs, such as college work-study.

Mr. President, I believe the President is right in asking Congress to transfer the programs of title I-C to the actual administering agency, the Office of Education. And that is what my first amendment is designed to do. Its language is verbatim that of section 441 of S. 600, drafted by the administration and urged by its spokesmen.

FUNCTIONAL GROUPING IS A SOUND PRINCIPLE

The administrative principle of functional grouping of programs is a sound one. I understand that the Association of Certified Public Accountants and the Acting Comptroller General have both strongly urged acceptance of this principle in testimony before the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress, whose cochairman is the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY].

My remaining five amendments apply this sound principle to five other programs currently subsumed in the Economic Opportunity Act.

The Job Corps is not transferred to another agency because it requires a coordinated effort involving the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, HEW, Interior and Defense, and thus is actually administered by OEO.

Community action programs are not transferred because, as the heart of the war on poverty, they belong with OEO, which presently administers them.

Similarly, the migrant labor provisions of title III-B, which are administered along with the community action programs, remain with OEO.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's 15 minutes have expired.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. VISTA is not transferred because it, too, is administered directly by OEO and is closely linked with the community action programs.

MAXIMUM OPPORTUNITY FOR VICTORY OVER
POVERTY

If these amendments are adopted, Mr. President, the administrative principle of functional grouping—recognized by the President in his proposed higher education legislation—will be applied to strengthen the administration of all the programs now under the Economic Opportunity Act. Those programs transferred to the operating agencies will be better integrated into those agencies' plans for serving the American people. The power of effective coordination will continue to reside with the Office of Economic Opportunity, as provided by section 611 of the Economic Opportunity Act. And freed from his needless responsibility as middleman for these six programs, the Director of OEO can concentrate his administrative talents on the operation of the Job Corps, the community action and migrant labor programs, and the Volunteers in Service to America.

In conclusion, my amendments would provide an approach to create greater efficiency and achievement within the respective departments which are now administering these programs.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Does the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] desire to use some of the time available to him, or will the Senator accept my amendments?

Mr. NELSON. Has the Senator from Vermont concluded his remarks?

Mr. PROUTY. I have reserved the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to himself?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, my remarks will be very brief. I yield myself 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. NELSON. First, I should like to say that under the act the President of the United States has vested in him the authority to delegate to the appropriate agency the execution of the functions authorized by the act, so that he now has the power to shift these functions around so that the intent of Congress will be best accomplished. I think that is the way it ought to remain.

These amendments would completely scuttle the assurances now embodied in the Economic Opportunity Act that its programs will remain directly focused upon the problems of poverty and that they will complement, not compete with each other.

We certainly should not now undo a structure which has been in existence only a year and has not had a chance to show what it can do. The Economic Opportunity Act involves a kind of coordination which has not been achieved before and which cannot be achieved if the various programs in the act are operated without much regard to the part each is to play in the effort as a whole.

The Director and, ultimately, the President have a heavy responsibility for the bringing together of different agencies and different programs for the accomplishment of a single objective. If they are to be successful in carrying out this responsibility, they are going to need support from the Congress which, however critical it may be of details or day-to-day performance, is also steady and steadfast as to fundamentals. That is the real issue posed by this amendment.

Since I believe it is better to let the power reside where it is in the executive branch, with the President of the United States, I therefore hope that the amendments will be rejected.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. PROUTY. I remind the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin that the President has recommended that the college work-study program be put, by statute, in the Office of Education. This recommendation is embodied in S. 600, now before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The sound logic of that request is equally applicable to all the antipoverty programs which are now being administered by various agencies and departments other than OEO. If it is good reasoning with respect to college work study it is equally good reasoning with respect to these other five programs.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. NELSON. Without considering the merits of these amendments, I point out that the Senate Subcommittee on Education is now considering Senate bill 600, the Higher Education Act, which has language transferring the work study title I-C of the Poverty Act to the Office of Education, which now administers this program.

The changes contained in these amendments, as well as other amendments to work study, are being considered in executive session of the Subcommittee on Education. In addition, I am informed that several other amendments to the work-study section would be needed in order to perfect these amendments. These amendments would more properly be considered there also, I believe. For that reason I oppose the amendments.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. PROUTY. I am perfectly willing

to withdraw the work-study program from my series of amendments, if that would satisfy the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, and include only the other parts. Then we could take care of that particular problem under S. 600.

Mr. NELSON. I am glad to hear what the Senator is willing to do.

Mr. PROUTY. Will the Senator accept the other five parts if I withdraw the work-study part?

Mr. NELSON. No. I made the argument as to the other five parts, I believe.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask unanimous consent that the time necessary for the quorum call not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield myself 30 seconds. At a subsequent point, I may wish to offer a one-word amendment to which I invite the attention of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], because it involves amendment No. 394, which he proposes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, the time for the quorum call to be charged to neither side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 229 Leg.]

Aiken	Harris	Moss
Allott	Hart	Mundt
Anderson	Hartke	Murphy
Bartlett	Hayden	Muskie
Bass	Hickenlooper	Nelson
Bayh	Hill	Neuberger
Bennett	Holland	Pastore
Bible	Hruska	Pearson
Boggs	Inouye	Pell
Brewster	Jackson	Prout
Burdick	Javits	Proxmire
Byrd, Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Randolph
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Ribicoff
Cannon	Kennedy, Mass.	Robertson
Carlson	Kennedy, N.Y.	Russell, S.C.
Case	Kuchel	Russell, Ga.
Church	Lausche	Saltonstall
Cooper	Long, Mo.	Scott
Cotton	Long, La.	Simpson
Dirksen	Magnuson	Smith
Dodd	Mansfield	Stennis
Dominick	McClellan	Symington
Douglas	McGovern	Talmadge
Eastland	McIntyre	Thurmond
Ellender	Metcalf	Tower
Ervin	Miller	Tydings
Fannin	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Fong	Monroney	Williams, Del.
Fulbright	Montoya	Yarborough
Gore	Morse	Young, N. Dak.
Gruening	Morton	Young, Ohio

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Russell of South Carolina in the chair). A quorum is present.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, for the benefit of Senators who are present, let me say that it will not require much time for me to explain the purpose of my amendment, and I shall ask for a roll-call.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays at this time.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. President, the amendment would transfer the responsibility for conducting six programs under the Economic Opportunity Act directly to the agencies that now administer them, as follows:

First. College work study programs—title I-C—would be transferred to HEW, where they are presently administered by the Office of Education. The administration has specifically requested this transfer by section 441 of S. 600, still before the Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

Second. Neighborhood Youth Corps—title I-B—would be transferred to Labor, where it is now administered.

Third. Adult basic education—title II-B—would be transferred to HEW, where it is now administered by the Office of Education.

Fourth. Rural loans—title III-A—would be transferred to Agriculture, where it is now administered by the Farmers Home Administration.

Fifth. Small business loans—title IV—would be transferred to the Small Business Administration, where it is now administered and from whose revolving loan fund title IV loans are now made.

Sixth. Work experience programs—title V—would be transferred to HEW, where they are now administered by the Commissioner of Welfare.

The Office of Economic Opportunity would continue to operate the Job Corps, VISTA, and the community action and migrant labor programs—titles I-B VI, II-A, and III-B, respectively—and to coordinate all Federal antipoverty programs, as directed by the existing section 611.

These amendments recognize the sound administrative principle of functional grouping endorsed in the administration's request for transfer of the college work study provisions and in expert testimony before the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress.

As a result of these amendments, these programs can be completely integrated into the activities of the currently responsible Federal agencies. The Director of OEO has indicated that effective coordination can still be obtained through his general coordinating authority. The Director will then have more opportunity to concentrate on the heart of the war on poverty, the Job Corps, community action, and VISTA.

Mr. President, it seems to me this is a streamlining proposal. I think the agencies which are presently administering the programs should assume full responsibility. I think eventually money will be saved and efficiency improved in that way.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I rise to support the amendments of the Senator from Vermont. We discussed them completely in committee. As a demonstrated friend of the antipoverty programs, I

should like to represent to the Senate that we in the committee are deeply concerned about the need for coordination of various governmental programs—both in the antipoverty field and in other fields. We are concerned particularly about the danger that the Office of Economic Opportunity will be spread-eagle over our entire Government structure, duplicating that structure and having layers of supervisory personnel above the operating personnel, when it is completely unnecessary to the program. The Office of Economic Opportunity should be a coordinating office.

As my turn to speak came, I was looking at some material sent to me in connection with another matter by the Office of Emergency Planning. That is one of our most important agencies. It is quite powerful. Yet its sole attention is directed toward coordinating work, with a relatively modest staff.

This is what the Office of Economic Opportunity should be in the war on poverty. Every Government agency should be used to utilize its experience, operations, techniques, supervisory personnel, and its place in the Government hierarchy. The only programs which should be operated by OEO itself are the Community Action Program, VISTA, the Job Corps, and the migrant worker program, which are unique, but everything else which fits into an existing Government department should stay in it. This would not derogate from the authority of the Director in relation to appropriations because he can coordinate, and he would have the ear of the President if there should be a dispute between his office and a department. But if there is duplication—and inevitably there must be duplication in a program of this size—it is improvident we should seek to minimize it.

I speak as a devoted friend of the program. I hope the constructive and creative aspects of the amendments will be recognized by the Senate, and that the Senate will accept them.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I am looking at items 4 and 5, rural loans and small business loans. Do different considerations apply to rural and small business loans under the Economic Opportunity Act than to regular loans?

Mr. PROUTY. Yes. They are more liberal than the others.

Mr. COOPER. I would think so.

Mr. PROUTY. But, generally, they are the same.

Mr. COOPER. But I assume there is greater leeway or authority to consider special factors, or else there would not be a section in the Economic Opportunity Act applicable to them. But does this provision in any way compromise the effectiveness of the general work of these agencies?

Mr. PROUTY. I point out that these programs are administered by the same personnel.

Mr. COOPER. If these were removed, there would be left in the Office of Economic Opportunity, basically, the Job Corps, the work-training and the work-

study programs, the adult education and the different types of community action programs.

Mr. PROUTY. And migrant labor programs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, earlier, I responded to the proposal made by the distinguished Senator and, therefore, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Vermont to the committee amendment.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 58, as follows:

[No. 230 Leg.]

YEAS—35

Alken	Fong	Ribicoff
Allott	Hickenlooper	Russell, S. C.
Bennett	Hruska	Saltonstall
Boggs	Javits	Scott
Byrd, Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Simpson
Carlson	McIntyre	Smith
Case	Miller	Talmadge
Cotton	Morton	Thurmond
Dirksen	Mundt	Tower
Dominick	Murphy	Williams, Del.
Eastland	Pearson	Young, N. Dak.
Fannin	Prouty	

NAYS—58

Anderson	Cooper	Hartke
Bartlett	Dodd	Hayden
Bass	Douglas	Hill
Bayh	Ellender	Holland
Bible	Ervin	Inouye
Brewster	Fulbright	Jackson
Burdick	Gore	Jordan, N.C.
Byrd, W. Va.	Gruening	Kennedy, Mass.
Cannon	Harris	Kennedy, N.Y.
Church	Hart	Kuchel

Lausche	Montoya	Robertson
Long, Mo.	Morse	Russell, Ga.
Long, La.	Moss	Stennis
Magnuson	Muskie	Symington
Mansfield	Nelson	Tydings
McClellan	Neuberger	Williams, N.J.
McGovern	Pastore	Yarborough
Metcalf	Pell	Young, Ohio
Mondale	Proxmire	
Monroney	Randolph	

NOT VOTING—7

Clark	McGee	Smathers
Curtis	McNamara	Sparkman
McCarthy		

So Mr. PROUTY's amendments, to the committee amendment were rejected.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Senators DOMINICK, FANNIN, COOPER, and MURPHY, I offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 22 it is proposed to delete all after the words "striking out" on line 18 through line 19, and to insert in lieu thereof the following: "The second sentence of section 220(a) of part C thereof".

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, let me state, as this amendment is not understandable from a mere reading of the text, that what I am seeking to do is to restore to the act what the bill would strike out, the voluntary assistance program for needy children, in part C of title II. The amendment would exclude from what I am seeking to restore one particular requirement in the law but would retain the fundamental thrust of the program.

I have a sentimental attachment to this provision, as my former colleague, Senator Keating, was the initiator and author of the amendment as it went into the act last year.

I hope that Members of the Senate will bear with us a few minutes so that the amendment may be explained, as I think the Senate ought to do, however it may feel about other issues. I rather hope that the manager of the bill will take the amendment to conference.

Mr. President, I now yield myself 5 minutes.

The meaning of the amendment can be made most clear by reading to the Senate the language which the bill would strike from the act, and which I am seeking to restore. The words themselves are so eloquent that no argument is needed to sustain them. The text is found at page 43 of the committee report. It reads as follows:

PART C—VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

Statement of purpose

SEC. 219. The purpose of this part is to allow individual Americans to participate in a personal way in the war on poverty, by voluntarily assisting in the support of one or more needy children, in a program coordinated with city or county social welfare agencies.

Authority to establish information center

SEC. 220. (a) In order to carry out the purposes of this part, the Director is authorized to establish a section within the Office of Economic Opportunity to act as an information and coordination center to encourage voluntary assistance for deserving and needy children.

The next sentence in the act is deleted in my motion to restore the program. I

would strike the sentence which relates to the collection of names, and so forth. Then I would include the remainder of the provisions, which read as follows:

(b) It is the intent of the Congress that the section established pursuant to this part shall act solely as an information and coordination center and that nothing in this part shall be construed as interfering with the jurisdiction of State and local welfare agencies with respect to programs for needy children.

Mr. President, it seems to me that this is a most desirable self-help, private initiative aspect of the war on poverty. I am really quite surprised that the administration, when it sent the bill up, sought to delete the entire program. Upon inquiry I learned that the Office of Economic Opportunity felt that it had considerable difficulty with the administration of the sentence which I am now asking to be omitted from this particular provision. That sentence requires the collection of names of persons who voluntarily desire to assist such children, and the securing from city or county social welfare agencies of the information concerning children, which would include their names.

It was felt by the Office of Economic Opportunity that many cases involved confidential information, which could not be given to prospective donors in some States, and that therefore this requirement was very complicated to administer. I call attention to the fact that the committee report itself accounts for the deletion of this entire provision by referring to the difficulties with that one sentence.

On page 14 of the committee report, the following statement appears:

PART C—VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

The bill would delete from the Economic Opportunity Act provisions designed to establish a national voluntary assistance program for needy children. This program, as now authorized, involves collecting names of needy children in the face of established legal and policy restrictions which in many States may preclude disclosure, coupled with selection and followup problems which could be overcome if at all at a cost which would be prohibitive when measured against the benefits provided. Discussions between the Office of Economic Opportunity and representatives of welfare and child assistance organizations have indicated no way in which these difficulties could be avoided, at least so far as a national program is concerned.

Hence, the entire program was stricken out of the law. It seems to me that by striking the second sentence, which relates to the collection of names, and by leaving the rest of it, we would leave in the Office of Economic Opportunity the ability to do something with this program, without any mandate that it must. We would give them the opportunity to do something in this field, even if it were only coordinating the activities of local community action groups which seek to make such voluntary arrangements.

As this is a program which could easily involve children in one community, or even in one State, being helped by people in another community or in another State, a coordinating function in the

Office of Economic Opportunity seems to me to be essential.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New York has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. It seems to me that because the OEO ran into this procedural block—obtaining and disclosing the names of children—it sought to delete the entire program, instead of being selective and retaining what was good and rejecting what was bad. The whole plan has gone out the window.

I respectfully submit that the program is a desirable one to have on the books. Even if it is slow getting started, and even if it must be implemented further, it embodies the right spirit and idea, so far as the antipoverty program, as it relates to children, is concerned.

When former Senator Keating offered this program in an amendment last year former Senator HUMPHREY, who was then deputy majority leader, spoke most feelingly in support of this kind of program. He ardently proposed, as did a number of other Members, that it should be included in the law. And it was enacted, without any objection.

If we let the matter stand as it now is in the bill, we shall be allowing an agency, because it has trouble with one aspect of this program, to throw the whole program out the window without endeavoring to say what is good and what is bad.

So I have excised from my amendment the cause of the agency's objection in the hope that something may be made of the basic excellent and creative design, which will remain if my amendment is adopted. I believe it is the kind of amendment which ought to be taken to conference by the managers of the bill.

I am rather disheartened that that is not proposed to be done in this case, but that the lines seem to be drawn inflexibly against accepting such an amendment, no matter how desirable it may be. I believe it is a desirable amendment.

If that is the feeling of the majority, we shall have to live with it, and the Senate will have to work its will, as it has the power to do.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from New York for offering a meritorious and humane amendment. It deserves the support of every Senator. I hope that the Senate will accept it.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I, too, shall support the amendment.

I remember when Senator Keating offered it last year. The amendment then had wide support on the floor of the Senate.

I remember when former Senator HUMPHREY, as the Senator from New York said, ardently and enthusiastically supported it. The amendment contains an appeal to individuals over the

country to assist in this program. It would involve very little in Government funds. I do not wish to be overly caustic, but perhaps that is one of the reasons it is not attractive.

This amendment is humane and appeals to individuals to assist in the program. I believe the amendment should be adopted. I would be happy if Senators of the majority party would recognize its value and accept the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

I am not inflexible; I am very generous. The idea sounds good; but the Office of Economic Opportunity discussed the flexibility of this kind of program with officials of United Community Funds and Councils, the Child Welfare League, the Family Service Association of America, and the National Social Welfare Assembly, and all of them unanimously agreed that the program was not an appropriate one for the Office of Economic Opportunity. It would involve indiscriminate relief and exceptionally high costs, compared with negligible benefits.

POSSIBLE JAVITS AMENDMENT—VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

As I understand, the amendment would retain the program but would eliminate its function. If we are really interested in securing a tight and efficient operation, it does not seem to me that this is the way to proceed. We would have an office for carrying out a program—but nothing in particular for it to do.

This program last year was conceived as one which would require only one or two employees. Those employees would collect the names of needy children from local welfare agencies and send them to potential benefactors. However, it was found that securing names from welfare agencies would be difficult or in many cases impossible. In addition, when the matter was discussed with those presently engaged in voluntary assistance efforts, it was found that even if the problem could be overcome, no acceptable program could be carried on with only a few employees. It would involve costs that would be prohibitively high in comparison with any benefits that might be expected.

I understand that the amendment of the Senator from New York eliminates the beneficiary's name.

The amendment would apparently recognize the infeasibility of the program as originally conceived. But if the voluntary assistance office is not to do what it was originally expected that it could do, what would be its function? Apparently, it would just be some kind of information and publicity center. This would simply duplicate functions of the general Information Center authorized under section 613 of the act, which is supposed to serve as a source of information with respect to any type of activity that may be employed as part of a community attack on poverty.

If Congress intends to hold OEO to a tight standard of avoiding superfluous jobs and duplication, we certainly should

not specifically authorize superfluous jobs and duplication. I urge, accordingly, that the amendment be rejected.

I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTROYA in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, this amendment was recognized as a most humanitarian amendment when it was submitted.

The amendment authorizes this function to be performed in the Office of Economic Opportunity. It does not compel that agency to carry it out. It states the intent of Congress to have information and coordination available in the war on poverty for voluntary help to needy children.

The amendment would not, as I have now amended it, impose any responsibility to obtain or to give any information which may be confidential or which cannot be disclosed because of State laws.

The antipoverty program is 1 year old. After 1 year, we propose to take out of the program something of its heart, something of its soul. It seems to me that, at the very least, this is precipitate and, at the very worst, it is thoroughly heartless. The program could really be a creative program if used creatively.

The OEO apparently is interested only in how much money can be appropriated and spent. They are interested only in programs which require the expenditure of a great deal of money. But they are not interested in using a little heart and a little of their brainpower and ingenuity.

I am known to be liberal in my views. I am very proud of it. However, I do believe a great deal can be done with brains. We do not need money for everything, it seems to me, in life or in government. It is extremely disheartening to see an agency shrug off something of this character which would not involve the spending of money. One wonders whether, if this provision had been attached to a \$10 or \$20 million price tag, they would be quite as anxious to get rid of it as they seem to be now.

That is what we are here for. Occasionally we must keep an agency's nose to the grindstone. This is one of those amendments. It would not cost them anything or do anything to them except make them use their brains.

Mr. COOPER. They would have to have a heart.

Mr. JAVITS. They would have to have a heart, as my colleague, the Senator from Kentucky, adds, so appropriately.

This is the least that we can insist on. I hope very much that the Senate will not sweep this amendment aside on the theory that they are voting against all amendments. We must be discerning. I respectfully submit that this is outside of the context of the issues and policies that we have been talking about up to now on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New York has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, if this amendment were agreed to, we would be making the Department use its head, heart, and ingenuity in a matter which does not involve the expenditure of large sums of money.

I hope that the Senate will do what is right in this matter and keep this extremely desirable provision in the law.

As one who is likely to be a conferee, I can promise the Senate that if they agree to the amendment, I will fight for it like a tiger.

Mr. President, I am ready to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] to the committee amendment. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (after having voted in the negative). Mr. President, on this vote I have a pair with the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "yea." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "nay." Therefore I withdraw my vote.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 40, as follows:

[No. 231 Leg.]

YEAS—49

Alken	Hickenlooper	Neuberger
Allott	Hruska	Pastore
Bartlett	Javits	Pearson
Bennett	Jordan, N.C.	Prouty
Boggs	Jordan, Idaho	Ribicoff
Byrd, Va.	Kuchel	Saltonstall
Carlson	Lausche	Scott
Case	McGovern	Simpson
Cooper	McIntyre	Smith
Cotton	Metcalf	Talmadge
Dirksen	Miller	Thurmond
Dodd	Montoya	Tower
Dominick	Morton	Tydings
Douglas	Morse	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Mundt	Young, N. Dak.
Fannin	Murphy	
Fong	Muskie	

NAYS—40

Anderson	Hartke	Moss
Bass	Hayden	Nelson
Bayh	Hill	Pell
Blle	Holland	Proxmire
Brewster	Inouye	Randolph
Burdick	Jackson	Robertson
Byrd, W. Va.	Kennedy, Mass.	Russell, S.C.
Cannon	Kennedy, N.Y.	Stennis
Church	Long, Mo.	Symington
Ellender	Long, La.	Williams, N.J.
Fulbright	Magnuson	Yarborough
Gore	McClellan	Young, Ohio
Gruening	Mondale	
Harrell	Monroney	

NOT VOTING—11

Clark	Mansfield	Russell, Ga.
Curtis	McCarthy	Smathers
Eastland	McGee	Sparkman
Hart	McNamara	

So Mr. JAVITS' amendment to the committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

During the consideration of the Javits amendment:

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BASS].

Mr. NELSON. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Tennessee.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Mr. BASS. Mr. President, without doubt one of the most important parts of this important program is the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Nothing better could be done than to retrain and rehabilitate American youths who have left school for various reasons. Therefore I am disturbed by the fact that although the House has increased the total amount under title I of the bill, that

increase actually has the effect of cutting the Neighborhood Youth Corps by some \$20 million.

This has been pointed out to me emphatically by many of the Neighborhood Youth Corps organizations, particularly in the eastern part of the State of Tennessee.

I should like to quote from a letter I received from Mr. Dalton Roberts, who is the director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Chattanooga, Tenn. He writes:

You can see from the attached information that our problem is not unique. The NYC situation will be critical in 28 Tennessee cities if the House bill is not changed. In Chattanooga alone, 542 enrollees will be pushed out on the dead-end street from whence they came. It appears that a minimum of four staff members will have to be released.

What will happen, Mr. President, under the present allocation that will go to Tennessee under the Neighborhood Youth Corps, is that in the city of Chattanooga, of the 900 young men and women who have now been counseled and trained and are ready to go back into school, continuing in a vocational rehabilitation program, which will eventually make them effective citizens, 542 will now find themselves in the position of being told that they will be dropped from the program.

As has been said, "How do you tell a boy who is returning to school after months of counseling that you are dropping him?"

How do we explain to young men and women, after having them in summer work and having counseled them for all these months, that they must be dropped?

That is exactly what the situation will be if the cuts that have now been made in the bill are allowed to stand.

I am of the opinion that there is adequate money already in the bill, particularly in the House bill. Under title I there has been authorized \$525 million. Of that, only \$240 million is being allotted to the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

I should like to have the attention of the manager of the bill, the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], to express the hope that the Senator will read the insertions that I shall put in the RECORD and read the remarks that I have made, and refer to the great need that we have in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which is really the heart of the entire operation. These are the people we are trying to help. These are the people we are trying to make into better citizens. I hope the allocation for the Neighborhood Youth Corps can be raised when the conference is dealing with the differences in what the Senate has done and what the House has done.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD editorials from the Chattanooga Times, which deal with this problem, as well as an article which appeared in the same newspaper on August 14, in which it is pointed out in definite terms exactly what will happen if we do not restore the money that is needed in this program. I ask unanimous consent also that a letter from the mayor of Chattanooga and some tele-

grams that have come to me be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chattanooga Times, Aug. 14, 1965]
CUT THREATENED FOR YOUTH CORPS—HOUSE ALLOCATION WOULD REDUCE FUNDS SEVERELY IN PROGRAM HERE

(By Springer Gibson)

The Chattanooga Neighborhood Youth Corps, which needs \$2.7 million just to maintain its present program, will be reduced to \$935,297 if the allocation for the national NYC project adopted by the House of Representatives recently is approved by the Senate.

That was the information given to Dalton Roberts, director of NYC here, by the State NYC headquarters Friday. Roberts said it would be a serious blow to the Chattanooga program. With a maximum of 989 in-school enrollees and 670 in the out-of-school program from February 9 through July the NYC here spent \$1.15 million.

Roberts said if the present enrollment remained as it is it would cost \$2.7 million for a full year's operation.

But it has been the purpose of the NYC leaders here to expand the program for the new year starting with the opening of school, to meet the needs for those who qualify and desire to enroll.

Roberts has proposed an enrollment of 1,300 for the city in-school program and 1,200 for the county in-school program. There would be 800 in the out-of-school program and an enrollment of 1,200 next summer in the in-school phase.

SUBMITS REQUEST

To meet these needs, Roberts submitted a request for \$4,721,555, of which \$4,242,445 would be Federal funds and \$479,100 local in-kind services. The city school board approved the request last Wednesday.

Roberts said if the House allocation stands up it will mean reducing enrollees instead of giving more youths and the opportunities afforded by the NYC. It will mean reducing the staff and otherwise curtailing the program.

Roberts said the House doubled the last year's appropriation for the war on poverty, but within the poverty program it allocated only \$240 million to the NYC.

"This is actually a reduction, on a percentage basis, when compared to last year," Roberts said. "The NYC was given \$130 million for just 6 months of operation last year."

The Senate started consideration of the NYC allocation Friday, Roberts said, and expressed the hope the Senate will propose a much larger sum.

"The State office told me today," Roberts said, "that 19 projects in Tennessee will be closed out if the House allocation stands up."

Meanwhile Roberts issued a report on attempts now being made to direct 458 enrollees in the present out-of-school program into remedial education and job-training programs.

The staff is referring 210 to the evening remedial school. Of this number 152 were tested this week and are tentatively scheduled to begin classwork August 23. Another 58 live outside the city and the evening remedial school staff is considering plans to take the instruction to those enrollees, setting up classes in Soddy, Hixson, Harrison and Signal Mountain rural areas to accommodate the ones living in those sections who desire remedial study at night.

The staff will refer 79 to the Chattanooga Occupational Training Center where they will learn a marketable skill and take training in communications and math. Thirty-five were referred this week and 44 will be

referred next week, to begin COTC classes August 30.

Seventy-one will be referred to adult education classes starting in September, 9 to regular manpower development training act classes, 20 to nurses aid training, at Moccasin Bend.

Of the remaining 133 out-of-school enrollees, the counselors are evaluating several for placement on the new on-the-job training program being carried out under the sponsorship of the Chattanooga Full Employment Committee Inc.

"The prospects of placing more advanced and mature NYC enrollees in this program are excellent," Roberts said. "Most of these 133 enrollees are new in our program. We consider the first 3 months an enrollee is with us as an evaluation period, since this is a work experience program. This is one type of evaluation that few of them have had—on the job evaluation. Some who have failed every other test (IQ, achievement, etc.) are passing their NYC on-the-job test."

Roberts said about 18 of the 133 have serious mental, physical and adjustment problems requiring extensive and tedious work by NYC counselors with several agencies to make the best placement for them.

"I must comment," Roberts stated, "that the average observer would find it difficult to believe how much work is involved in placing youth in the right educational program."

"Our counselors study cumulative school records, school social worker records, enrollee work-rating records and our work counselors interview enrollees to determine their interests. Some are sent to the employment security office for extensive testing. It is not a matter of taking them by the hand when they walk in the door and leading them to the best program."

"There are many factors to consider: Age, skills, interests, intelligence aptitudes, achievement levels, emotional stability, family stability and motivational level."

[From the Chattanooga Times, Aug. 13, 1965]
NYC NEEDS SENATE'S HELP

Chattanooga needs help from the U.S. Senate, which is scheduled today to take up fund allocations for the neighborhood youth corps program. Otherwise, the city's NYC operation, one of the most promising in the Nation and endorsed by everyone from Representative BILL BROCK to the Labor World, might have to curtail work when it needs to be expanded.

In a puzzling decision, the House, while doubling the scope of the overall poverty program, has provided only \$241 million nationally for title 1B, which includes the neighborhood youth corps. This amounts to a \$20 million reduction. And it makes little sense against NYC's demonstrated ability to get more actual help to more people for less administrative cost than most all the various poverty projects.

A problem within a problem is that the Southeast as a whole has been tentatively given only \$36 million, or 15 percent of the shortchanged total for a region with 25 percent of the Nation's people and substantially the highest dropout rate in the country.

If the \$6.9 million now earmarked for Tennessee is not increased, Chattanooga might possibly have to end help to some of the 900 young people NYC is assisting to stay in school by providing part-time jobs; and 670 out-of-school persons who are receiving remedial education and job training in co-operation with 65 local agencies, public, and private.

A wealth of human reasons points to the necessity of this work. Statistically, one fact is basic: according to the 1960 census, only a little more than 36 percent of Hamilton

County's adults had completed high school or more.

Probably more than on anything else, Chattanooga's very future depends upon its doing better than this (median school years completed in the South are presently 9.5, compared to 12 in the West, 10.7 in the Midwest and 10.2 in the Northeast).

Chattanooga's NYC program ought to be expanded, not placed in danger of cutbacks. Director Dalton Roberts has made an entirely convincing case for NYC's ability to materially increase the number of youth helped. A proposed budget encompasses aid to a total of 2,500 in-school people, 1,200 in the county and 1,300 in the city, as well as 800 out-of-school persons.

Chattanooga's successful and respected effort should be and overridingly is regarded as essential to the city's welfare. We know Senators GORE and BASS will do their utmost toward fighting the reductions in the Senate and restoring an important balance to the whole poverty program.

CITY OF CHATTANOOGA,
 Chattanooga, Tenn., August 6, 1965.

Hon. Ross BASS,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR ROSS: Newspaper reports indicate that the congressional appropriation for the poverty program has been doubled. However, Tennessee has been allocated only \$8 million for the Neighborhood Youth Corps program.

Chattanooga's proposal this year was for \$4.2 million. It was a thoughtful proposal and would have been wonderful for this community. In order to maintain our present program with the same number of enrollees and staff members, it will be necessary for Chattanooga to have an appropriation of \$2.7 million. This appears to be impossible under an \$8 million allocation for the entire State of Tennessee.

It is very poor politics to cut back on staff and to release enrollees who are very satisfactory. On Monday, I plan to write a detailed letter to Sargent Shriver with reference to our program. I will send you a copy.

It is imperative that you use your influence to see that Chattanooga receives \$2.7 million. This will at least permit us to maintain our present program.

Best wishes.
 Sincerely,

RALPH KELLEY,
 Mayor.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.,
 August 12, 1965.

Hon. ROSS BASS,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.:

We are informed that the Senate will begin debate this week on the authorization bill for antipoverty programs. We are most concerned that the House bill provides only \$240 million for title 1(b). This is a reduction from the past fiscal year on a percentage basis and has serious implications for all Tennessee NYC programs and for our local program which has been very successful. We know that OEO plans under the House bill to limit the southeast to \$36 million. Tennessee will only get \$8 million. We need \$4.2 million in Chattanooga to meet identified needs and \$2.7 million to stand still. Unless the Senate makes changes in the allotment of money among the EOA all NYC programs in the State will suffer. Chattanooga will have to drop dropouts who are now being enrolled in remedial and job training programs. We need your assistance.

BENJAMIN E. CARMICHAEL,
 Superintendent, Chattanooga Public Schools.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.,
 August 11, 1965.

Senator ROSS BASS,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

The Chattanooga-Hamilton County Community action program is alarmed that the House only appropriated \$240 million for NYC next year. It is reported that Tennessee is scheduled for only \$8 million. Chattanooga is requesting \$4.2 million but it will require \$2.7 million to stand still or to maintain our program. I understand that the Senate will consider the authorization bill this week. In my opinion a higher percentage of EOA funds should be allocated to title 1(b) programs.

Any cuts below \$2.7 million in our program will definitely cripple program.

ROY E. BATCHELOR,
 Executive Director, Chattanooga Hamilton County Community Action Program.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.,
 August 11, 1965.

Senator ROSS BASS,
 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

The Senate is expected to consider authorization of funds for the antipoverty programs Friday, August 13. This is to inform you that the House earmarked only \$240 million for title 1(b) Neighborhood Youth Corps programs. This is a percentage reduction from last fiscal year. OEO tentatively plans to provide only \$36 million to Southeastern States where the dropout rate is highest and income lowest. Less than \$8 million scheduled for Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in Tennessee. Chattanooga alone is requesting \$4.2 million and needs \$2.7 million just to maintain its program. It is imperative that this program be expanded to meet local needs and the best way to insure improvements is to get additional money earmarked for title 1(b) when the Senate considers the authorization bill this week. Your help is urgently needed.

DALTON ROBERTS,
 Director, Chattanooga
 Neighborhood Youth Corps.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.,
 August 14, 1965.

Hon. ROSS BASS,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

We must not turn 500 youngsters out on the streets again. Urge your assistance in obtaining larger allocation for Chattanooga Neighborhood Youth Corps.

ROSALINE and JAY SOLOMON.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.,
 August 11, 1965.

Senator ROSS BASS,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

The Chattanooga Neighborhood Youth Corps served city students only during the past school year. It will take \$2.7 million to maintain that portion of the program for 1 full year. The Chattanooga-Hamilton County proposal submitted to OEO July 30 request \$4.2 million. If the proposal is approved the NYC will serve all county secondary schools from September 4, 1965, to September 3, 1966. We have identified over 1,200 needy county students who qualify for the NYC. We are alarmed that the House earmarked only \$240 million for title 1(b) of the EOA. Unless the Senate allots additional money to title 1(b) when the authorization bill is considered this week, every existing program in Tennessee will suffer and many cities will not get a program at all. Under the House bill Tennessee will only get \$8 million. This program has definitely proved itself in Hamilton County. It is holding youth in school, and over 500

dropouts are presently being enrolled in remedial job training programs. Tennessee and Hamilton County need your help when the EOA authorization bill comes before the Senate this week.

SAM MCCONNELL,
Superintendent, Hamilton County Schools.

KINGSTON, TENN.,
August 14, 1965.

Hon. ROSS BASS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Please assure that funds are made available for the Kingston Neighborhood Youth program. It is our understanding that considerable difficulty is being encountered for our existing submission.

CHESTER R. FULKS,
Mayor, City of Kingston, Tenn.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

Senator ROSS BASS,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We at the local community level are very much concerned that the House has cut the appropriations for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. We solicit your influence in the Senate in the hopes that adequate funds might be provided for this worthwhile part of the war on poverty.

Dr. M. J. JONES,
Chattanooga Council for
Cooperative Action.

Mr. BASS. I hope the conferees will make every effort to adjust this important part of the program after the bill has been passed.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BASS. I am happy to yield to my senior colleague.

Mr. GORE. I concur in both the sentiments which the Senator has expressed and the facts which he has related. Like him, I have had communication and conversations with Mr. Roberts, with the mayor of Chattanooga, and other citizens.

Yesterday, after the last vote was taken in the Senate, it was my privilege to be a seat mate on a plane flight to Tennessee with Mr. Horton, a coordinator of the program in Nashville, Tenn. Mr. Horton is the fiscal officer of the metropolitan government there. He told me that some of the sad results would be experienced at Nashville.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. BASS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield 3 additional minutes to me?

Mr. NELSON. I yield 3 minutes.

Mr. GORE. Similar sad experiences, only much larger, would be realized in Nashville, Tenn.

As of now, in Nashville, between 1,400 and 1,500 young men and women—dropouts, unemployables heretofore, boys and girls with problems and difficulties—are enrolled in training courses. Mr. Horton related to me some most encouraging results of their training thus far.

Moreover, he said that until recently the administration in Washington had been urging him and the officials in Nashville to increase the enrollment to 2,000. But, under the allocation that is proposed for Tennessee, he said that instead of being able to increase the enrollment to 2,000, which is greatly needed,

almost one-half of the 1,400 to 1,500 already enrolled must be dropped or the program cut to 2 or 3 days a week.

I have been looking for an opportunity, as has also my distinguished and able colleague, to offer an amendment, with some hope of adoption, which would increase the funds to alleviate this sad and tragic situation. I observe—as my colleague must have observed—that we have had some difficulty holding the present amounts in the bill.

Mr. BASS. That is true. This attempt might be futile. That is the reason I pointed out, as my senior colleague well knows, that there is a difference of almost \$300 million between the authorization of the House and the authorization in the bill now before the Senate.

Therefore, I assume that the House and Senate conferees will perhaps reach as is usually the case, a figure somewhere in the middle of that authorization for title I, and that the bulk of the money which will be increased, I hope, in conference under title I will be applied to the Neighborhood Youth Corps. As the Senator has pointed out, what he has said is true in 28 cities in Tennessee. But where 25 percent of the population in this area is involved, only 15 percent of the money is being allotted to this part of our great Nation, the part of the MidSouth and the Southeast in which Tennessee falls.

So I appreciate the remarks that my senior colleague has made in this area. I know that he, along with myself and many other Senators, is aware of the acuteness of the problem and the importance of carrying on this vital Neighborhood Youth Corps, which now comes to the first year of returning these young men and women to school. We have been counseling them all summer as to what they could do to retrain themselves.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BASS. Certainly, we should not allow them to continue to be dropouts.

I thank my colleague.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 394

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 394 and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 17, line 7, strike out everything through line 6 on page 18, and renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

On page 29, line 10, change the figure "\$880,000,000" to "\$730,000,000".

On page 29, line 13, strike out the semicolon and everything that follows it down through the figure "205(d)" in line 16.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator from Vermont yield himself?

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the amendment I now offer would strike section 11 from the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.

Section 11 is the proposal offered in committee by the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] and accepted by the committee. It adds new language to title II of the Economic Opportunity Act authorizing the Director to make grants to local public and private agencies for special programs which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs.

If this has a familiar ring, Mr. President, it is because it is almost an exact duplication of the work experience programs now conducted under title V, the work experience title of the Economic Opportunity Act.

According to OEO, the work experience program of title V provides up to 100 percent funds for projects to help unemployed parents and other needy persons gain work experience and job training interwoven with adult education and basic literacy instruction. It is directed primarily toward jobless heads of families in which there are dependent children.

Now, Mr. President, what does the Nelson amendment do that is not now authorized under the act? Not a single thing. It is simply rampant duplication.

The Nelson amendment is opposed even by the Office of Economic Opportunity itself. I read the statement of OEO from page 186 of the Senate hearings:

The Office of Economic Opportunity is sympathetic to the purposes of this amendment. We cannot, however, favor its adoption. If the objective is, as we assume, to provide the chronically unemployed poor with a form of temporary assistance that will permanently enhance their capacity for self-support, we believe that what is proposed can better be done under existing programs, including the work-experience program authorized under title V of the Economic Opportunity Act. These other programs, in our opinion, are better calculated to enhance the employability of chronically unemployed poor adults with poor employment prospects than a program carried on as an extension of a work-training program designed to serve youth.

There are, of course, several existing programs designed to enhance the employability of adults. Prominent among these is the Manpower Development and Training Act, which is focused upon adults and which contains statutory limitations designed to maintain this focus. To the degree that it can be effectively directed to the needs of the long-term or chronically unemployed, this program offers some clear advantages over other training or work-training programs, since it provides a kind of intensive, relatively high-level skill development that is most likely to be of lasting benefit to the individual.

For the unemployed poor adult who is otherwise unable to secure or benefit from the type of training provided under the Manpower Development and Training Act, but who can, with appropriate assistance, enhance his capacity for self-support, the program most likely to be relevant to his work and training needs is the work-experience program under title V of the Economic Opportunity Act. This program is designed to expand opportunities for constructive work

experience and other needed training and is directed to those who are unable to support or care for themselves or their families. It authorizes Federal assistance covering the full cost of projects which include not only work experience, but also training. The training provided, according to the needs of the individual, may range from such things as instruction in basic literacy skills, simple arithmetic, and work attitudes, to advanced courses under the manpower development and training program. In addition, supportive social services are available to aid the family whose adult member or members are participating in the program. These may include such things as child care, medical assistance, home management counseling, and counseling in family problems that could interfere with effective participation in the program.

In our opinion, as a method of enhancing the employability of the unemployed poor, the proposed work-training program would substantially duplicate, though in a less effective way, what is already being done under the work-experience program. That program, like the one proposed, is directed to the poor. Those whom it serves are adults, and most, in fact, would fall within the same group of chronically unemployed persons with poor employment prospects who would be reached under the amendment. It is, moreover, fully possible under the work-experience program, as presently constituted, to take advantage of conservation and beautification needs in structuring projects. Beautification and conservation activities are now being carried out as part of projects in Kentucky, Rhode Island, Colorado, Arkansas, North Dakota, and Louisiana. Many more such projects are planned.

As compared with the program proposed in the amendment, the chief limitation on the work-experience program is that it has been restricted so far to those who are receiving, or are potential recipients of, public assistance. An extension of the program to all needy persons is, however, feasible, and in our opinion fully consistent with the statutory purposes. Such an extension, we believe, will not require legislation.

Nor does the Office of Economic Opportunity want another \$150 million for the work experience program, which this proposed new program duplicates. As passed by the House, the bill now before us authorized \$300 million for the work experience programs in title V, \$150 million more than the President's request. The administration, through the Office of Economic Opportunity, came to the Senate committee and asked it to reduce this to the \$150 million figure in the President's budget, which we did. I can only surmise that OEO realistically recognizes that there is a limit to the amount of money that can be absorbed under title V at the present time, and does not want to be embarrassed with an unexpended balance or criticized for wasteful spending necessitated by a desperate attempt to get rid of the money.

It has been argued by the sponsors of section 11, Mr. President, that the new language goes beyond existing title V by authorizing the expenditure of funds on conservation and beautification projects. To this claim—and I believe it is important that Senators understand this—OEO replies that conservation and beautification projects under title V are already underway in six States, with many more such projects planned.

It has also been argued by the sponsors of this amendment that it would

broaden the eligibility for aid beyond the existing criteria of title V, which speaks in terms of parents or relatives of children for whom aid to dependent children payments are made. OEO advises that an extension of title V benefits to all needy persons is feasible and consistent with statutory purposes, and that no legislation is needed to effect such a change.

Title V authorizes the Secretary of HEW to make grants to the States for experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects under section 1115 of the Social Security Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Vermont has expired.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, that section authorizes the Secretary to waive compliance with various other sections of the Social Security Act, notably section 402, in making the grants. Section 402(b) directs the Secretary to approve any plan which fulfills the conditions of section 402(a), which describes State plans for aid and services to needy families with children. Thus, taken altogether and in light of the intent of Congress as expressed in the Economic Opportunity Act and its legislative history, it seems to me the law does not require that the benefits under title V be restricted to parents and relatives of children receiving ADCU benefits, but may be provided to any needy adult. If there is even the slightest doubt on this point, I would be happy to support any amendment to the act to make the point clear; but I do not think that is necessary—and obviously the administration feels likewise.

Let us see what we will have, Mr. President, if this section 11 remains in the bill.

First. We will have a program under title V, administered as a Federal-State grant program by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to provide work experience, including conservation and recreation projects, to needy adults.

Second. We will have a program under title II, administered as a Federal-local grant program, involving both public and private agencies, by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to provide work experience, including conservation and recreation projects, to needy adults.

Mr. President, I submit that this is utterly preposterous. It is so preposterous that even OEO wants no part of it. Its enactment would not be consistent with the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act, which is to effect maximum coordination of all Federal programs aimed at the eradication of poverty. On the contrary, this is not coordination and consolidation, but proliferation and duplication.

The Nelson proposal is wasteful proliferation and duplication, and OEO does not want the additional money for the program it is now operating under title

V. My amendment would strike section 11 and the associated part of section 30 that earmarks \$150 million of the authorization for its implementation.

In short, this would leave the budget as the President requested it; namely, \$1,500 million, for the program. I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. NELSON. I yield myself 5 minutes. This program was adopted by the committee to meet the need that is most critical for many of the poor, the need for constructive employment or work activity. I offered this amendment in committee. It arose out of the hearing held by the Employment and Manpower Subcommittee last year.

Section 205(d) of the act would authorize special programs directed to the needs of the chronically unemployed who have poor employment prospects and who, because of age or other reason, are unable to secure employment or training under other programs. Participants in these programs would work on projects contributing to such things as the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, parks, highways, and other lands. These programs would also have to be conducted in accordance with standards which assure that they are in the public interest and consistent with the labor policies applied in connection with other programs under the act. The bill contemplates that \$150 million will be used for these programs during the first year, \$50 million of which is to be used for projects on Federal lands or along Federal highways.

A year ago I introduced a similar measure. That measure provided for a billion dollars for the same kind of program. This proposal is identical with the proposal I introduced a year ago, on which there were extensive hearings, except that the provision now is for \$150 million a year.

It is aimed at the chronically unemployed, the long term unemployed, the unskilled, those with poor employment prospects. Several features of it are significant, but one is of great significance, and that is that the administration of the program would be conducted by city park departments, by State conservation departments, by county conservation departments, by city street departments, and agencies; in other words, they would handle the supervision of the work to be conducted locally, where the chronically unemployed persons live.

At the time I made the proposal, I sent 2,000 letters to mayors of all the major cities of America and to the Governors of all the States.

I received more than 400 favorable replies. Those favorable replies came from every State in the Union with the exception of one. It was felt that this was a fine program, that there was a large amount of constructive and useful work to be done in the field of conservation, which would not otherwise be done; that this work would be done on programs for which they did not have the money; that they would like to have it, and that it would be applied to useful and constructive work.

I also received favorable replies from practically every major city in America, to the effect that they had large work programs of the kind proposed in the bill, and that they would like to have these employees, whom they could use for constructive labor.

The amendment was drafted by OEO, and they are satisfied with the amendment as it stands now.

The decision as to where the work will be performed will be made by the Administrator, with the approval of the President of the United States.

My view is that this kind of work should be done, and must be done, in the Department of Labor, not in HEW.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield myself 1 minute.

I merely wish to explain that the administration and OEO are opposed to the inclusion of this section. This amendment would reduce the authorization by \$150 million, to exactly what the administration requested for the anti-poverty program. That was made plain.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. I yield some time to the distinguished Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I should like to address some inquiries to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON]. I should like to refer the Senator's attention to section 205 of the present act which is entitled "Financial Assistance for Conduct and Administration of Community Action Programs."

I should like to ask the Senator if his amendment could not be comprehended under the terms of section 205 of the bill, with the sole exception that it adds \$150 million to the bill.

Mr. NELSON. Does the Senator mean under this section in the bill?

Mr. COOPER. Yes. The Senator's amendment would amend section 205 of the act. It refers to chronically unemployed people and prescribes training for certain activities. Emphasis is given to the beautification of highways.

My question is whether this could not be done under the language of section 205 of the act.

Mr. NELSON. I believe not. We examined this subject very carefully at the time the bill was drafted. The amendment provides that a sum not to exceed \$150 million shall be provided for work to be done on Federal lands—Federal forests and Department of the Interior land—in cities, counties, villages, and towns and on State-owned lands, for conservation purposes.

Of course, it might be argued that this could be done under title V.

It probably could not and should not be in title V under the Department of HEW certainly. I believe it is generally agreed within the executive branch that the program ought to be in the Depart-

ment of Labor, although we do not specifically so provide in the amendment, since the authority to make that decision now vests under the law in the director, with approval of the President. But the question of where the program will be administered will be decided in the executive branch, as I have said. It is a work-oriented program which all logic dictates should go to the Department of Labor.

Mr. COOPER. Perhaps I did not make myself clear. Reading the Senator's amendment which was adopted in committee, and reading section 205 of the existing law, it is my opinion that the purpose of the Senator's amendment can be carried out under section 205. It would permit the same kind of program which the Senator's amendment would offer, with the sole exception that the Senator's amendment would provide an additional \$150 million. I do not think the amendment is needed.

To illustrate, the Senator's amendment is directed toward those who are chronically unemployed. Section 205 now deals with persistent unemployment which certainly includes the chronically unemployed, and programs under the section are directed toward those who are persistently and chronically unemployed.

Again, the Senator's amendment specifies certain types of activities in which those people would be engaged. But the language in section 205 of the existing law identifies certain types of employment and activities, and includes the words "but not limited to them."

The Senator is the author of the amendment, but it seems to me that the objects of the amendment could be undertaken under the existing language of section 205, and all that is done actually by the Senator's amendment is to add \$150 million to the bill. The purpose is good but the amendment is not needed. The present act will do the job.

Mr. NELSON. I believe the Senator is correct when he uses the language that it could be done. I think that is correct. This is a directive by the Congress as to what should be done, and is similar to the provision we put in the bill in relation to self-help housing. Self-help housing grants could be made under the act. We added a section specifically spelling out appropriations for that kind of activity.

The section to which I refer specifically states that those effected shall be the chronically unemployed; it would involve long-term unemployment, with poor employment prospects, and it provides that the people shall be employed in those kinds of projects.

I think it is correct to say that there is enough flexibility in the bill so that if the Director desired to do all of those things, he probably would have the power to do so.

Mr. COOPER. Would it be a fair statement to say that the chief purpose of the amendment is to add \$150 million for those specific projects?

Mr. NELSON. For those specific projects, but with emphasis upon the chronically long-term unemployed with poor employment prospects, which was the specific language offered in the commit-

tee by the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and accepted by the committee.

Mr. COOPER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the OEO has said that the money is unnecessary. The administration does not want it. Why do we spend it? This amendment would bring the total figure for the poverty program down to \$1,500 million, and I think that is a great deal more perhaps than I had thought reasonable.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Which agency of the Government has said that the money is not needed and is not wanted?

Mr. PROUTY. The Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The very agency that we are considering under the bill?

Mr. PROUTY. Yes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Will the Senator from Vermont read the statement about the proposed expenditure?

Mr. PROUTY. Earlier I quoted from a part of the testimony which was given before the Senate committee during the hearings:

The Office of Economic Opportunity is sympathetic to the purpose of this amendment. We cannot, however, favor its adoption.

The following statement appears later:

As compared with the program proposed in the amendment, the chief limitation on the work experience program is that it has been restricted so far to those who are receiving or are potential recipients of public assistance. An extension of the program to all needy persons is, however, feasible and in our opinion fully consistent with the statutory purpose. Such an extension we believe will not require legislation.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON] read to me a moment ago a statement to the effect that some agency of the Government said that the expenditure is not needed or wanted. May I inquire what he read from?

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. CANNON. I read from the explanation sheet on the amendment submitted by the distinguished Senator quoting the OEO:

As a method of enhancing the employability of the unemployed poor, the proposed work-training program would substantially duplicate, though in a less effective way, what is already being done under the work experience program.

That is a quotation from page 186 of the Senate hearings.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield for an additional question?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. How much will the program cost in terms of money that is not needed and is unnecessary?

Mr. PROUTY. \$150 million.

Mr. LAUSCHE. So let us not vote to add to the authorization \$150 million that is not needed.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The testimony that is being referred to on the floor of the Senate is testimony of the OEO representatives when this provision was offered as an amendment to title I.

First, the author of the amendment to title I accepted a change in the age limitation of age 21. The limit was removed. The OEO was opposed to that. The fact is that the OEO worked with us to draft the amendment. Their representatives were in the committee meeting at the time the amendment was adopted. It was included in title II at their suggestion.

They liked the amendment. So does the Department of Labor. It is considered a constructive and useful amendment. I refer to the OEO and the Department of Labor. The amendment was adopted unanimously by the committee, with the Senator from Vermont voting for it.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NELSON. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Was this particular item requested by the President, and is it in the bill proposed by the President?

Mr. NELSON. It was not. In the Senate, we put several things in bills that are not requested by the President.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, if the Senator from Wisconsin is willing to yield back the remainder of his time, I am willing to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] to the committee amendment. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea," and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] is paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON].

If present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay," and the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] is detained on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay."

If present and voting the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 41, nays 47, as follows:

[No. 232 Leg.]

YEAS—41

Aiken	Fannin	Mundt
Allott	Fong	Pearson
Bennett	Fulbright	Prouty
Boggs	Hickenlooper	Russell, S.C.
Byrd, W. Va.	Hill	Saltonstall
Cannon	Holland	Scott
Carlson	Hruska	Simpson
Cooper	Jordan, Idaho	Stennis
Cotton	Jordan, N.C.	Talmadge
Dirksen	Kuchel	Thurmond
Dominick	Lausche	Tower
Eastland	McClellan	Williams, Del.
Ellender	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Ervin	Morton	

NAYS—47

Anderson	Inouye	Moss
Bartlett	Jackson	Muskie
Bass	Javits	Nelson
Bayh	Kennedy, Mass.	Neuberger
Bible	Kennedy, N.Y.	Pastore
Brewster	Long, Mo.	Pell
Burdick	Long, La.	Proxmire
Case	Magnuson	Randolph
Church	Mansfield	Ribicoff
Dodd	McGovern	Smith
Douglas	McIntyre	Symington
Gore	Metcalf	Tydings
Gruening	Mondale	Williams, N.J.
Harris	Monroney	Yarborough
Hart	Montoya	Young, Ohio
Hartke	Morse	

NOT VOTING—12

Byrd, Va.	McCarthy	Robertson
Clark	McGee	Russell, Ga.
Curtis	McNamara	Smathers
Hayden	Murphy	Sparkman

So Mr. PROUTY's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 31, after line 2, insert the following:

Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"SEC. 617. The Director shall adopt such administration measures as are necessary to assure that benefits of this Act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas."

ASSURING EQUITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN RURAL AREAS

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, without implying criticism of anyone, I

would like to propose an amendment to the measure before us to insure that the administrators make diligent effort to deal equitably with rural poverty.

In a colloquy with Senator McNAMARA yesterday, I quoted the President's farm message, in which he cited the difficulty of equitably distributing Federal assistance to scattered rural populations where the communities lack the specialists in Government programs found in large cities. The President declared that rural America must be effectively served in spite of the difficulties.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman underlined the problem in an address he made at the National Conference on the Poverty Program in Rural America, held at the Shoreham Hotel April 6 of this year.

The Secretary revealed that:

Rural America has qualified for somewhat less than 5 percent of the funds so far allocated in those programs where the community organization and community initiative are required.

Yet, we are told that 47 percent of the Nation's citizens in the poverty category reside in rural areas.

It is extremely easy, because of the difficulty of communication with rural areas and the lack of specialists in public programs to neglect rural America in the administration of government programs such as the Economic Opportunity Act.

It should also be noted that our American Indians are largely located in rural areas. They are the most economically depressed group in the Nation. Yet, they suffer from a lack of specialized personnel to guide them into new, complex government aid programs. In my own State, leaders of one Indian tribal group have virtually given up in despair after repeatedly being turned down when applying for approval of a community action program. They are overwhelmed by the red tape and bureaucratic complexities involved in completing an approved application. Many rural communities face the same problem.

I, therefore, propose an amendment which will charge those with administering the economic opportunity program to assure equity to the needy in rural and urban areas by adopting such administrative measures as are necessary for that purpose.

Mr. President, I would like to suggest that the urban areas may benefit greatly from increased rural assistance to the needy.

The Wall Street Journal Monday, in an analysis of rioting in Negro ghettos in Los Angeles, Chicago and elsewhere, reported:

In the absence of some radical solution, the kind of racial dynamite being built up in the Negro slums is only too clear. Take West Garfield Park, the Chicago area where 67 people were injured Thursday and Friday nights in Negro rioting and looting. The neighborhood as recently as 1960 was estimated to be only 19 percent Negro, but it has become a center of Negro immigrants from the South and today the population is believed to be nearly 85 percent Negro.

Chalmers Roberts, in a Washington Post article written from Los Angeles,

yesterday told us:

The story of the riots in the Los Angeles area is the story of expectations frustrated of hope denied. Denied specifically to the small town and southern Negro caught in an urban world he does not understand and whose fruits he cannot share.

In Watts, 65 percent come from the South, the rural communities and small towns. Today, Mississippi and Alabama; previously, Texas and Louisiana.

The urban ghetto known as Watts has long been considered the port of entry for Negroes coming to southern California.

Mr. Roberts continues that this migration did not occur during the war when there were jobs to go to, but that the Urban League estimates arrivals are now running 1,000 a month as lack of opportunity in rural areas for the Negro population starts them out in search of opportunity elsewhere.

It would be tragic if the Economic Opportunity Act, by concentrating its benefits in urban areas, and failing to make opportunities for rural Negro people where they are, should accelerate concentration in the urban areas where unrest sometimes flames out of control.

I have discussed this amendment not only with the Senators in charge of the bill, but also with some of the senior Senators on the other side of the aisle. I believe that there is little or no objection to it. I hope the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the amendment of the distinguished Senator from South Dakota would provide that administrative procedure should be taken to assure equitable treatment of the rural and urban areas.

I have no objection to the amendment. I am perfectly willing to accept the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do the Senators yield back their time?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. An amendment is proposed by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] as follows:

On page 20, delete lines 2 through 4 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 15. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) In carrying out the provisions of part B of title I and title II of this Act, reasonable provision shall be made, pursuant to regulations issued by the Director, for an informal public hearing at the Office of the Director upon the request of the Governor of a State as to his objections to any application from such State under such provisions:

Provided, however, That this section shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of the approval of this Act.'"

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator from New York yield himself?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, my amendment proposes that when there is a community action project which a Governor opposes—the situation in which there is now an absolute Governor's veto in the law which the bill would delete in its entirety—the Governor may then seek an informal public hearing under the rules and regulations which the director of the antipoverty program shall establish.

The amendment would except from that provision assistance to institutions of higher education, which is already an exception to the present absolute veto in the law.

My reason for offering the amendment—and I hope very much that it will be accepted by the Senators in charge of the bill—is that, although we have had a great deal of debate concerning the veto power, as the bill would now leave the Senate there is no veto provision in it, and there is no mention of a veto power of any sort. The only provision with relation to this subject concerns continuous consultation with State antipoverty agencies.

On the other hand, in the bill passed by the other body, there is a provision permitting the Governor's veto but adding that his veto can be overridden by the Director of OEO.

It is felt, in deference to the strong feelings of so many of our colleagues as to a veto, that the entire subject should be before us in conference. By adding this relatively innocuous provision for a public hearing to the particular section which in the House bill deals with the veto question, the matter would be before us in conference.

I deeply feel—and I am joined in this feeling by so ardent a proponent of the no-veto position as the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH]—that we can come back with a provision which would be reasonable and would not be harmful, but which would lend dignity and respect to deeply held objections to denying the Governors the veto power.

My amendment is designed to bring the matter before the conference by proposing that a Governor who opposes a project shall have the opportunity for an informal public hearing under suitable rules and regulations promulgated by the Director.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished senior Senator from New York for his careful work on this amendment.

My opposition to the Governor's veto power is on the basis of a desire to see this program succeed.

I am for the program. I presume that, under the amendment of the distinguished senior Senator from New

York, the provision for hearings and consultations before the Governor would relate, in the main, to informal proceedings, rather than public. However, if it were thought that the Director would be arbitrary, the Governor could call for public hearings. This amendment would provide for proceeding with dignity.

However, with an absolute Governor's veto, he could disregard the wishes of the people in his district or the Office of Economic Opportunity. Now everybody will be heard. Everybody will be heard with the dignity compatible with his office. This is the first time it has been offered. We debated this question in committee. There were many different versions. I commend the distinguished Senator for his legislative skill and craftsmanship in drafting an amendment which I hope will not hurt the antipoverty bill, but will cause more cooperation and less friction between public officials at all levels.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield for a question.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. NELSON. The Senator's amendment uses the language "public hearings." I take it the Senator is referring to the fact that if a Governor makes a request for a meeting in his office, it would be open to the public and the press if he wishes to discuss it?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes; I do not have in mind an elaborate interview.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the clerk read the amendment again.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, it is difficult for us to know what we are voting on. Is there a copy of it available?

Mr. JAVITS. I am asking the clerk to read it now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from New York will be read.

The legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

On page 20, delete lines 2 through 4 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 15. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) In carrying out the provisions of part B of title I and title II of this Act, reasonable provision shall be made, pursuant to regulations issued by the Director, for an informal public hearing at the Office of the Director upon the request of the Governor of a State as to his objections to any application from such State under such provisions: *Provided, however, That this section shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of the approval of this Act.'*"

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in order that Senators may read the amendment or confer with respect to it, I suggest the absence of a quorum—

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold that request?

Mr. JAVITS. I withhold it.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE].

ROBERT MANRY'S RECORD-BREAKING TRANSATLANTIC SAILING TRIP

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I hope Senators will indulge me while I discuss a matter that is not germane to the subject under discussion.

In Cleveland, Ohio, we have a Robert Manry, connected with the Cleveland Plain Dealer, who ventured on a sailing trip across the ocean, beginning at Falmouth, Mass., going to Falmouth, England.

The trip was made in a 13½-foot boat, and in it he had to be supplied with all of his food, implements of navigation, and of life protection. He was alone in the boat. For 78 days he was sometimes on the smooth, but more often on the rough and dangerous waters of the Atlantic.

The description of the sufferings which he endured stirs the emotions—the heat of the sun in the day, the silence of the night, without anything in view except the moon and the stars in the heavens.

With a sextant provided by the Air Force of the United States and the stars, he charted his 3,200-mile course across the Atlantic. Manry arrived at Falmouth, England, and there was greeted by 50,000 enthusiastic citizens of the area.

I rise to express commendation of Mr. Manry and his wife, Virginia, and his children, a daughter of 13 and a son of 11 years of age.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD articles from the Cleveland Plain Dealer describing this heroic venture into the Atlantic from the coast of the United States to the coast of England. I express felicitations to him. I thank him for exhibiting what, in my opinion, is one of the qualities and characteristics that have made America great—the spirit of the individual to venture into dangers and to gamble with fate, even though survival of life is at stake.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer
Aug. 18, 1965]

FALMOUTH STAGES RECORD CELEBRATION—50,000 WELCOME MANRY TO BRITAIN

(By George J. Barmann)

FALMOUTH, ENGLAND.—Robert Manry, riding the winds and the stars, came home last night from the sea.

In a brilliant blue evening of water and sky, with nearly 50,000 persons cheering and the late sun burning the windows of Falmouth, he came home to land after 3,200 miles of the great and lonely Atlantic.

Robert Manry was terribly tired. He could hardly walk. He was waving. He was laughing. He was happy. He was lonely no longer. It was a fantastic transatlantic sailing achievement.

Tinkerbelle, the good girl who tamed the wild ocean, brought him in, the bright red sail defiant to the end. He sat in her 13½-foot shell and he guided her in until the final moment.

Captain Manry made port here in 78 days. He left Falmouth, Mass., on June 1, at 10 in the morning. He landed here at 7:30 p.m. (2:30 p.m. Cleveland time).

Seconds after he landed he embraced and kissed his wife, Virginia, and hugged his two children, Robin, 14, and Douglas, 11. And then Robert Manry knelt down and kissed the earth of England.

When Manry left Cape Cod, it was in the quiet of an American morning, with the sand dunes fading away and the deep and unquiet ocean ahead of him.

When he arrived here, it was in the roaring English evening, with thousands of people and scores of ships and planes in his ears and the mighty seas all behind him.

The American flag fluttered freshly from the stern.

"I am here," he said.

You could barely hear him say it: "I am here."

This harbor, one of the world's great natural havens, was jammed with boats and ships of all descriptions. The town of Falmouth (population 17,500) was tied up with traffic for 2 miles in each direction.

A total of 50,000 persons watched the drama of Manry's journey's end. They stretched along the shoreline for miles—from Pendennis Point, where they could see *Tinkerbelle* first, all the way to the harbor itself.

Helicopters of the Royal Navy whirled above him as he was approaching the outer harbor. Four-engine Shackletons of the Royal Air Force, which had helped in searches to fix his positions, sped overhead as he came to a landing. Two official launches escorted Manry in. One was the launch of the Customs House of Falmouth. The other was the boat of the harbormaster, Capt. Francis H. Edwards.

Tinkerbelle was towed in the last 2 miles.

It was almost impossible for Captain Manry to sail her in because of the crush. One motorboat collided with *Tinkerbelle*, with no adverse effects. The green water was white with the wakes of vessels.

Whistles blew, Cornishmen yelled out: "Glad you made it, mate."

Captain Manry waved back and shouted, time and time again: "Thank you. Nice of you to come out."

People on all sides tried frantically to get close to him and shake his hand.

This reporter rode the last few miles of this epic journey across the Atlantic with Captain Manry.

Mindful of his boat, as always, the 47-year-old sailor maneuvered as best he could among the hundreds of powerboats and sails. He asked, as he held to the tiller:

"Is there anybody left in Falmouth?"

Then he landed at the jetty, or quay as it is known here. And then the crowd took him over.

Police, linking arms, held back the photographers and the crowds. Samuel A. Hooper, the mayor, in his official robes and his chain of office, welcomed him.

A line was cut through the shouting crowds, and Captain Manry and his family were taken to a press conference in Princess Pavilion, then to the Green Bank Hotel on the harbor front, where another big crowd awaited him.

He got to sleep at 1 a.m., finally.

This last day at sea for Manry began with his first sighting of land since Massachusetts. He saw the land at Lizard Point, near here, as the sun came up. He had sailed all night in the moonlight.

As boats went out to meet him, he talked for a moment with representatives of the Plain Dealer, who were aboard a chartered boat.

The press boat pulled alongside. This reporter jumped aboard *Tinkerbelle*.

Manry, in his red windbreaker jacket and bareheaded, was alone in this tiny thing, but you knew he had two other passengers all this time—magnificent courage and quiet determination.

"George, how are you?" he said. He laughed. He said he didn't know what to think of all this.

"Excuse me," he said, as the boom went swinging past.

And then the harbormaster's boat came alongside and Manry put his hand out to keep her from scraping *Tinkerbelle*. He was always watching out for *Tinkerbelle*. Every moment.

"Mr. Manry, you are in the harbor of Falmouth," called out Captain Edwards. "We would like to tow you in the rest of the way."

The tow was attached. A 2-mile procession began.

It was 6:30 p.m.

"I won't be required to make any speeches, will I?" he asked. He had heard of the civic reception that was waiting for him.

"Not now."

"Will I ever?"

"I don't know yet."

A motorboat came close. A man handed Manry a snapshot. "I just took a picture of you," he said. "Would you like to have it?" Manry took it and thanked the stranger for it. Another boat came near. A boy wanted to shake Manry's hand. They shook hands.

"That's Pendennis Castle over there, isn't it?" Manry asked. He knew the sights of Falmouth. He had a chart before him. Two cameras, one still and one movie, held the charts down in a breeze.

The sea belongs to the dreamer. Robert Manry is a dreamer. His dream came true on this ocean he was now leaving.

"There are more boats here than there were at Dunkirk during the war," he said, picking up his movie camera and shooting some scenes of the turmoil in the water around him.

A girl on one large boat yelled, "Cleveland. Cleveland. Cleveland." He said, "Where in Cleveland?" She said: "In Parma."

"You know I first heard about all this commotion when I was listening to the Voice of America talking about me—in French," said Manry. He looked up toward the granite headlands as *Tinkerbelle* came on.

"Look at those people," he said, pointing to a line that looked like statues etched against the sky. "It looks like Roman times. They're defending the battlement."

Tinkerbelle passed Black Rock, a half-mile out. He was now in the inner harbor.

Bob could now begin to see the really big crowd. And the crush of boats was getting worse. The launch of the RAF and the harbormaster's boat were warning them to keep clear.

"I feel like I have just been elected President," said Manry.

FALMOUTH JUBILANT AS MANRY ARRIVES

(By Russell W. Kane)

FALMOUTH, ENGLAND.—Falmouth was a Piccadilly Circus town last night when Bob Manry was towed over the last stretch of water to complete his record-breaking transatlantic sailing trip.

Thousands upon thousands of people—both residents and tourists—jammed the narrow, brown-walled streets of this ancient Cornish seaport all day yesterday waiting for Manry and *Tinkerbelle*.

Cruise boat operators ferried loads of passengers at 10 shillings (\$1.40) a head out into Falmouth Bay to wave at the conquering hero.

The ramparts of the two ancient castles at the harbor mouth were jammed with other watchers, many of them armed with telescopes, binoculars, cameras, and portable radios so that they could tune to the latest developments on *Tinkerbelle*'s progress.

"Well done," was the shout on most lips last night as Bob landed.

And it was well done.

The crowds were so thick that people were perched on window ledges, jammed out onto piers, swarming in the harbor in hundreds of small and large boats, hanging from trees, standing on hedges, looking out of windows, and filling every available space lining this almost circular harbor.

Manry moved up the harbor, first sailing, then being towed by the harbor master's launch for safety's sake.

Before *Tinkerbelle* pulled into sight behind the 23,000-ton *Nevada*, being pulled out of drydock for a sea cruise, the band began to play on the Custom House Quay.

It was the St. Stythians Silver Band. They tuned up with "The Stars and Stripes Forever," went into "The Star-Spangled Banner," and finished off with "Hail, the Conquering Hero Comes."

Manry looked genuinely shocked when his face appeared from beneath the sail boom of his cockleshell as it was towed up to the quay.

His tanned face broke into a huge smile. His voice was hoarse. You couldn't hear it above the crowd noise, anyway.

It was drowned out, too, by the band, the onlookers, and a horde of newsmen, including a 50-yard bench set up for TV and newsreel cameramen.

As his boat was tied to the pier, he was helped up the steps by the police chief, Trevor Lewis, and William A. Ashbolt, Plain Dealer director of news photography.

"Everything is moving," he said, laughing as he stumbled up the pier steps. He was wobbly on his feet.

Then he saw his wife, Virginia, and his children, Douglas, 11, and Robin, 14, standing on the pier.

The newsmen pressed closer, photographers' flash units were popping right and left. The crowd, which filled the street, shouted and screamed when Bob appeared in his red nylon windbreaker.

Although he was near the edge of exhaustion, Manry waved enthusiastically at the greeters.

"My goodness, what a crowd," he said over and over, jovially, as if he had just walked out of his home after a nap.

Chief Lewis estimated the crowd at 50,000 persons after he had taken a good look at them.

The Manry family and Ashbolt were placed by bobbies into one car, the mayor, Sam Hooper, and the adult Manrys were put in another car and a few more policemen entered a third car. But the three-car motorcade was unable to move off the pier. The cars were absolutely swallowed by the crowds.

One of the first things Ashbolt did when he got close to Manry as he was helping him up the steps was give him a letter from Thomas Vail, publisher and editor of *The Plain Dealer*.

"Oh," said Manry. "Isn't this wonderful. Isn't this terrific. It's so flattering to get a friendly word from the boss just when I need it the most."

The motorcade slowly moved off with the black-helmeted bobbies marching along in between the swarm of cars, shouting: "Please clear the way, please, please, 5 feet on each side, ladies and gentlemen."

But the ordinarily placid Cornish just wouldn't be moved. They kept looking for the car that contained Manry. They clutched at its rear view mirrors. They clutched through the windows trying to pat him and shouting, "well done," in the windows at him. Manry's expression was a cross between exhaustion and hysteria. He looked jubilant one minute, stunned the next. But he smiled gaily and waved at the crowds and said, "Thank you, thank you, thank you," as the motorcade slowly drove up the twisting street to Princess Pavilion.

A crowning touch to the completion of Manry's journey was a five-time flyover by the Royal Air Force planes which had

searched so diligently for him many times when he was unaccounted for in the North Atlantic.

Wing Cmdr. Steve Carson personally flew a huge Shackleton plane in a wing-wagging salute to the sailor hero. It thrilled the spectators, too, to see the air-sea four-engine camouflaged ship zooming low over Falmouth.

Just before his news conference Manry and his wife had tea with Mayor Hooper and chatted and relaxed a bit in a garden before he faced reporters' questions at a press conference.

As we drove back from the news conference to the hotel so that Manry could eat a secluded meal and a cup of hot tea, a bath and wash his hair and care for his salt water injured hand, he said: "This has been a fantastic day."

It certainly was. But it was one of 78 fantastic days.

BARNACLES KEEP TINK OFF PEDESTAL ASHORE

FALMOUTH, ENGLAND.—Barnacles kept *Tinkerbelle* locked to the sea last night.

Instead of occupying a place of honor ashore, Capt. Robert Manry's boat spent one more night bobbing on the sea.

When the harbor master's men tried to pull up *Tinkerbelle's* center board, they found that barnacles had attached themselves to it. The retractable keel would not budge.

As darkness closed in, a Royal Air Force diver tried in vain to chip the tenacious crustaceans from the keel. But he could not budge them.

So the 13½-foot sailboat is riding at a mooring 200 yards from Customs House Quay, where it touched land earlier.

A guard of harbor master's men and police has been posted to protect *Tinkerbelle* from souvenir hunters.

Today, experts will be called in to clean off the barnacles and make *Tinkerbelle* ready for the land.

Tinkerbelle was towed into the harbor earlier. Officials feared it might be crushed or damaged by other boats.

Captain Manry at first was hesitant of the tow offer. Then he agreed. "I'm here," he said. "It won't spoil my record."

CHILDREN HAIL DAD ON PIER

FALMOUTH, ENGLAND.—Robert Manry's children were the happiest kids on the crowded pier here yesterday when their father stepped ashore.

But they were restrained in their joy. They had seen him and chatted with him earlier when Plain Dealer reporters took them a short distance to sea to say hello to their father. They had not seen him for nearly 3 months.

On that encounter, aboard a boat chartered by the Plain Dealer, Douglas Manry, 11, and his sister, Robin, 14, shouted and waved to Bob as we drew near the tiny *Tinkerbelle*, which was almost obscured by circling boats that went out in this ancient harbor to greet Manry. Douglas also showed off his Beatle boots, acquired here while the family waited for Manry's arrival.

"My goodness, look at those shoes," shouted Manry when he saw them. The long, black, pointed, suede ankle-length boots seemed to be the biggest surprise for the transatlantic sailor.

Bob's face lit up with a fatherly glow when he saw his children hanging over the rail of the chartered 54-foot launch.

"Boy, am I glad to see you," he said.

He chatted also with his wife, Virginia. He had seen her Monday when we found him and *Tinkerbelle* sailing along 56 miles southwest of here in the English Channel's western approaches.

There was actually not much conversation. Bob was too busy watching other boats that were circling around.

But the children were very happy to see him and, although they didn't have too much to say, they assured him that they would have dinner with him that night, "if you can make it," Robin said.

"Don't worry, I'll make it," Bob shouted back, as he veered away from our boat.

And he did.

Later Bob, Virginia, and their children were reunited in a room at the Green Bank Hotel here in Falmouth, where the family has been staying.

They were getting together after their long separation. The children are filling in Bob on what they have done in Falmouth—fishing, swimming, meeting Cornish children.

Douglas told about "Help," the new Beatles' film, which he and Robin have seen many times.

Manry, a gentle guy who looks even more fatherly in his bushy dandy mustache, made such comments as:

"Gee, that certainly sounds interesting. This is a wonderful town for children."

The children for the first time in the 2 weeks since our Plain Dealer expedition left Cleveland, seemed beside themselves with joy.

Once again they were reunited and welded into their familiar family unit.

Although they are 3,200 miles from home, the Robert Manrys are a family again.

And they show it by the happy light in their eyes.

ROBERT MANRY—A GREAT SAILOR

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean by Robert Manry in his 13½ foot sailboat, is one of the outstanding instances of individual heroism of our time. In this fast moving space age of change and challenge, people the world over have become accustomed to great feats of heroism in flights into space. As a matter of fact the ever increasing number of space flights have caused some people to take for granted the bravery of the individuals involved in each of them.

Robert Manry's triumph was his and his alone. On his own he sailed from Falmouth, Mass., and for 78 days braved the Atlantic Ocean alone and unaided until his arrival in Falmouth, England yesterday.

We in Ohio are especially proud of the new hero in our midst. Bob Manry resides in Cleveland, Ohio, where he is a copy editor for the Plain Dealer, one of the great newspapers of that city.

In this day of computers and automation, of space flights and probing of the oceans' depths, it is a rare thing indeed for one man to tackle the elements alone and unaided. Not since the historic flight of Charles Lindbergh has the world seen an example of this kind of individual heroism and bravery.

The world now knows that Robert Manry is a great sailor. We in Ohio have for some time knew that he was a great newspaperman. May I join with millions of other people the world over in extending to him and to his family my heartiest congratulations on his outstanding achievement.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do Senators yield back their time?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield back by time—

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, are we on the amendment of the Senator from New York?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. I am willing to yield back my time.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New York to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, while there are enough Senators present, I ask for the yeas and nays on final passage.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 393

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 393.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Vermont will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment (No. 393), as follows:

On page 27, line 20, strike out everything through line 24 and insert in lieu thereof:

"PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

"SEC. 610. (a) It is the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under this Act.

"(b) There is hereby established in the Office a Task Force on Programs for the Elderly Poor. The task force shall be composed of nineteen members who shall be appointed by, and shall serve at the pleasure of, the Director pursuant to section 602(c) to represent industry, labor, agriculture, education, minority groups, and social service organizations. The Director shall name one such member as Chairman. The task force shall investigate the needs of the elderly poor, examine the effect on the elderly poor of programs under this and other Federal Acts, and, where appropriate, recommend modifications of existing programs and the institution of new programs to assist the elderly poor to improve their standard of living. The task force shall, among other things, examine proposals for substantial increases in monthly social security benefits, the inclusion of all persons of retirement age who do not receive public pensions into the social security system, and further liberalization of the retirement income test of section 203 of the Social Security Act. The task force shall make a report of its findings and recommendations to the Director for transmittal to the President and Congress on or before June 30, 1966."

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the amendment I now call up creates no new programs, involves no new expenditures, broadens no existing authority, and almost certainly reflects the intent of the great majority of the Congress. Often I wish more of the amendments voted upon by this body had such splendid credentials.

My amendment is similar to that first proposed by the junior Senator from Florida, who serves as chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging.

The first section of my proposed new section 610 of the Economic Opportunity Act incorporates verbatim the language proposed by Senator SMATHERS and

adopted by the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. This merely expresses the intention of Congress that wherever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct and administration of the antipoverty program.

The second section borrows from another earlier proposal of Senator SMATHERS to give statutory authority to a task force on programs for the elderly poor within the Office of Economic Opportunity. This section reads as follows:

There is hereby established in the Office a task force on programs for the elderly poor. The task force shall be composed of 19 members who shall be appointed by, and shall serve at the pleasure of, the Director pursuant to section 602(c) to represent industry, labor, agriculture, education, minority groups, and social service organizations. The Director shall name one such member as chairman. The task force shall investigate the needs of the elderly poor, examine the effects on the elderly poor of programs under this and other Federal acts, and, where appropriate, recommend modifications of existing programs and the institution of new programs to assist the elderly poor to improve their standard of living. The task force shall, among other things, examine proposals for substantial increases in monthly social security benefits, the inclusion of all persons of retirement age who do not receive public pensions into the social security system, and further liberalization of the retirement income test of section 203 of the Social Security Act. The task force shall make a report of its findings and recommendations to the Director for transmittal to the President and Congress on or before June 30, 1966.

Mr. President, this amendment is, very simply, a tangible manifestation of the intention of Congress that the elderly poor get an even break with younger persons under the antipoverty program.

Now, Mr. President, the question is properly raised, do the elderly poor get an even break now under the antipoverty program? Are the problems of the more than 15 million Americans over 65 who have incomes below the poverty line being given the urgent consideration they deserve from the Office of Economic Opportunity?

Here is what Mr. Shriver had to say on this point to the Senate Special Committee on Aging this June:

First of all, it seems to be extremely difficult to find efficient, economical ways of actually helping the very elderly poor to get out of poverty. Congress already has a magnificent record through the Social Security Administration, through the proposed medicare bill, and through other programs, for bringing effective help to the aged, but when you get the problem of how do you actually help the aged help themselves to get out of poverty, it is more difficult.

This is not to say, however, that it is impossible. I just want to make the firm point that we are not satisfied with what we have done and I am not satisfied with what I am able to report to you and the other members of the committee today.

In order to remedy this situation, on June 14 Mr. Shriver appointed a task force within his office to grapple with the problems of the elderly poor. I commend him for it, although I think it could well have been done some months earlier. This amendment would give the

prestige of specific statutory authority to this task force.

It will be seen that the language of the amendment makes special reference to possible changes in the Social Security Act which have a direct relationship to poverty among the elderly.

The relationship of the social security laws to the aged poor has been clearly recognized by the Office of Economic Opportunity. In a statement to the Senate Committee on the Aging, OEO stated:

No employment program can go to the heart of the problem of poverty among these aged people. Such a program thus cannot substitute for basic income maintenance arrangements, operating through the social security system, the tax structure, or otherwise, which will provide those aged who must or want to retire with the income they need in retirement.

Accordingly, my amendment directs the task force to consider changes in the Social Security Act, and three proposals in particular:

First, Substantial increases in social security benefits; second, broadening the social security system to include more retired persons who have no public pensions; third, further liberalization of the retirement income test under the social security laws.

It is not, of course, intended that these be the only subjects of consideration by the task force. They are mentioned only to insure that the task force give them special consideration. I should like to point out that I proposed amendments along each of these three lines when the social security bill was before us last month—amendments which went beyond the version eventually enacted into law in respect to aid for our retired citizens. Careful study of these proposals by this task force should help the Congress give them due consideration when they next are proposed.

My amendment goes beyond the mandate of the existing task force by requiring it to make a report to the Director for transmittal to the President and Congress on or before June 30, 1966. This guarantees that the efforts of this exceptionally well qualified group will be readily available to the Congress as it continues its discussion of measures to aid our senior citizens.

I must say that I am among the first to recognize the difficulties inherent in trying to devise programs to specifically aid the elderly poor under the Economic Opportunity Act. The principle beyond the Economic Opportunity Act is that a sensible outlay by the Government can convert people who are now tax eaters into taxpayers. With those who are beyond normal working years there is a serious problem in putting this principle into practice. But, I suggest, there are ways that the lives of the elderly poor can be made more constructive and meaningful. Mr. Shriver has already suggested a foster grandparents program, to utilize the talents of our older citizens in enriching the lives of neglected and unwanted children. This is an excellent idea, and I hope the task force on the problems of the elderly poor will spell out in detail how this program can be put into operation in the very near future.

I know I believe the Senate should pass this amendment and fight to hold it in conference, so as to put certain elements at OEO on stern notice that the elderly poor deserve the very best from the war on poverty.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. PROUTY. I yield.

Mr. NELSON. This provision, I take it, would give a statutory status to the committee that has already been appointed.

Mr. PROUTY. That is correct, and it would also require that the report be submitted to Congress.

Mr. ANDERSON. Why does this provide for a special study of the elderly poor when the Senate has a committee on it and the House has a standing committee on it? The Senator states that he is going to investigate the elderly poor. Does not the Senate have a Committee on Aging and does not the House have one also?

Mr. PROUTY. This would be in the executive branch, and the study would be in relation to the poverty program. The amendment does not add anything new. It merely gives statutory authority to a task force presently in existence, and requires that the Director submit its report to Congress.

Mr. ANDERSON. Do I understand correctly that Sargent Shriver's office is now studying substantial increases in social security benefits? Is that not what the resolution calls for?

Mr. PROUTY. Yes, that is what this amendment calls for.

Mr. ANDERSON. He does have?

Mr. PROUTY. OEO has rightly recognized the close relationship between social security benefits and poverty among the elderly poor.

Mr. ANDERSON. I should like the Senator to answer it this way. Does Sargent Shriver's office now have a committee studying substantial increases in social security benefits?

Mr. PROUTY. He has a task force studying the problems of the elderly poor.

Mr. ANDERSON. He does have?

Mr. PROUTY. It is studying the whole broad area of poverty among the elderly. I do not know whether it is specifically studying the relationship between social security benefits and poverty among the elderly, but I believe it should.

Mr. ANDERSON. Social security is not necessarily a whole broad study of poverty.

Mr. PROUTY. No, but any meaningful study of the poverty problems of the elderly necessarily involves social security benefits and coverage.

Mr. ANDERSON. Ordinarily, this is a province of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate. I am wondering why Sargent Shriver is going to begin a study of social security benefits.

Mr. PROUTY. The only purpose is to consider the poverty problems of the elderly, and those problems are in part related to social security.

Mr. ANDERSON. It states here, "(c) Further liberalization of the retirement income test under the Social Security Act." That is the function of the

Standing Committee of the Senate and the Standing Committee of the House.

Mr. PROUTY. This amendment merely gives statutory authority to a task force which is already in existence, and requires that the Director of OEO submit a report to Congress. If legislation is involved, it would be referred to the appropriate legislative committees of Congress.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, let me say at this point that the OEO does have a committee studying conditions of the elderly poor. It is a committee appointed by the Director. This gives it statutory status. I am willing to accept the amendment and take it to conference.

Mr. ANDERSON. Would the Senator in charge of the bill answer a question or two about that?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. ANDERSON. The Senator has just stated that the OEO has a committee now making a study of social security?

Mr. NELSON. No, I did not say that. I said that a committee is studying, I understand—I am informed—I am advised—that they have such a committee studying problems of the elderly poor. What aspects of those problems they are going into, I do not know. This provides for a study of a substantial increase in social security benefits.

Mr. ANDERSON. That is the function of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate. Therefore, is that subject not receiving adequate attention at the present time by these committees? I invite the Senator's attention to the fact that the Finance Committee had 30 days of hearings, and 25 days in executive session covering problems of the elderly poor and elderly care.

Mr. NELSON. I believe that the Senator from New Mexico is directing his questions to the wrong source.

Mr. ANDERSON. The Senator from Wisconsin indicated that he would accept the amendment of the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. NELSON. All I said was that the director already has appointed, I understand, an advisory committee to consider special problems of the elderly poor, to make recommendations for their inclusion in programs under the act.

Mr. ANDERSON. The Social Security Act does not come under this act, but the pending amendment does.

Mr. NELSON. Perhaps the Senator from New Mexico should offer an amendment to strike out the specification of "social security benefits."

Mr. ANDERSON. I do not know about that. I wonder why the Senator would take this amendment to conference without knowing what is in it.

Mr. NELSON. We accepted it for various reasons, one of the reasons being that it is getting very late.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. NELSON. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Do I understand correctly that the Senator will accept the amendment in order to take it to conference?

Mr. NELSON. That is correct.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The term "take it to conference" has the usual Senate connotation, does it not?

Mr. NELSON. Well, we can continue with additional amendments, let me say.

Mr. ANDERSON. I believe that the Senator from Vermont is probably making a mistake in including social security benefits in his amendment. It is perfectly proper to direct attention to problems of this kind, if the OEO has such a committee. I wish the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] were in the Chamber, to hear what he would have to say if someone were to walk into his territory.

Mr. NELSON. Would the Senator from Vermont be willing to strike out the specifications of the words "social security"—that would be on lines 9 through 15 on page 2?

Mr. ANDERSON. I invite the attention of the Senator from Wisconsin to section (c) where it states, "further liberalization of the retirement income test under the Social Security Act."

This matter was, as the Senator from Illinois has just put it, just accepted and taken to conference.

Mr. PROUTY. Let me say to my friend the Senator from Wisconsin that I am willing to delete those lines, but it would be done with the understanding that he is doing something more than simply taking it to conference. I thought that the Senator had already accepted my amendment a few minutes ago.

Mr. NELSON. I told the Senate that I would accept it. I do accept it. I am merely substituting for the Senator in charge of the bill, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], who will be the one to take it to conference.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I modify my amendment by striking out the sentence that begins on page 2, line 9, and ends on page 2, line 16.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has a right to modify his amendment. If there is no objection, the amendment is so modified.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. NELSON. I yield.

Mr. CASE. I should like to make this inquiry as to whether the amendment, as modified, is subject to the same derogatory comment of the Senator from Illinois about being "taken to conference," or whether we really mean to accept it now?

Mr. NELSON. I believe that the amendment as modified is a very fine amendment.

Mr. CASE. I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. ANDERSON. May I express my appreciation to the Senator from Vermont. I appreciate very much what he has done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is all time now yielded back?

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified, of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY].

The amendment, as modified, to the committee amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be

proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, before third reading, let me say that I have no amendment to offer, but it was suggested that we have a quorum call before third reading, and on that basis I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be granted 5 minutes to express my views on the bill generally. I do know that 1 hour of debate has been allocated on the bill, but there are other Senators who wish to speak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection—

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I contemplate voting against the bill and should like the record to show my reasons for doing so.

In fiscal 1965, \$793 million was spent by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The administration asked for \$1,500 million for fiscal year 1966, or about 100 percent more than was spent in fiscal year 1965.

The bill which the administration sent to the House, for \$1,500 million, was raised to \$1,895 million. The bill as it is before the Senate calls for \$1,650 million, which is \$150 million more than the administration requested. I cannot go along with this unjustified, unreasonable lifting of the expenditure in this program. I cannot understand how, in face of our general problems around the world and the expenditures that are incident to them, we can go on the spending spree contemplated in the bill.

I point out a few aspects of the spending with which I do not agree. It is conceded that for every boy or girl taken into the Job Training Corps there will be spent an average of \$4,400 for a period of 9 months of training. The advertisements calling upon these boys and girls to enlist state "Join this Corps. Travel, study, work, with pay."

For each enrollee there is spent \$4,400. The enrollees are the dropouts from our normal schools. My query is, How can we justify spending \$4,400 for a 9-month period, to take care of a dropout, when in Ohio it is possible to send a boy or girl to practically any college within the State—and it has 54 colleges—on an expenditure that averages about \$2,100?

For the dropout it is \$4,400 a year. For the enrollee in our colleges it is about \$2,100 per year.

For 2 days we have been listening to arguments. The arguments have not been about the poor, but about who is going to control the loot. The Governors of the States and the mayors of the

municipalities begged to have the right to say what the Washington Government might do within the States and the municipalities. Their request was fair and reasonable. Washington wants full and unlimited control without the States or cities having any word in the matter. Washington's position is wrong and that of the States and cities is right.

It has been pointed out that all but one Governor voted for the veto power in the Governors. After 10 years of attendance at Governors' conferences, my experience shows that nowhere do the Governors speak the truth with greater intensity, free from politics, than they do at the Governors' conference. There they are free from political domination. There they express their individual views. All but one Governor said the Governors should have the veto power.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. When they asked for the veto power and asked for the responsibility, it was not rejected by Washington. For a Governor to say, "I turn down an application for Federal money" requires great courage and integrity. Governors took that position. In my whole political career I have never seen a program so loaded with the ability of political manipulation and deviousness. The programs general objective is good but its cost of administration is indefensibly extravagant. I cannot vote for it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee amendment bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for 2 minutes before the third reading, in order to simplify the time of the Senate later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The chair hears none, and the Senator may proceed.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I have great respect for the distinguished Senator from Ohio, who has pointed out the real, basic problem in the bill as it is presented to us. We have not had any fruitful amendments accepted to cure the defects that were mentioned. We are ballooning—not merely expanding—the proposed expenditures on this program without solving the administrative problem.

For these reasons, plus the statement which I understand the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], our great leader, will make on the bill, I merely wish to say that I cannot support the bill in its present form.

In order to outline clearly one of the reasons, I refer to an editorial published in the Denver Post of August 13. It is headlined "Brighter Side of Poverty Program." It discusses one of the Job Corps camps in our State:

Of all the boys received at Collbran, about one-fourth have quit and gone home—some because of homesickness, some because of

family emergencies, some because they just didn't like it.

One youth, who beat up another corpsman, without provocation, was discharged. He happens to live in Denver, most corpsmen are from outside Colorado.

There have been occasional problems: a fight between two corpsmen in Collbran; attempts by underage boys to buy beer and liquor; the heterogeneous racial composition of the camp. But the project supervisor, R. W. (Bob) Jennings of Grand Junction, is "well pleased."

I say to Senators that until we can do better than that, I am unwilling to see \$1,650 million of taxpayers' funds spent without curing the problem.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRIGHTER SIDE OF POVERTY PROGRAM

The war on poverty has both ups and downs and, by the nature of things, there is bound to be more griping about failures than cheering about successes. It seems appropriate, then, to note that a once-controversial poverty project in Colorado has achieved at least tentative success.

The Office of Economic Opportunity opened Colorado's first Job Corps camp near Collbran, in Mesa County, late in May. The site was picked by OEO in Washington and approved by Gov. John Love in spite of some protest in the community.

Now, as the end of the third month approaches, the camp seems to have shaken down quietly and started its important duty: teaching in the classroom, training in job skills, creating recreational areas for public enjoyment, inspiring young men to break the old bonds of poverty and ignorance.

There are now about 90 youths, ages 16 through 21, at Collbran. Half stay in camp for construction work and classes while the others work, under direction of the Bureau of Reclamation, on public recreational facilities on Grand Mesa.

Of all the boys received at Collbran, about one-fourth have quit and gone home—some because of homesickness, some because of family emergencies, some because they just don't like it.

One youth who beat up another corpsman, without provocation, was discharged. He happens to live in Denver; most corpsmen are from outside Colorado.

There have been occasional problems: a fight between two corpsmen in Collbran; attempts by underage boys to buy beer and liquor; the heterogeneous racial composition of the camp. But the project supervisor, R. W. (Bob) Jennings of Grand Junction, is "well pleased."

Jennings, a veteran reclamation engineer, meets regularly with a community committee to talk over problems and "try to head off any new ones."

Murray Durst, camp director, thinks the camp is gaining support from the community, though "there are still some questions on people's minds—you don't just put 90 boys down in a community without having some impact."

A random sampling of the Collbran community tends to confirm this feeling: that the camp has gained in acceptance, ranging from tolerance to good will, but nearby residents still have some reservations.

A minister just arrived in Collbran, the Reverend Max H. Webster, brings with him some related experiences in Vermont, where as an administrator for the United Church of Christ, he participated at the State level in the poverty program and is familiar with it.

The outlook at Collbran is optimistic. Colorado's second Job Corps camp is sched-

uled to open near Pagosa Springs this fall. We hope the young men at Collbran and their good neighbors will continue to make the experiment work.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I believe the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] will wish to speak before the third reading of the bill. Under an arrangement with him I agreed to speak first.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is under control.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. It makes no difference whether I speak before or after the third reading. I ask unanimous consent that I may yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senator from Kentucky may proceed.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, during the debate several Senators have placed in the RECORD statements indicating that the Economic Opportunity Act—known widely as the Antipoverty Act—has been used in some counties and communities for political purposes.

I have recently received several complaints from Pike County, Ky., stating that some programs are being used for political advantages in that county. I do not know all the facts, but I have asked the Director, the Honorable Sargent Shriver, to make an investigation of these complaints and make a full report.

I was one of the original supporters of the bill and its programs. I voted for the first bill, and I shall vote for the bill before us. But I want to see it used for the benefit of the poor, the needy, the unemployed, the young men and women, and the aged, and I want the program to be run without waste, duplication, and politics.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, certainly we all know that there are people in our country who need help in raising their standard of living and in preparing themselves for jobs, and we know that our Government has a responsibility to assist them. In helping them we help our whole country; it is as simple as that.

But while I think we all share a deep concern for the welfare of all Americans and are determined to assist them where assistance is called for, we must see to it that the money we vote is going to be used in a meaningful way to help the economically disadvantaged for whom it is intended. We must see to it that the programs for which the money is authorized and appropriated are well conceived and carried out, and that they will actually contribute to a solution of the problem which disturbs us all.

As a member of the Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees, I know very well that the \$1.7 billion which the Appropriations Committee voted yesterday for the Vietnam war emergency fund, in recommending a total of nearly \$47 billion for support of the Armed Forces during the current fiscal year, is only the beginning of what is going to be required. Our increased commitments on the international scene do not mean that we should ignore our problems here at home. Of course we should not do that. But we should look

at our programs carefully and make sure we are spending funds wisely and making every dollar count.

In this connection, I think it is important to point out that the program before us is not the only one which the Federal Government is operating to aid the less fortunate citizens of our Nation. Already this year we have passed the elementary and secondary education bill aimed at help for our disadvantaged children, the social security amendments bill providing a program of medical care for our older citizens and other types of public assistance, and a \$7.5 billion housing bill giving special aid to persons who are unable to obtain decent housing for themselves for one reason or another. We must consider this proposal to extend the Economic Opportunity Act as but one part of the overall effort being made at all levels of government—local, State, and Federal—to assist persons who are unable to help themselves.

Two main considerations lead me to vote against this bill in its present form.

First, I think that it is not wise to double expenditures for a program which has been as widely criticized as this one has, and which, it is generally conceded, has revealed many flaws. It is true that this is a relatively new program which has had many problems to resolve before it could operate smoothly and efficiently. But that is more reason to move slowly. Certainly it is not time to double the program which to date has received mixed reaction at best. Rather we should continue it at its present level, with an eye to making improvements where they should be made. Once there is evidence to show that improvements have been made, then we can consider broadening the scope of the program. To double the money first and then try to improve its administration, is to put the cart before the horse. Again I emphasize the prospects of sharply increased requirements for Vietnam and the necessity for holding the line and making every dollar count in our various domestic programs.

Second, I am much disturbed by the action of the committee and of the Senate in eliminating the power of the Governor to veto projects in his State which he thinks unwise. The Senate has been evenly divided on this point, indicating that there is a good deal of support for the veto power, which was deleted by only one vote in committee and which has failed to be put back into the bill on this floor on a tie vote. Last year, as my colleagues will recall, the Senate voted 80 to 7 in support of an amendment giving the Governor the authority to veto certain projects under title I and title II of the act.

We have discussed this issue at length here, and I shall not go into it again, except to say that this power has been exercised only four times to date by the Governors of Alabama, Florida, Montana, and Texas. I have seen no evidence to indicate that any of these disapprovals was made irresponsibly. Then, too, we must remember that the Governors themselves have expressed their support for the veto power, because it helps to insure that programs carried out at the

community level will be coordinated with other local, State, and Federal efforts to combat poverty and to avoid unnecessary waste and duplication. The Governors are more familiar with State and local problems than are Washington-based administrators, and therefore are in a position to make a helpful contribution to an evaluation of proposed programs within their State. Certainly they should have an opportunity to participate meaningfully in the decisions to be made.

To summarize my position: I agree wholeheartedly with the objective of combating poverty. We all want to do that. But agreement with the general goals of the bill does not mean agreement with the means by which it is proposed to reach those goals. Huge sums are going to be needed to carry out our obligations in Vietnam and thus to build, we hope, our security here at home. That requires close scrutiny of other proposed expenditures. Many other existing major Government programs are assisting our citizens who are worthy of our help, and what is proposed here is not a continuation of this program at the same level, but a doubling of the program authorization, even though reaction to the on-going program has been mixed at best. For these reasons, and because I am deeply distressed by the removal by the Senate of the veto power of the Governor over most programs, this power to date has been used neither often nor arbitrarily; thus I feel that I must vote against the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Where are we as to time on the bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question before the Senate is on agreeing to the adoption of the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, preliminary to third reading and passage of the bill.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I thought that earlier in the day a 1-hour target was established as a limitation for discussion on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The Senator now has 23 minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, by agreement with the distinguished majority leader, could that time be expanded if necessary?

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is correct.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I expect to take a little longer, and therefore I hope that the time limitation can be lifted.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I make that unanimous-consent request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the bill.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, it appears to me that what is proposed today is probably the fourth or the fifth layer of frosting on the poverty cake.

Frankly, I am not intrigued by the title that is appended to the hearings in connection with the bill: "Expand the War On Poverty." That is not a very felicitous term. How can we talk about war on a domestic situation in our own country?

Today the world is pretty well beset with war. There is Vietnam. The California imbroglio is referred to as war. There is an untoward situation in the Dominican Republic. Things are not tranquil and quiet in the Congo.

And somehow the word "war" is being used indiscriminately on both the domestic and foreign fronts in connection with the problems and challenges that are before us.

I am willing to vote untold sums to eliminate poverty. But I am not willing to vote untold sums for any kind of program that is unorganized, disorganized, unbalanced, and which, from the standpoint of results, has not yet demonstrated its worth.

The bill is not our first effort in the so-called campaign against poverty. We started with the Area Redevelopment Act. As I recall, we expended \$302 million for that purpose. Everyone knows that the program was deficient. It became a bit of a scandal. The reason it became a bit of scandal was that such a large percentage of the available money was devoted to the business of building hotels, motels, and ski jumps that no one, honest with himself, could ever say was a very efficient operation in dealing with the question of poverty.

Then we came to layer No. 2 in the way of frosting on the cake. That was the Public Works Acceleration Act of 1962. When we were through, we had expended \$863 million. The idea was to make inducements to accelerate public works to provide jobs for people. When we were through with that expenditure, nobody was prepared to demonstrate that it was an effective operation.

Then we came to the third layer of frosting on the poverty cake in the form of the so-called Appalachian Regional Redevelopment or Development Act. That act was finally approved in this year of 1965. We have approved for that purpose \$1 billion. Up to this good hour, I have heard very little about the results. I became extremely curious today about letters that have been coming to me from the suburban areas of Chicago and from Chicago itself. One letter in particular from a friend of mine said:

We are having a great influx of people from the Appalachian area, and our problem is how to urbanize these rural people and fit them into the scheme of things here.

If anybody has anything to offer by way of a tangible demonstration of efficient results, I am prepared to wait for it, but frankly I have not seen it.

So after \$302 million, \$843 million, and \$1 billion, it is no wonder that the title on the hearings on the bill that is before us: "To expand the war on poverty."

The phrase "To expand the war" has a familiar ring, Mr. President. We started with a few hundred people in Vietnam. Then we added to them. Then it was said the action there had to be expanded. We are beginning to fill the coastal plain of Indochina, and heaven knows how many youngsters from America will have to be used in the so-called expansion program.

In that same spirit, I begin to wonder how much more we shall have to do in the expansion of the campaign on poverty.

Now we come to the next layer, the next frosting layer on the poverty cake, and that is the subject that is before us now.

Title I of the original bill to combat poverty and develop economic progress in this country is now in the House of Representatives. It provides for grants—not loans—from 50 to 80 percent on a 5-year basis at the rate of \$400 million a year, which brings the total to \$2 billion. At the rate of \$400 million a year, it makes \$2 billion, according to the way I learned my arithmetic long ago.

Title II of that bill provides for loans for public works and development facilities and guarantees for industrial and commercial development on a 40-year basis at 3½ percent. It calls for \$170 billion during a 5-year period, or a total of \$850 million.

Title III of that bill deals with technical advice and research and provides \$25 million a year for 5 years, or a total of \$125 million.

Title V, which is very engaging, provides for regional planning commissions at \$15 million a year for 5 years, or \$75 million.

What is the total amount provided in the measure that we considered earlier? It was not \$302 million, as in the Area Development Program. It was not \$843 million, as set forth in the Public Works Acceleration Act. It was not \$1 billion, as we provided in the Appalachian regional development. Instead, it was a total of \$3,015 million.

So today we come to the fourth or fifth layer on the cake. Once upon a time, this Republic could afford to waste its resources. It cannot do so today, in a competitive world and under the conditions that prevail in this country at present. It is about time for us to become mindful of our responsibility and of what the economy of the country can finally bear.

I suppose everybody who went to grade school must have heard the stories of Chicken Little and about the sky falling in. That is what bothers me. We have been raising these programs through the Senate and through Congress, and the question is: When does the sky fall in?

This administration, the Great Society, will be held to accountability. Even though we vote for these programs on my side of the aisle, let me make it abundantly clear now that I do not propose to vote for this bill.

I will spend any amount of money if it is efficiently spent. I will not spend a dollar of the taxpayers' money for an inefficient and disorganized enterprise.

Before I am through with my remarks, I propose to prove that this is an inefficient and disorganized enterprise.

If anything, this is a time for frugality and responsibility.

Mr. President, when this is called a war to expand the war on poverty—

(Mr. LONG of Louisiana entered the Chamber.)

Mr. DIRKSEN. The Senator from Louisiana would come in right now. That is good. I hope he will be seated.

Whether we call this a cold war or a hot war or a lukewarm war does not make much difference. The question is whether this is a campaign for the benefit of the politicians, whether it is a campaign to keep the incompetents who administer it, whether it is a campaign for amateurs, whether it is a campaign for the legion of irresponsibles, or whether it is a campaign for the social misfits—and I use the term rather advisedly.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, since it is my friend, the junior Senator from Louisiana, who has always been so agreeable, I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KENNEDY of New York in the chair). The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I suggest to the distinguished minority leader that I did not think we had anything in the program calling for social misfits. I thought that was going to be in next year's program.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, how naive can the majority whip be—the ranking Democrat on the Senate Committee on Finance? Do not leave, my friend, the junior Senator from Louisiana. The Senator has no business leaving.

Let me read something. I want to provide some evidence now. One does not make assertions without offering the evidence.

I read from a news dispatch:

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has announced today the start of a special program for hiring 2,152 college graduates to study the culture of poverty.

Mr. President, I ask my friend the junior Senator from Louisiana, what does he mean by "the culture of poverty." We have agriculture. We have horticulture. We have silvi-culture. We have social culture. Now we have the culture of poverty, according to the Secretary of Labor. I continue to read:

The cultural training will help qualify them to counsel disadvantaged youths.

Is that not wonderful? Some 2,152 fine young college graduates, looking like and Arrow collar ad, coming down here to get the culture of poverty. And they will go abroad in the land, in the hinterland, and in the metropolitan centers. They will talk with people, and they will say, "Don't you know the culture of poverty?"

The people will say, "All we know is that we don't have jobs. All we know is that we owe the grocer. All we know is that we owe the meat market. All we know is that we owe an installment on a second-hand automobile." So what is this business about the culture of poverty?

It would be like that expert from the Department of Agriculture who went out on a farm in Kansas, and looked at a little creature out there and said, "How do you expect to get any wool off that animal?" The man said, "I don't, because it is not a sheep. It is a goat." That is all the expert knew about it. He did not know the difference between a sheep and a goat.

The culture of poverty is a fine sounding phrase, but it will not fool the American people.

I now introduce my second bit of evidence. This is from the Sun Times of Chicago, one of the really liberal newspapers of the country. This was printed on the editorial page. It is dated Saturday, August 14.

I first refer to the editorial itself, which is entitled "View From Poverty Row" because the editorial refers to a little weekly paper. This is what the editorial states, in part:

Reprinted below is an editorial by Chester R. Carter that appeared in a recent issue of the *Pembroke Herald Eagle*, of Hopkins Park, Ill.

Hopkins Park is just out of Chicago. It is a small town with 7,000 people. Hopkins Park is predominantly Negro. The editorial states further:

Hopkins Park is a predominantly Negro unincorporated community in Pembroke Township, southeast of Kankakee. The rural township has a population of 7,000, about 90 percent Negro. Some residents commute to Chicago for work.

I do not need to read the remainder of the editorial. But that is what was written in the *Pembroke Herald Eagle*. Incidentally, the man who edits the *Pembroke Herald Eagle* is a dining car steward, I believe on the Rock Island or the Santa Fe Railroad. He is a very humble individual who got himself a little newspaper. He titles his editorial "How To Waste \$30,000."

The editorial reads in part:

The evening of Monday, July 26, marked a new foolish era for Pembroke Township. At the school plans were made to hire an out-of-town stranger at \$200 a week to tell Hopkins Park residents why they are poor.

Is that not marvelous? They need an expert from away off somewhere, hundreds of miles, to come to the town and tell people why they are poor.

The editorial continues:

Robert Creamer, field representative for the Illinois Office of Economic Opportunity, stated that this \$30,000 must be spent by counting the number of people who live here, surveying the road conditions, and asking people why they are poor.

That requires a brain. That requires almost the last word in computers, to go out there to ask people why they are poor.

The editorial continues:

Any fool walking or riding around Hopkins Park can see why the people are poor. They are poor because there is no payroll here.

Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIEW FROM POVERTY ROW

Reprinted below is an editorial by Chester R. Carter that appeared in a recent issue of the *Pembroke Herald Eagle* of Hopkins Park, Ill.

Hopkins Park is a predominantly Negro unincorporated community in Pembroke Township, southeast of Kankakee. The rural township has a population of 7,000, about 90 percent Negro. Some residents commute to Chicago for work.

We have reprinted the editorial as an example of the opinion of persons close to and concerned about nonurban poverty and what is needed to abolish it. The owner of the paper, Ozroe Bentley, Sr., is a steward on the Santa Fe Railroad.

The people of Hopkins Park have been trying to interest officialdom, State and National, in their plight. They need better roads to attract industry. They hope for help from the Federal Area Redevelopment Administration. Now they are about to be exposed to the bureaucracy that goes with such help.

The war on poverty can't be won in Washington or with Washington dollars alone. It needs the spirit of old-fashioned individualism expressed in the *Pembroke Herald Eagle*, and we call attention to this particular instance in the hope that publicizing The editorial follows:

it might help.

"HOW TO WASTE \$30,000

"The evening of Monday, July 26, marked a new foolish era for Pembroke Township. At the school plans were made to hire an out-of-town stranger at \$200 a week to tell Hopkins Park residents why they are poor. Robert Creamer, field representative for the Illinois Office of Economic Opportunity, stated that this \$30,000 must be spent by counting the number of people who live here, surveying the road conditions, and asking people why they are poor. Any fool walking or riding around Hopkins Park can see why the people are poor. They are poor because there is no payroll here. This \$30,000 could be better spent by buying land and offering it on a 10-year tax-free basis as a lure for several corporations to locate plants and factories here, the same as the Southern States do.

"With 800 or 900 men and women from the Hopkins Park area making \$75 or \$100 a week, poverty would vanish in this community. Gary, Ind., was nothing but a mudhole until the steel mill located there. Hopkins Park will forever be a mudhole until there is a \$50,000 or \$60,000 payroll here. What eliminates poverty? Nothing but money, money, money. How can people have money? By working. How can people work? By having a job to go to that pays a decent wage.

"We need a foreign director at \$200 a week like we need a hole in the head. What we need to do is to buy land and send one or two men over the country to tell companies the advantages of locating here, then, the money will be well spent. If, after this grant is spent, the people of Hopkins Park are still eating beans and the kids are just as raggedy, it will have all been in vain.

"The men and women working for this grant are well meaning, but do not understand the crux of this problem. The problem is to get money into the pockets of people who live in this area on Friday nights, not building day schools and clinics.

"First things first—roads, factories, bank. then a day school, etc. This \$30,000 looks like a pork barrel, with more to come.

"This community needs a man that knows how to go out and bring business here."

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, \$30,000 is to be spent in Hopkins Park to ask the people why they are poor.

They did not ever have to come around and ask me back in the days when we were an orphan family because my father died when I was 5, and there were four of us kids. Believe me, the going was difficult. We did not go to the Government. We did not go to the State. We did not go to the supervisor and say, "You ought to build a recreation hall here, and then all of us kids can get jobs, even if it is nothing more than bearing water to those who mix the mortar and lay the brick, and we will get out of this mess."

We did not ask anybody. We made it on our own. And we did not ask anybody to shell out \$30,000 of the taxpayers' money to come around, my friend, and say, "Why are you poor?" Is that not marvelous? That is a ducky thing—tied up with the Office of Economic Opportunity—and that is the bill that is pending before us at the present time.

Let me take a look at something else, because I see that my distinguished friend from Kentucky is present. This letter I received from a very distinguished lawyer in Illinois. He wrote it to a citizen who, for all I know, may be a trustee of Southern Illinois University.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert the entire letter in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEORIA, ILL.,
August 13, 1965.

The Honorable JOHN G. GILBERT,
Cardondale, Ill.

DEAR SENATOR GILBERT: I am writing you in a matter which you probably ought to discuss with President Morris of Southern Illinois University. I have learned that Southern Illinois University has entered into a contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity to operate a Job Corps project at Camp Breckenridge and furnish legal services to the Job Corps members.

Would you ascertain if the charter of the university permits it to practice law, for that is precisely this situation. I know you are a "fan" of the university by residence and family connections, but it seems to me this is a flagrant violation of the prohibition against any corporation, including Southern Illinois University, from practicing law. I think this is a matter that should be considered thoroughly by the Illinois State Bar Association with the end in view of taking the most extreme action in the courts or otherwise, or through the trustees of your university, or any other lawful means, to prohibit this socialistic practice of law.

Let me have your comments on this matter after you have had an opportunity to present the matter to Dr. Morris. I am sending a copy of this letter to Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, a member of our Illinois State Bar Association and duly licensed to practice law in Illinois, for I feel that perhaps, as busy as he is, this situation may have escaped his careful attention. The Government has now proscribed the medical profession and this kind of invasion is just a foot in the door. The Federal Government, it should be said, is not above the law, either. The larger principle involved is the taking over by the

executive department a supposedly independent judiciary.

Very truly yours,

HUDSON R. SOURS.

(Copies to Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN and Peter Fitzpatrick, Esq., president of Illinois State Bar Association.)

Mr. DIRKSEN. But the question he raised is this: The University of Southern Illinois has been given a contract by the Office of Economic Opportunity to operate a Job Corps project at Camp Breckenridge and to furnish legal services to the Corps members.

I thought these were young fellows. About the only interest they would have in a lawyer would be how to get out of the place, if they wanted to, and how they could break a contract and still collect from the Government.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Oh, no; this is too good.

I wish they had had that in World War I, when I was slogging through the mud of the western front, so I could say, "Where is my lawyer?"—knowing my lawyer was hired at public expense to look after me, to see that I was paid what was owed me, and to see that I did not have any onerous burdens put upon me as a soldier that were not called for.

But the Job Corps boys are going to have legal advice at the cost of the Government.

Did Senators ever hear of anything so ducky? Never in any of the halcyon days of Kansas was there anything so sweet and grandiose as this.

Now my evidence is in the form of a release from the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Public Affairs Division:

July 21, 1965, Gary, Ind. (Conduct and Administration)—

Then the telephone numbers appear on this release, in case one wants to call them.

It states:

A \$52,018 Federal grant will give 480 teenagers from needy Gary, Ind., families an intensive "preview of occupations" this summer.

Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, announced the community action award today to the Lake County Economic Opportunity Council.

Mr. President, I shall put the rest of the release in, but let me read this part:

Trustees to let the boys and girls, 13 to 15 years old, watch employees at work in a wide range of occupations and help the youngsters arrive at tentative but realistic career goals.

The previewed occupations will embrace fields ranging from trucking to choreography and from graphic arts to oil refining.

Four hundred-eighty teenagers, boys and girls, are to go.

"Boys and girls, we are going to take you out and let you look at the work."

I remember the fellow who said, "I am fascinated by work. I can sit here and look at it all day."

So they are going to preview trucking. That is going to be good for a 13-year-old girl, is it not? Whoever is there will say, "Sugar, take a look now. You are age 13. How would you like to be a truck-driver?"

As to the little boy, they have instructions now to show him choreography. If the dictionary is right, choreography means dancing, but particularly ballet dancing. So one of these officials will say, "Now, we are going to take you somewhere to show you how they dance, and you will see them up on their tiptoes. This is a preview of an occupation."

Do not forget that the Federal Government is paying \$52,000 for it, but they are going to preview those occupations, whether it be truckdriving or ballet dancing, or whatever. They are going to say to them, "Maybe you would like to get into the graphic arts or oil refining."

Mr. President, I know industry can be talked into supporting this kind of thing, but fancy spending public funds for it.

I ask unanimous consent to have the release printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Office of Economic Opportunity, Public Affairs, Washington]

CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION

GARY, IND., July 21, 1965.—A \$52,018 Federal grant will give 480 teenagers from needy Gary, Ind., families an intensive "preview of occupations" this summer.

Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, announced the community action award today to the Lake County Economic Opportunity Council.

More than 50 major businesses, industries, and public agencies in the Chicago-Gary area have been enlisted by the Gary Board of School Trustees to let the boys and girls, 13 to 15 years old, watch employees at work in a wide range of occupations and help the youngsters arrive at tentative but realistic career goals.

Daily field trips will be supplemented by vocational counseling sessions.

The previewed occupations will embrace fields varying from trucking to choreography and from graphic arts to oil refining.

Among the cooperating companies are United States Steel, American Oil, Shell Oil, General Motors, John Deere Tractor, Ford, Zenith, Motorola, Carbon & Carbide, Coca-Cola, Continental Bakery, Swift Packing, IBM, Illinois Bell Telephone, NBC-TV, the Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Sun-Times, Hart, Schaffner & Marx, and Marshal Field.

Haron J. Battle, general supervisor of secondary education in Gary, and Louis A. McElroy, administrative director of adult and vocational education, will be program codirectors.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, it is too bad that one has a memory of things in this town. I was in the House of Representatives when we approved the Works Progress Administration—WPA. They had everything. Finally, they decided something had to be done for unemployed actors and actresses and singers and people in the performing arts, and they got them started. They did it in tents throughout the country. I remember when they came to Peoria, in my country. There they were putting on popular plays. Guess what was the really popular play then. In the University of Michigan there was a playwright by the name of Avery Hopwood, I believe. The really popular play at that time was entitled "Getting Gertie's Garter." So they played it all over the country. The second most popular one

was "Up in Mabel's Room." That was entrancing for rural audiences. They did not know what to make of this business. I do not now how much money we spent on it, but they had to be employed, and that is how we wasted our money.

Then, for good measure, we decided to employ all the artists in the country, good, bad, and indifferent. I am not much of an artist, but I know art when I see it. I remember the little sticker someone put across a work of art in a London museum, "Don't touch with a cane." Some wag added the words, "Use an ax." He had a better appreciation of art than probably some of the other people did.

I lived to see the day when I went down on the esplanade, at one of those temporary buildings, and looked at mountains of art to be given away. Some of it would make an egg curdle. I had some of it hanging in my office, and so did every Representative in those days. I do not know what became of the rest of it. We employed the artists, but their work has faded away as a zephyr in the evening, with nothing to show for it.

So, now, we have a preview for the teenagers—13 to 16 years of age: "Boys and girls, sit down. We are going to show you how to operate a trucking enterprise. Get yourself a good look. We will show you choreography. Get yourself a good look. You may be allergic to ballet dancing, or driving a truck, or operating a filling station, but have a look, anyway. Be fascinated just to look at work."

That is in the official release from the Office of Economic Opportunity, published under the aegis of none other than Sargent Shriver.

Our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania alluded the other day to the "Inside Report," written by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, under the title, "Poverty and Politics."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INSIDE REPORT: POVERTY AND POLITICS

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Just how anti-poverty funds can find their way into partisan political action can be seen in a seemingly trivial incident recently outside the office of Gov. William Scranton in Harrisburg, Pa.

While the legislature debated a motion to override the Governor's veto of an appropriation in an adjoining wing of the capitol, 200 demonstrators supporting the bill were stationed at the door of the Governor's office chanting: "Show your face, show your face."

What makes this demonstration far from trivial in importance is the fact that the leader of the demonstrators (all of whom had bussed their way to Harrisburg from Philadelphia) was Charles Bowser—the aggressive head of the Philadelphia anti-poverty committee.

Poverty officials in Washington had no knowledge whatever that Federal poverty funds were used to pay for the buses. But in Harrisburg, several of the demonstrators openly admitted that the Philadelphia anti-poverty committee financed the political expedition.

Strangely enough, the target of this particular lobbying expedition was the "item veto" by the Governor of an issue that had no connection whatever with the Federal antipoverty program. The two items vetoed by the Governor, adhering to a constitutional ban on deficit spending, were \$10 million for public assistance and \$7 million for child welfare.

For months, the Governor and Democratic State legislators had jockeyed back and forth over these and other appropriations. The Democrats stayed up nights seeking some way to embarrass Scranton politically and make him look like an Ivy League scrooge.

When Scranton confronted the Democrats with his veto, the antipoverty fighters in Philadelphia organized their excursion to Harrisburg to coincide with the legislative debate to override the veto.

Significantly, the demonstrators' first stop in the capitol was not the Governor's office but the Democratic caucus room. They held a rally there and heard Democratic Representative Joshua Ellberg, the house majority leader, deliver an emotional attack on Scranton.

The demonstrators next moved into the ornate, mahogany corridor outside the Governor's office and began chanting, "Show your face."

In due course, Bowser and a couple of other demonstrators were invited into Scranton's office (actually they never had asked for an appointment). Scranton again explained the constitutional reasons why he had to veto the two items. Whereupon the buses were loaded and returned to Philadelphia.

Sargent Shriver, the antipoverty chief, knew nothing about this until he received a telegraphed complaint on August 3 (the day of the demonstration) from Pennsylvania's Secretary of State John K. Tabor.

Acting on Scranton's orders, Tabor declared:

"We fully support the right and duty of the people, rich or poor, to support or oppose any State action, but we strongly object to antipoverty personnel, paid with Federal funds, mobilizing and leading such an effort."

Tabor noted that Shriver's own regulation No. 23 prohibits the use of poverty funds, "for any partisan political activity or to further the election or defeat of any candidate to public office."

Shriver's answer to Harrisburg, sent last Tuesday (August 11), denied that antipoverty funds financed the bus trip. Poverty dollars had been requested for the buses, his telegram said. This was rejected, he continued. Shriver stated strongly that he never would condone such use of poverty money.

But his reply skirted the question of Bowser's leadership in the demonstration. Bowser (who gets \$17,000 a year) clearly was violating Shriver's regulation No. 23. (Bowser said privately later he felt it was his duty to lobby against the veto.)

Shriver, of course, cannot be held responsible for every infraction of regulation No. 23 in hundreds of projects in progress all over the country.

That's just the point. Both in the congressional act authorizing the program and in the administrative policy of Shriver's office, the dogma of "local control" is enshrined. Local leaders, sagacious or not, are given a free hand in dispensing a major Federal program. The ludicrous political expedition from Philadelphia to Harrisburg once again shows the danger of this policy.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, they got a crowd who were identified with the Office of Economic Opportunity to go down and call on Governor Scranton. The reason for the call was that he had

intended to veto a bill. They did not wish any part of it.

The leader of the crowd was a man by the name of Bowser. They gathered at the Governor's office. What was said? Did they go in with the proper respect which citizens should have for their Governor and say to his secretary, "We should like to see the Governor"? That is not what they said. They walked into the State House and shouted, "Governor, show your face."

The matter was taken up with the Office of Economic Opportunity as to whether the political vendetta was on OEO. Is that not wonderful—OEO? I have encountered all the alphabetical combinations since we had the New Deal back in 1932 and I never encountered OEO. There is something cryptic about it. It sounds musical. Who knows, it may be insinuated into the consciousness of the American people.

But, the crowd went down and said to the Governor, "Show your face."

When my distinguished friend from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], was the Governor of his great State, what would he have done had it happened at that time?

I know what I would have done, and it would not have been pleasant, but it would have been necessary in the interest of respect and law enforcement—which, by the way, is beginning to diminish in this country.

But here was the leader of this group for the Office of Economic Opportunity, going down to Harrisburg and trying to intimidate the Governor of that great State by saying, "Governor, show your face."

Mr. President, I will not vote a dollar for a crowd so lacking in courtesy, so lacking in respect for the institutions and traditions of this great country.

What is the rest of the story?

Out in Rock Island, Ill., a representative of the Office of Economic Opportunity came to say to the citizens there, in so many words, "Come right up to the trough. It is for free."

The citizens were not particularly impressed. Finally, this man lost his patience and he said to them, "What is the matter with you? Are you not interested in free dough? If you do not take it, they will take it in Chicago."

We sent a shorthand reporter out there and he made a transcript of the meeting. I therefore know what I am talking about. I am not guessing.

"Are you not interested in free dough?" Dough—that is a good term, is it not, I ask my friend the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG]?

Having been a baker at one time, I know just what that means. Imagine—under this kind of program.

Now we come to the situation in Ypsilanti, Mich. One of the articles I placed in the RECORD myself and the other was inserted by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], a statement written by Arthur Amolsch, of Ypsilanti, Mich., on June 8, 1965.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have both statements printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles

were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROSPEROUS TOWN IS FORCED TO ACCEPT U.S. POVERTY MONEY—ZEALOUS POVERTY FIGHTERS SAY MICHIGAN'S YPSILANTI TOWNSHIP NEEDS \$188,252 TO GET ON ITS FEET—AND THEY WON'T TAKE NO FOR AN ANSWER

YPSILANTI TOWNSHIP, MICH.—On January 17, 1965, speaking at Johnson City, Tex., the President of the same name announced the approval of 88 new antipoverty grants. One of them, in the amount of \$188,252 was for a demonstration project in the Willow Village area of southeastern Michigan.

On January 18, a slim, soft-spoken fellow named Roy Smith picked up a newspaper and stared at it incredulously. He had no connection with the war on poverty. He was and is supervisor of Ypsilanti Township, which lies in Washtenaw County, the highest income county in Michigan. To be sure, the subdivisions of Smith's district weren't comparable to some of the prestige neighborhoods of nearby Ann Arbor, where the University of Michigan is located. A good share of his constituents were hourly rated employees or lower grade executives in the automobile industry. But he was certain his township could boast average family earnings of more than \$7,000 a year. So he had no connection with any impoverished area, either.

Even so, he had good reason for being stunned upon learning Willow Village had been designated an official poverty area to the tune of a sizable hunk of the taxpayers' money. For one thing, there wasn't any such place as Willow Village. For another, where most of Willow Village had once existed, the recently built homes and schools, parks, and glistening new shopping center stores of Ypsilanti Township were now standing.

Ironically enough, Roy Smith had been warned of what was coming. He'd simply refused to believe it was possible.

Some 8 weeks earlier, he'd received an inch-thick manuscript in the mail, along with a letter from Mr. Hyman Kornbluh of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations—one of the numerous research groups supported by Michigan's tax-supported universities. "Under separate cover, I am sending you a copy of the proposal we have submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington," the letter had explained. And it had gone on to request the township's cooperation in a project of mutual interest.

Roy had begun reading the manuscript. And in doing so he'd also begun what was to be, for him, a long, lonely journey into a bureaucratic-academic fantasyland—a world where reality was regarded as of so little importance by officious sounding officials that he would more than once find himself doubting his own sanity. What was labeled a report to the Federal Government from a famed and respected university sounded more like some amateur novelist's attempt to write a Michigan version of "Tobacco Road."

"By almost any standards," the script insisted, "Willow Village is an impoverished community." Actually, Willow Village was the name of a World War II housing project erected for the workers at the big Willow Run bomber plant, a project the Federal Government had abandoned to be torn down by Ypsilanti Township and replaced by privately built housing. The name still existed only on some low-rent but extremely attractive apartments that lay just over the line in Superior Township. And by any standards whatsoever, income for the designated area ran well above the national average.

Industry had "passed by the core" of this "depressed community," the report continued, and the few folks fortunate enough to find work "were in service and menial jobs." The truth was that the smoke of five

gigantic automobile factories could be seen from the area's center, and the personnel manager of one of them had recently commented that anyone who could pass a physical could find employment there.

"Willow Village is a community without social services," the report went blithely on. "There is no medical facility, no newspaper, no self-government, no recreational or cultural or even entertainment facility. There are no stores in the area, and schools are a bus ride away."

Roy Smith had to shake his head hard and wipe his glasses before rereading that passage. The area not only received the social services of all Ypsilanti Community Chest agencies but even contained the headquarters of some of them. Ridgewood Hospital was just 1 mile to the north, and 3 miles to the southwest was the Beyer Memorial Hospital to which the township had paid \$58,000 last year to guarantee that none of its residents could be denied a bed. Furthermore, a busy doctor's office shared the new Sunrise Shopping Center with a supermarket, a discount department store, and several other shops, all within sight of a library and a bowling alley and some of the parks where the township's \$10,000 summer recreation program had been carried out. Four different newspapers were delivered daily in the area. All but a few of the children walked to school because they lived so close they were specifically prohibited from receiving bus rides under Michigan law. And if there was no self-government, Roy was forced to wonder, just who the hell had elected him?

Even more fantastic was the constant flow of phrases like "the present ghost town appearance" or "brush has overgrown the streets and roads." The report never quite claimed the inhabitants of this brush-choked ghost town were starving. Instead, it suggested "establishing a community vegetable field—to be run by the residents on a co-operative basis—with the produce available to the residents for their own consumption."

Starving or not, the manuscript noted, the impoverished people had formed a "self-help" group of "about 400 to 500" members called the Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development—WRAND, for short—and immediately appealed to the University of Michigan to help them. After a thorough study, the university was submitting a proposed budget covering the community's needs. What the poor people needed most, it seemed, was the services of some "professional directors" with salaries up to \$11,000 a year. Except for such items as \$8,970 for the first year's publication of a "community newsletter" the only thing clear about the vaguely worded budget, all of which was subject to "university overhead" was that it was just the beginning. The report suggested, for example, that Willow Village apartments be granted enough further "title IV" funds to permit the building of "several hundred additional units."

Wondering whether to laugh or cry, Roy Smith closed the book of 90-odd pages and stared dully at the plywood walls of his office. He vaguely remembered hearing of WRAND. Someone had buttonholed him for a \$20 donation the summer before and, believing the group to be a normal community-betterment organization, he'd thoroughly approved of the idea. But the WRAND headquarters were over in Superior Township and, as far as he knew, so were its members. Yet all but a small portion of the area designated in the report was in Ypsilanti Township. Since the accompanying letter said "a proposal we have submitted," it was apparently too late to keep the university from making an incredible and perhaps embarrassing blunder. But he telephoned the man who'd written that letter anyway.

"Mr. Hyman Kornbluh? This is Roy Smith out in Ypsilanti Township. If you're going to write about this area, why don't you

drive the 10 miles out here and look at it? That report of yours is just plain garbage."

The voice on the telephone sounded extremely upset, but it finally said something about "a matter of opinion."

"No, it's not," Roy asserted. "If you'd said there were 'few' stores of 'inadequate' facilities and so forth, that might be a matter of opinion. When you say there's no this, that, and the other thing—all of which are located in the area—there's no question of opinion involved. Look, you come out here, any time, at your convenience, and I'll drive you around. I want you to try defending that report while you're seeing what's here with your own eyes."

Hyman Kornbluh finally agreed and promised to call back soon. But that call never came. Roy showed the weird manuscript to several citizens allegedly living in a grown-over ghost town. And it brought laughter instead of indignation from everyone who read it.

"Why, there isn't an unpaved street in any of these three subdivisions of ours they've listed," they said. "There isn't a house in the entire area more than 10 years old."

"Why worry about it?" everyone chuckled. "They'll read that in Washington and toss it in the nearest wastebasket. The war on poverty is for places like Appalachia. If they send someone out here from the Federal Government, then some professors will have some fast explaining to do. But that's not your problem."

Running into the same reaction everywhere, Roy Smith soon began wondering if he wasn't taking the ridiculous report too seriously. By the time the new year began, the manuscript was lying forgotten in his crowded files.

But on January 17—without any attempt at prior investigation, with entire sentences from the ghost town report being repeated word for word in a White House press release—Willow Village was awarded an anti-poverty grant.

For 4 full days, Roy remained silent and did some soul searching, chiefly while walking the streets of what was now an official poverty area. He didn't dispute the fact that there were a few scattered folks on those streets, as on almost all streets, who were not very well off. Roy wasn't opposed to the antipoverty program; he was all in favor of the Government helping poor people in any way it could.

Back in the depression, as a kid on a Tennessee farm, Roy Smith had eaten Government sowbelly the same as everyone around him was doing and had been plenty glad to get it. He'd come a fair distance from that Tennessee farm, though. He'd been in the Marines in World War II and after the war had attended the University of Michigan on the GI bill. Then he'd worked in the automobile industry and, in 1959, had entered politics where he'd been quite successful. He is a moderate Republican and along with George Romney, was one of the few members of his party to survive the 1964 Johnson landslide.

But Roy Smith had never forgotten the depression. If there was the slightest chance that any portion of that \$188,252 might eventually filter down to help folks who needed it, he certainly didn't want to ruin that chance.

For 4 straight evenings, at home, with his wife sensing a crisis and hushing his three children, he went over the proposed budget again and again. And absolutely nothing was really being promised there. Beneath all the long winded description of what might be done, the hard fact was that some nonteaching fellows at the University of Michigan were being given a good sized piece of public money to do with as they pleased—as a reward for branding his township a poverty area. On January 22, he finally telephoned the nearest newspaper and men-

tioned some of the falsities in the institute report.

The local papers, published in the shadow of the powerful university, were extremely wary of the story. They mentioned only a few of Roy's charges, then answered them with institute statements that "some errors of detail in describing the physical elements and population statistics of the area did occur, but none of these errors were fundamental."

"Willow Village is, of course, not totally impoverished," Hyman Kornbluh was quoted as saying. "But it does contain pockets of poverty."

Smith couldn't help wondering if this was the same Kornbluh who'd sent him the report saying: "By almost any standards, Willow Village is an impoverished community." But press objectivity seemed to be picking up in direct ratio to the distance from Ann Arbor. "Federal Government says it's impoverished; area says it's thriving," the Detroit Free Press reported. And the little Redford Record put it even more bluntly: "U. of M. dreams up poverty ghost town." But it was a Detroit TV commentator, Larry Carino of WJBK, who got to the heart of the matter.

He made a very sensible suggestion: "Let the University of Michigan explain exactly what it intends to do with the \$188,000—or send it back with apologies."

But the institute parried even this thrust. "The program has not yet been spelled out," Hyman Kornbluh explained, "because the cardinal point of a demonstration project is to demonstrate that the community can assess its own needs." Whether the community had assessed a need for them or not, it was also announced that the hiring of a staff of about 12 would begin immediately.

Supervisor Roy Smith had understandably expected a cry of outrage to come from the folks who were being branded impoverished. But the issue had been so clouded and confused by academic doubletalk that only 10 people brought complaints to a township board meeting on February 2, and most of these were merely ladies who were miffed because friends were phoning and offering to send them CARE packages. Furthermore, their young township clerk, Tilden R. Stumbo, kept urging them to wait and see.

"Sure, they got the grant by falsifying a document," he argued. "But some good could still come of the grant itself—new roads or parks."

Roy Smith could only hope that none of the youngsters who might play in such parks was listening to his elders' moral logic, and he said as much 2 days later when he got off a letter to Dr. Harlan Hatcher, president of the University of Michigan. After listing two pages of the fraudulent claims made in the institute report, then adding that this was only a sampling, that the entire report lacked reality, he invited Dr. Hatcher to tour the area with him at any time and make his own comparison. "We teach our children to tell the truth," he mentioned. "If funds have been received on the basis of false statements, those funds should be returned."

Word of the controversy had reached Washington, but there was still no hint that any investigation would be made. "We didn't force that money on those people," an Office of Economic Opportunity spokesman told newsmen, "They themselves asked for it. Four or five hundred of them formed this WRAND organization and requested the University of Michigan to apply for and administer the grant in their behalf."

Thus assured, the demonstration project proceeded as scheduled. The planting of the communal vegetable garden couldn't begin until the spring thaw, of course. But calling itself the WRAND Roundup, the "community newsletter," for which \$8,970 of anti-poverty money had been allotted in the proposed budget, appeared immediately—with

headlines saying "Who Says We're Impoverished," above a story insisting the grant was only an expression of admiration for local initiative. WRAND further explained on February 8, that the grant was needed because the designated area, although not really impoverished, was not being served by the Ypsilanti Community Chest. On February 9 WRAND announced that yesterday's press release was "in error" since the area had always been served by the community chest.

It seemed strange to Roy Smith, reading the next day's papers, that an organization of area residents could make such a mistake. But before he could carry this curious inconsistency to its inevitable conclusion, he was interrupted by something even stranger. Three gentlemen from the university were ushered into his office. One was introduced as a full dean. Another described himself as merely an observer and was actually, Roy later learned, a recognized authority on, of all things, syphilis research. The third, a plump man wearing the look of a fellow being forced to endure petty indignity, was the long-awaited Hyman Kornbluh.

Instead of discussing the matter in his office, Roy loaded the delegation into his 3-year-old Chevrolet and spent more than 2 hours touring every street of the alleged poverty area. He didn't run into any brush, but he did stop regularly to read aloud, sentences from the report for comparison with what lay outside the car windows. The dean made a gallant attempt at keeping the interview genial and friendly, under formidably difficult circumstances. Chain-smoking nervously, Mr. Kornbluh remained silent most of the time, as did the syphilis expert. Not until they'd returned to the township hall did Roy hear anything resembling an admission that the area wasn't a ghost town after all.

"Suppose instead of 'no' stores, we say 'few' stores?" Hyman Kornbluh offered then. "Suppose instead of 'no' facilities, we say 'inadequate' facilities?"

"Suppose you apologize to the people here and return the grant" Roy suggested instead. "If you can get another one by writing an honest report, the best of luck to you."

Kornbluh countered with the accusation that the whole affair was a political publicity stunt, asserted that he himself wouldn't be in politics for anything, and walked out. That was the last Roy Smith saw of him.

Roy Smith had some questionnaires made up to be circulated in the designated poverty area, requesting residents to return them unsigned. He wanted some statistics on the average income, and to learn what percentage favored the grant and how many were members of the mysterious WRAND organization that had requested it in the first place.

On February 16, a surprise resolution was introduced at a township board meeting, and Roy found himself standing totally alone. Five to one against him, his fellow board members voted to condemn the poverty label but to welcome the poverty money.

Everyone seemed to be saying exactly what Clerk Tilden R. Stumbo had said: "Sure, they got the grant by falsifying a document, but let's keep it anyway," including, fantastically enough, the Federal Government itself. Because a tall, distinguished-looking man named William Lawrence was ushered into the township hall the next day and introduced as a consultant to the community action program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. And he soon made it clear that he'd come not as an investigator but as a peacemaker.

"I've already been around the area," he insisted declining the offer of another tour in Roy's Chevy. "Now I want to know what sort of proposal, satisfactory to you, I can

take to the university. What would satisfy you, Mr. Smith?"

"Why didn't you make the 2-hour flight out here before the grant was given?" Roy couldn't help wondering.

"We're tremendously understaffed," Lawrence explained. "But I want to assure you and every citizen that no antipoverty grant will ever again be given without an on-the-spot inspection of the area."

"Michigan has a State antipoverty director," Roy Smith persisted. "Couldn't his office have been asked to check out the proposal?"

William Lawrence further explained that the poverty program permits the Federal Government to deal directly with universities. After all, he reminded Roy, the original appeal had come from the area residents themselves. By reporting on the area and offering to administer a grant, the University of Michigan was, in effect the agency checking out the appeal for the Federal Government.

"Well, now that you've seen the area," Smith asked, "What are you going to do about it?"

Lawrence launched into an involved dissertation on the intricacies of antipoverty grants. Contracts had already been offered to professional directors it seemed, and other commitments had been made. But the Office of Economic Opportunity would most certainly demand that the university correct the "errors" in the report, "redefine" it and "update" it before "activating" the project. "Would that satisfy you?" he asked hopefully.

"All that will satisfy me," Roy Smith told him, suddenly feeling very tired "is the return of any poverty money intended for Ypsilanti Township and a public apology to the people here."

William Lawrence went away worriedly predicting that "the university won't go for anything like that." And the university didn't.

Meanwhile, the Willow Village demonstration project had already demonstrated one thing—the ease with which antipoverty funds could be obtained. And predictably enough, what followed was like a run on the bank. The Washtenaw County Committee on Alcoholism decided to try for \$39,900; everyone knows poor people drink too much.

The local chapter of the Planned Parenthood League wanted \$26,290 because statistics show the impoverished do something else too much. The Ypsilanti public schools decided to go all out and ask \$375,000 for providing compensatory education for everyone from deprived preschoolers to the indigent aged. Before long, fully 20 poverty money requests were being feverishly prepared, and a 36-member citizens committee was itself requesting \$54,501 merely for acting as a clearinghouse for other requests. All this was going on in just one county, the highest income county in Michigan, one of the 10 wealthiest States in the Union.

Now was the national picture particularly different. The controversy was bringing Roy Smith a surprising amount of mail from people in some farflung places. Ministers and other citizens of Chicago and Cleveland and New York were claiming that their own antipoverty grants had serve no purpose except as patronage plums for local political machines. West Virginians were writing to ask if Roy saw anything strange about the way the poverty money was being parceled out. After all, the late President Kennedy's shock at what he'd seen upon carrying his primary campaign into that State had been one of the prime factors in creating the national mood that resulted in the war on poverty. Why then, West Virginians were wondering, had their antipoverty allotment so far been little more than \$400,000, while the high-income State of New Jersey had already received \$12½ million?

But folks from New Jersey were writing

as well, and they weren't happy with all that money. People in Monmouth County, for example, had received a \$67,000 grant, only to learn that \$52,000 of it had already been budgeted for the salaries and "administration expenses" of the professional directors. The whole State had been startled to hear that Antipoverty Director John C. Bullitt would be getting a salary of \$25,000 a year and would have a pair of \$19,000 assistants. But Bullitt had insisted these wage rates were "not out of line," and in a sense he was right. This was less than his poverty-official superiors in Washington were getting and slightly more than was being paid city poverty officials. In Newark alone there were seven poverty fighters in the over \$10,000 bracket, but the top wage was just \$23,000. Hearing of this, the corps of poverty fighters assigned to Paterson, where the highest salary was a mere \$18,500, were about to request a pay raise, but they finally decided against it. After all, the mayor of Paterson was getting only \$17,500.

Even so, Roy's chief concern was his own township, and he was pinning a large share of his hopes on the president of the University of Michigan. He still expected Dr. Harlan Hatcher to make a personal comparison of the fraudulent report and the area it supposedly described, then crack down on those responsible with all the righteous wrath that might be expected of so distinguished an educator. But on March 2, when Roy Smith finally received an answer to his letter of nearly a month earlier, it was the most mystifying and disappointing development of the entire nightmarish affair. Dr. Hatcher described himself as "satisfied that the University of Michigan and its representatives acted in good faith and in accordance with recognized procedures, both in submitting the program and in accepting the grant," because "many of the alleged errors to which reference has been made occurred in a background document which was not submitted to Washington."

Numb with amazement, Roy searched his files for the original letter from Kornbluh, dated November 25. It still read, "I am sending you a copy of the proposal we have submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington," just as it always had. For fully 6 weeks the report had been the subject of incessant public controversy, mentioned in both news stories and editorials, and Roy himself had discussed it with both university and Federal Government officials. At no time in those 6 weeks had there been the slightest suggestion from anyone that the background document hadn't been submitted.

"We didn't force this money on those people," the OEO was still telling newsmen. "They themselves formed this WRAND organization and requested the university's assistance in getting a grant."

Pondering that statement that he'd heard and read so often, Roy Smith suddenly realized there was something very strange about it. Some 257 of the questionnaires he'd distributed had been returned by them, showing average family income so far of \$7,961 in the depressed community and turning up just 10 people who approved of the antipoverty grant. But more interesting yet, only four people had identified themselves, even unsigned, as members of WRAND. Roy had met the president and current spokesman of the group—a young junior high school teacher named Gerald Foley. But Foley himself admitted he'd joined the group months after its formation and had taken no part in the original request to the university. And the few other WRAND members who could be located locally said exactly the same thing. Who, then, had made that request? Who had started WRAND in the first place?

There was a way to find out. Any such organization had to file articles of incorporation with the county clerk, and any

citizen had a right to examine those articles. Roy Smith availed himself of that right. And all of a sudden, the whole puzzling business wasn't so puzzling any longer.

The Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development had been founded by just six people—not one of whom lived anywhere near the neighborhood they intended developing, all of whom were well-to-do residents of Ann Arbor. The self-help group that had asked the University of Michigan to help it help itself to some antipoverty money had been formed by one University of Michigan official, one University of Michigan professor, two wives of university professors, one prominent lawyer and the manager of the Willow Village apartments—for which additional title IV antipoverty funds had been suggested in the resulting proposal.

At this writing, with the university already privately estimating its overhead at 32 percent, the antipoverty grant gained by the invention of an imaginary ghost town is still in effect. In fact, on April 27—speaking at Detroit, Mich., and still quoting the falsified phrases and statistics of a report that was supposedly never submitted to Washington—War on Poverty Director R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., threw his personal prestige behind the Office of Economic Opportunity's attempts to save face in the controversy by publicly praising the Willow Village demonstration project. (If he'd ventured just 30 miles farther, he might have seen what he was calling "an urban-fringe pocket of poverty." But he didn't.) And the OEO is still stubbornly sticking to its story that the erroneous background material was not germane to a proposal that "clearly met the criteria for demonstrations as developed by this office."

But Government glibness no longer bothers Roy Smith the way it once did—chiefly because his struggle isn't a lone one any longer. Roused by the realization that the entire scheme was both conceived and carried out by outsiders, the people of the designated area have begun battling back with every bit as much ingenuity as was used in calling them impoverished in the first place. A group of them have decided to play the alphabet game themselves by forming a rival self-help group called REPLY—which stands for Return Every Penny and Leave Ypsilanti-Township. Petitions making the same demand have so far been signed by 80 percent of the area's residents, and a similar resolution received an 87½-percent favorable vote at the annual township meeting. Recognizing the fact that as leaders of the people they'd do well to follow them, four of Roy's fellow township board members, Tilden R. Stumbo included, have reversed their earlier stand and joined him in demanding the return of the grant.

To dramatize the situation, signs have been erected informing visitors that they are entering an official poverty area where their tax dollars are hard at work. And a young man named Gordon Mattson, chairman of REPLY, even rented a horse and a Paul Revere costume, then braved a late snowstorm to go galloping through the streets shouting, "The bureaucrats are coming." He was followed by both a honking motorcade and what seemed an apt symbol of the incredible affair from its clouded beginning to its as-yet-undetermined end—a circus clown.

"Maybe that's the only answer for this kind of insanity," Roy Smith laughingly reflects. "A good sense of humor. But you know what worries me most? The way that fellow from Washington acted when he came out and saw for himself how the Government had been taken. He didn't get mad, and he didn't seem surprised. He wasn't even interested. All he kept asking was what would satisfy me—which meant what would shut me up, I guess. Do you think what happened here could be the rule and not the exception? That this

sort of thing is going on all over the country?"

That's an interesting question.

STATEMENT BY ARTHUR AMOLSCH,
YPSILANTI, MICH., JUNE 8, 1965

Mr. Chairman, I would like to begin by stating the obvious: It is a tribute to our country and our form of government that the minority party in our highest legislative council can, on its own, search out relevant testimony on public issues. It is, however, unfortunate that the minority party should have to go outside usual legislative channels in order to get this testimony.

To identify myself, I am Arthur Amolsch, of Ypsilanti, Mich. I teach American history and English at Edmundson Junior High School, which is about a quarter mile from Willow Run Village. With me is Gordon Mattson, who is a resident of Willow Run Village and is the chairman of REPLY (Return Every Penny, Leave Ypsilanti). He is in charge of material followup with the Fisher Body Division, General Motors, at its Willow Run plant. We represent at least 75 percent of the residents of the Ypsilanti portion of Willow Run Village. We are shocked at the high-handed methods employed by the OEO in our community.

Mr. Chairman, there can be no doubt that the Ypsilanti war on poverty—financed initially with almost \$200,000 of the taxpayers' money—is a fraud and a disgrace. It is a fraud because the money was granted under false pretenses. It is a disgrace because (a) those who perpetrated the fraud have shamelessly played on the understandable desire of the American people to help the unfortunate by indulging in a fantastic giveaway; and because (b) it reveals extremely sloppy management and administrative procedures on the part of those who are charged with dispensing public funds under the avowed aim of promoting economic opportunity. Let me expand on these charges in the order in which I stated them.

Even a cursory study of the 88-page report on which this grant is based reveals it to be possibly the greatest swindle since the Donation of Constantine. This report, entitled a "Demonstration-Training Community Action Project for Willow Village, Mich.," was prepared by the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, which is a combined operation of the University of Michigan and Wayne State University. In the report's own words, it was submitted to the Federal Government by the institute "in cooperation with the Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development (WRAND)." This report is divided into four parts, the first of which I want to discuss this morning because it is in this section of the report that the institute and WRAND make their case for Federal funds.

According to this report, the people in Willow Village are "socially isolated. The normal infrastructure (sic) of public facilities, local government and community organizations on which self-help depends is (sic) either absent or highly disorganized." Further, "Willow Village is a depressed community * * * (which, after World War II) rapidly became a center of hard-core poverty." "The Village," says the report, "is an unincorporated, urban-fringe area * * * a pocket of poverty dissociated from the surrounding, relatively prosperous area."

We submit, Mr. Chairman, that Willow Village is not a center of hard-core poverty, is not a depressed community, and is not an urban-fringe area—whatever that is—and that the people who live there are not socially isolated. About the only true statement in the general fiction which I just quoted you from the report is that Willow Village is unincorporated. Actually, no such place legally exists any longer and a great many of the residents of the area resent be-

ing reminded of what they call "a ghost." What we shall call—for the purposes of this discussion—Willow Village, is primarily located in Ypsilanti Township, a thriving, growing community in southeastern Michigan. Heavy industry in the form of General Motors Corp. and Ford Motor Co., among others, are located in Ypsilanti Township. It lies within 10 miles of two major State-supported universities.

As soon as the institute report was made public, volunteers circulated questionnaires in the area to determine some of the economic characteristics of the area and its people. Questionnaires were circulated to 524 homes in the area. Two hundred and eighty-nine responses were received. This is, I believe, and overall 55 percent response rate. In some of the streets canvassed, the return was as high as 87 percent, but unfortunately we were later informed that in one street a member of WRAND followed the volunteers and told the residents not to fill out the questionnaires. As a result of this blocking of data gathering, in one area only 13 percent of the questionnaires were returned. Nonetheless, the returns which we have, give, I think, a fair picture of the area. These answers show that 268 own their own homes, while 20 rent; 259 wanted to return the grant to the Government, while 12 wanted to keep it; 129 own 1 car, 73 own 2 cars, 13 own 3 cars and 2 families owned 4 cars; 145 families own 1 television set, 67 own 2 sets, 5 own 3 sets and 1 family owned 4 television sets; only 11 people living in the area felt themselves to be impoverished, while 29 did not think they themselves were impoverished, but thought the area was impoverished. No person or family who was unemployed returned the questionnaire—although I am sure that there are some unemployed in the area—and the average family income of those who returned their sheets was \$7,942 (sic). If the committee wishes, I can break these figures down by street later on.

Two members of the Ypsilanti Township Board of Trustees (including the former chairman of the board of WRAND who now has a well-paying job administering the grant) live in Willow Village. The area is served by the Willow Run public school system—where I am employed—which employs over 170 teachers, about half of whom have advanced degrees, and which has a budget of approximately one and a half million dollars a year. According to the report, "the schools are a bus-ride away," yet a brandnew elementary school on the edge of the area has just been opened this year.

According to the WRAND report, "Willow Village is a community without social services," yet WRAND was ostensibly organized here; the United Fund operates in the area and the school system provides a school nurse, an immunization program, etc. The WRAND report claims that there is no newspaper serving the area but both Detroit dailies and the Ypsilanti Press and the Ann Arbor News are delivered in the village. The report states that there is no medical facility but the fact that Ypsilanti Township belongs to the People's Community Hospital Authority which operates a hospital less than 3 miles away. The report blandly states that there is no recreation or cultural or even entertainment facility, but the township and school district operate recreational facilities including public use of the high school swimming pool; the two universities in the area of course operate full-time cultural activities and there is among other things, a major chain motion picture theatre approximately 2 miles away.

The report alleges that there are no stores in the area, yet there is a modern shopping center right in the middle of the Village. As a matter of fact, a neighborhood grocer closed his store recently because of a lack of

business: suggesting that retailing facilities are at least adequate.

The WRAND report claims that urban renewal "demolished * * * the community buildings * * * the community center (which is now located in a former school-building), the schools (there are several) the gas station (there are three), the grocery (there is still a small grocery right across the street from the shopping center), the medical and dental clinics (both of which are less than 5 minutes away by car)." This inaccurate report on which the grant was based claims, on page 7, that many houses are standing vacant for lack of anyone to move into the area; yet, on the same page, it says that "old residents of the Village * * * are still waiting for a chance to move back." Which is it? And anyway, why should anyone want to move into a depressed area, if it really is one?

In the synopsis of the report, the writers claim that the so-called poverty in Willow Village has produced "a social adjustment to marginal life: passivity, dependency, and mistrust in relation to public agencies, withdrawal from the political and cultural life of the wider community, and an unwillingness the energy and hope in self-help." But on page 8 of the report, the writers admit that "The community spirit of the old village remains" and that "there is a reservoir of leadership talent in the area." And on page 12, the report adds that the WRAND projects in the area "demonstrate the remarkable will of a group at the bottom of the social, economic, and cultural ladder to invest both energy and money in their own future."

It occurs to me that such blatant contradictions could only be written into a report by a writer who had not the slightest idea of what he was doing or else know that he had contradicted himself but didn't expect anyone to read his report thoroughly before they granted these requested funds.

On the basis of those contradictions, Mr. Chairman, the institute report concludes as follows: "The institute believes that Willow Village is an area of substantial poverty which should receive Federal assistance under the terms of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964."

It is a disgrace that the Government has gone ahead and given away \$188,000 of the workman's money to the institute without, apparently, verifying either the details of the report or the credentials of those responsible for it. According to those responsible for this hoax, the Willow Run Association for Neighbor Development, a local community action group, was the source of this project. The report implies that WRAND is a local group formed by local citizens with approximately 500 members. Actually, WRAND is nothing more than a front group formed by 6 Ann Arbor social planners with a local membership that we have been able to find about 6—not 600, just 6. I have a list of the incorporators if the committee is interested in their names. One of them is a Mr. Henry Alting, manager of a group of co-operative apartments which lie within the area known as Willow Village. When these apartments were opened for occupancy, an advertising brochure extolling their virtues was published. I would like to quote from that brochure, a copy of which I have with me:

"Near recreation areas with—fishing, swimming, boating * * * easy access to shopping * * * 4½-acre parksite adjacent * * * quiet, safe streets * * * protected play areas."

"In the Willow Run school district—which provides elementary, junior high, and high school—recreation and athletic programs—adult education—year-round swimming * * * library facilities."

Mr. Chairman, it is not enough just to know that a fraud has been committed. It is not even enough to indict those respon-

sible for the fraud. Responsible leadership should seek to find the conditions which enable the fraud to be committed and then try to correct them. I suggest that fraud occurred in this case because we have been taking the wrong approach to solving the complex problems of today which demand our attention. Like ancient alchemists, we have sought the magic ingredient which will yield us instant wealth and guaranteed happiness. We have, of course, failed, for there is no magic ingredient, no supernatural incantation which when pronounced will do away with poverty and need. But out of the experimentation of the past 30 years, we should at least have learned what sorts of things will not work. We have tried out the ingredients of what President Kennedy caustically referred to as the leviathan state. It is time we learned that not everything can be solved by a government spending program; that, indeed, government spending may often cause more problems than it cures, not the least of which may be an inefficient or arrogant bureaucracy. Unless we are willing to believe that the President and the Office of Economic Opportunity conspired to throw away the taxpayers' money—and I for one am not ready to believe it—then a rational alternative suggestion as to how all this money was poured down the rathole is that a large centralized bureaucracy simply is not capable of coping with the problems which arise at the local level. What we need, then, are programs which recognize this fact and proceed to handle problems at the local level.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, someone out there wished to help Willow Village. Senators remember the Kaiser Willow Run project during World War II. Willow Run disappeared. Willow Village sprang up in its place as a fine community, with paved streets, many homeowners, schools, and hospitals—and with the largest per capita income of any place in Michigan; namely, \$8,000 a year.

So, down here someone said:

We have a letter from someone up there signed by 600 people and they feel that the community has social services.

When the facts were run down, it was six persons who felt that way, not 600. However, in due course a grant was made, originally \$88,000.

Mr. Amolsch writes: "It is a fraud and a disgrace." I remind the Senate that Mr. Amolsch is a teacher in the schools in that area and he should know something about it.

But, there is the whole story. It is unbelievable. They tried to force money upon Willow Village.

Meanwhile, I received a copy of a small brochure entitled "A Prosperous Town Is Forced To Accept U.S. Poverty Money—Zealous Poverty Fighters Say Michigan's Ypsilanti Township Needs \$188,252 To Get on Its Feet—And They Will Not Take No for an Answer."

Now they have a supervisor. Mr. Amolsch heard about this and he could not believe his ears. They began to make an exploration. He finally got hold of the chairman of the group who was trying to force this \$188,000 on them.

If I remember correctly, it happened to be a doctor. He was a specialist in syphilis. I might as well tell the whole story. I do not know why I should not. He called him up and said, "You come over here." The application said grass was growing in the streets, that they had

no services; not anything; that the town was impoverished.

He could not get him to come over. He forced him to come over. For 2 hours he drove these people around to what they thought was an impoverished area. There was not an unpaved street in the place. I do not know how it is possible to grow grass on pavement. Perhaps it is possible to grow Kentucky Blue Grass on pavement. I have never succeeded at it. They have schools, they have hospitals, they have everything they need. It is one of the prized communities in Michigan. However, they were compelled to take the \$188,000 whether they liked it or not.

Why? Because downtown in Washington it was said that every county in the United States is entitled to at least one program.

That is a great way to run a railroad, I must say. Believe me, I am not going to vote for that kind of business, so help me.

We have another thing going on here. In connection generally with these things I have here an article entitled "We're Training Them To Train Us." It was published in the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., on July 11, and reported that the United States is training five persons from India for work in Volunteers in Service to America—that is, VISTA. It is a part of this program. The article reported that these Indians will train for 3 months at St. John's College, then work about a year in our domestic Peace Corps, receiving the usual living allowance and \$50 a month. Harris Wofford, Associate Director of the Peace Corps, said:

The program is a pilot experiment which could lead to an international peace corps. While the United States brings foreign students here to train them to train us, we are sending 93 Peace Corps volunteers to India.

I say to Senators, do not be surprised if a Hindu shows up in North Dakota to tell you what is wrong with your community, why you are poor, and why you should take this free money.

I cannot think of anything sillier. It has these ramifications. It grows better as time goes on.

There must be one note of humor in all this. Bob Hope is quite quick on the trigger. Bob Hope's latest comment on poverty is:

From now on it's against the law to be poor, unless you are a Republican, and then it is expected of you.

When comedians on the stage start flipping around that way, look out. I have a great deal of material here relating to what the Comptroller General said about all these things over a period of time.

Some of the analysts would never have been any good in prohibition days, when near beer was so popular. A wag once said that the inventor of near beer was a poor judge of whisky.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD at this point "Appendix 1 to Minority Views on Senate 1648, Summary of Reports of the Comptroller General of the United States on the Public Works Acceleration and Area Development Programs."

I shall let these speak for themselves, because I shall not detain the Senate too long. However, we see here an estimate made of how many jobs will be provided by some of these projects. In some cases they missed it by 83 percent. In some cases they missed it by 94 percent.

I ask my friend from Wyoming, How wrong can they be? They had only 6 percent to go and then they would have been out of church in estimating the number of jobs. That is the way it is now in this program. In many communities they cannot get together to find out who is going to whack up the political pelf before they are through.

The clock says 7 o'clock, and I suppose I should stop. Here are all the reports from the General Accounting Office. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this material may be made a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APPENDIX I TO MINORITY VIEWS ON S. 1648—
SUMMARY OF REPORTS OF THE COMPTROLLER
GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE
PUBLIC WORKS ACCELERATION AND AREA
REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

(Between May 1964 and May 1965, the Comptroller General submitted a total of 17 reports to the Congress criticizing various aspects of the administration of the Area Redevelopment Act and the Public Works Acceleration Act. Following is a brief summary of each of these reports.)

MAY 1964—OVERSTATEMENT OF NUMBER OF
JOBS CREATED UNDER THE PUBLIC WORKS AC-
CELERATION PROGRAM

The General Accounting Office reviewed 190 public works acceleration projects handled by the Community Facilities Administration. It was originally estimated that these projects would create 21,814 man-months of onsite work. The General Accounting Office's review showed that actually only 9,553 onsite man-months were worked. Thus, the estimates were overstated by 12,261 man-months or 128 percent. If what was found in the 190 projects is true for all of the 2,842 projects approved by the Community Facilities Act as of November 1, 1963, it would appear that the estimated 663,911 man-months (55,300 man-years) of work reported for these projects by the Area Redevelopment Act is overstated by about 373,000 man-months (31,000 man-years).

The General Accounting Office also reviewed data relating to 497 of the 128 Community Facilities Administration projects under construction as of November 1, 1963. This review disclosed that the 50,853 actual onsite man-months of work reported for these projects by the Area Redevelopment Administration Directory was overstated by 23,008 man-months or about 83 percent.

The General Accounting Office report points out that the Area Redevelopment Administration is responsible for the evaluation and coordination of the public works acceleration program and the summary tables of its directory are the only readily available measure of the accomplishments of the public works acceleration program with respect to the creation of employment. It was noted that the data contained in the September 1, 1963, Directory of Approved Accelerated Public Works Projects was used extensively in the Area Redevelopment Administration's testimony before the House Public Works Committee to demonstrate the progress and accomplishments achieved under the Public Works Acceleration Act.

JUNE 1964—ASSISTANCE UNDER THE PUBLIC
WORKS ACCELERATION ACT TO AREAS NO
LONGER BURDENED BY SUBSTANTIAL UNEM-
PLOYMENT

A review by the General Accounting Office indicated that about \$21 million in public works acceleration funds were obligated for about 85 projects in areas which were no longer eligible at the time the grant agreement was consummated or which were due to become ineligible shortly thereafter. Termination of eligibility of the areas was because of improved employment conditions, and the report comments that it appears that the Community Facilities Administration or Public Health Service (which handled the project) were aware at the time Federal funds were obligated for the projects that the areas were no longer burdened by substantial unemployment. Specific examples are cited concerning projects at Bridgeport, Conn., the Youngstown-Warren, Ohio, labor market area, the Canton, Ohio, area, and Livingston County, Mich.

AUGUST 1964—UNAUTHORIZED ASSISTANCE TO
SEEMINGLY NONDEPRESSED AREAS UNDER THE
PUBLIC WORKS ACCELERATION ACT AND THE
AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

About \$7.4 million of the fund authorized by the Public Works Acceleration Act and the Area Redevelopment Act for assistance to depressed areas were approved for projects in seemingly nondepressed areas. The areas involved were in Hawaii (Hawaii County), New Hampshire (Grafton, Coos, and Carroll Counties), Vermont (Orleans, Caledonia, and Essex Counties), and Delaware (Sussex and Kent Counties). In designating these areas as being eligible for assistance, there was no determination by the Area Redevelopment Administration that the areas met the specific unemployment or underemployment criteria prescribed by law. The designation was made on the basis that the law permitted at least one area in each State to be designated as an unemployment area. The General Accounting Office stated that, in its opinion, designation on this basis is not authorized by the Area Redevelopment Act.

OCTOBER 1964—PUBLIC WORKS ACCELERATION
ACT ASSISTANCE APPROVED FOR AREAS UNDER
CONSIDERATION FOR TERMINATION OF ELI-
GIBILITY

The General Accounting Office found that about \$26 million had been spent or committed for public works acceleration projects in areas of the Nation which the Secretary of Labor had found were no longer burdened by substantial and persistent unemployment according to the criteria of the statute or regulations. These areas received assistance because the Area Redevelopment Administration policies permitted the approval of public works acceleration grants during the 7- to 13-month period when the Area Redevelopment Administration was considering whether to terminate the depressed area designations.

OCTOBER 1964—EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN
FEDERALLY AIDED PROJECT GENERALLY RE-
STRICTED TO INDIVIDUALS HAVING FUNDS TO
INVEST IN BUSINESS VENTURE

This report involved a \$140,000 industrial loan under the Area Redevelopment Act to the Cowlitz Forest Products, Inc., Chehalis, Wash. The borrower generally required prospective employees, as a condition precedent to employment, to make substantial investment in the business venture through the purchase of shares of stock. Prospective employees were generally required to buy shares of both common and nonvoting preferred stock with a total investment per employee of about \$2,040. The borrower and associates maintained the majority of the voting common stock, thus retaining management control. Although information was

available to make it evident that financial investment was a possible prerequisite to employment, this information was not considered by the appropriate Federal officials, and, on September 4, 1962, the Area Redevelopment Administration approved a loan of \$140,000. In October of 1962, the Area Redevelopment Administration became aware of the situation and advised the borrower that "such a requirement is not consistent with the primary intent and purpose of the ARA program since it tends to eliminate employment opportunities to those persons who lack financial funds to invest in the company." Despite this, the loan was disbursed, apparently on the basis that a refusal to do so would constitute a breach of faith and that it was too late to reexamine the entire loan application.

NOVEMBER 1964—IMPRUDENT ACTION TAKEN IN
APPROVING LOANS TO ASSIST THE ROUSTABOUT
CO., FRACKVILLE, PA.

The Roustabout Co. applied for loans to assist in financing a plant for the production of a three-wheel light vehicle. The Small Business Administration reviewed the overall feasibility of the project and recommended that the Area Redevelopment Administration decline to make a loan to the Roustabout Co. because there was no basis for a determination, as required by the statute, that repayment of the loans was reasonably assured. This recommendation was made on the basis that there was a lack of (1) assurance that the product could be successfully marketed, (2) assurance that the project could be operated at a rate of successful profit, (3) adequate working capital, and (4) adequate collateral to secure the loan.

Despite the existence of these adverse conclusions by the Small Business Administration and despite the statutory requirement that repayment of loans must be reasonably assured, the Area Redevelopment Administration approved loans in the total amount of \$342,000.

On March 28, 1963, the loans were disbursed, and in June 1963, the borrower ceased production, and in November 1963, the borrower filed a voluntary petition of bankruptcy. The reason for the borrower's failure was its inability to market its product as had been warned by the Small Business Administration. On the basis of the Small Business Administration's estimates this may result in a loss to the Government of \$230,000.

DECEMBER 1964—INADEQUATE ANALYSIS OF EM-
PLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES TO BE PROVIDED BY
A FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROJECT

The Plant Food Center, Inc., Post Falls, Idaho, applied to the Area Redevelopment Administration for an industrial loan and reported that the project would create 7 jobs initially and 23 jobs at the end of the first year of operation. The Area Redevelopment Administration accepted the estimate of the borrower as to employment to be created and approved a loan for \$53,000. As a matter of fact, it now appears that no more than six full-time employment opportunities will result from the project. The General Accounting Office report states that "appropriate recognition of the available information would have shown rather convincingly that the borrower's estimate of employment opportunities were unrealistic."

DECEMBER 1964—INEFFECTIVE ACTIONS TAKEN IN
APPROVING AND ADMINISTERING A LOAN TO
VINELAND AND SOUTH JERSEY COOPERATIVE
EGG AUCTION AND POULTRY ASSOCIATION, INC.

The Area Redevelopment Administration approved a loan of \$42,250 to Vineland and South Jersey Cooperative Egg, Auction & Poultry Association, Inc. The principal finding of the General Accounting Office was that in processing the loan for approval, neither the Area Redevelopment Administration nor

the Small Business Administration adequately examined into the number of employment opportunities which could reasonably be expected to result from the project. Although the loan was approved in May 1962, on the basis that existing employment would be maintained and 27 new jobs would be created, an adequate analysis of information available or obtainable at the time the loan was processed for approval would have shown that no new employment opportunities could reasonably be expected. In fact, as of March 1964, there had been a reduction of eight jobs since loan approval.

In addition to this, the General Accounting Office found that the Small Business Administration improperly disbursed about \$18,000 of Federal loan funds in excess of the amount permitted under the terms of the loan authorization.

JANUARY 1965—INADEQUATE EVALUATION OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES TO BE CREATED BY TWO INDUSTRIAL AREA REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

First case: In June 1962, a plastic manufacturing plant applied for Federal financial assistance. The applicant stated that 50 persons would be employed at the start of operations and estimated that 100 persons would be employed at the end of 1 year of operation. However, estimates of projected income and expenses submitted by the applicant indicated that between 31 and 39 persons would be employed, depending upon sales volumes. In its formal loan application, the applicant indicated that the proposed project would create 58 new jobs and that in addition 10 existing jobs would be saved.

The Area Redevelopment Administration approved a loan of \$325,000 and in its public announcement stated that the loan would help create 100 direct new jobs. Except for the applicant's estimate contained in the project proposal, the General Accounting Office could find no evidence to support the Area Redevelopment Administration's announcement that the project was expected to create 100 new jobs. Since this estimate was contradicted by information submitted with the applicant's project proposal and loan application, the General Accounting Office concluded that "Neither the ARA nor the Small Business Administration was particularly concerned with the extent to which the project could be expected to alleviate unemployment and underemployment in the area in which it was to be located."

Second case: In August 1961, a seafood canning company applied for an ARA loan for constructing and equipping a seafood processing plant. In the proposal, the applicant stated that 350 permanent new jobs would be created by the venture during the first year of operation. In January 1962, the Area Redevelopment Administration approved a loan of \$632,135 which was later increased to \$756,294. In a public announcement, the Area Redevelopment Administration reported the 350 new jobs the applicant had initially estimated as the number of new job opportunities which would be created by the project. However, a review of the projected expenses by the borrower and other available information indicated that the estimated number of new employment opportunities considered by the Area Redevelopment Administration in evaluating the loan should have been reduced from 350 to about 126.

JANUARY 1965—DEFICIENT FINANCIAL ANALYSIS WHICH RESULTED IN APPROVAL OF UNNEEDED GRANTS

Section 8 of the Area Redevelopment Act authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to make grants for the construction, etc., of public facilities within a redevelopment area, if he finds that (1) the applicant for the grant proposes to contribute to the cost of the project in proportion to its ability; and

(2) there is little probability that the project can be undertaken without assistance of a grant.

In December 1962, the Pueblo of Laguna, an Indian tribe, applied for an ARA grant in connection with the construction of a new industrial plant which the Pueblo planned to build for lease. In the project proposal submitted to the ARA for grant assistance, the grantee stated that it was unable to finance the facility. Although the project proposal form submitted to the ARA called for a current statement of financial condition, none was submitted, but in the application the Pueblo did submit a summary of cash receipts and disbursements covering the preceding 3 fiscal years. Apparently on the basis of this material, a grant was approved in the amount of \$118,000. It was later learned that the Pueblo was "one of the wealthiest Indian tribes in the country due to the income received from the lease of that portion of the reservation upon which uranium had been discovered and was being mined." Twelve days after the grant was approved, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was asked for certain financial information concerning the Pueblo. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, advised that for calendar years 1960, 1961, and 1962, the grantee's income was \$1.6 million, \$1.7 million, and \$1.5 million; that the Pueblo cash balance at the end of 1962 was \$1.2 million; and that the market value of the Pueblo's investment in stocks and bonds at the end of 1962 was \$9,867,685. The General Accounting Office review revealed that the Community Facilities Administration and the Area Redevelopment Administration had available considerable evidence as to the prosperity of the Pueblo, including two credit reports received more than 6 months before the grant was approved. The Deputy Administrator of the ARA agreed with the General Accounting Office that it was clear that a more thorough analysis of the financial condition of the Pueblo would have been desirable. He attempted to justify the grant by saying, "The lack of sophistication of the Laguna people in commercial affairs has made Government participation essential" and that it was the opinion of those familiar with the project that without ARA assistance, the project would probably have been rejected by the tribal council.

The report of the General Accounting Office states that:

"In view of the rather favorable financial condition of the grantee and the intent of the Congress with respect to the making of grants, it seems highly doubtful that the ARA would have authorized a grant had the responsible Government employees more accurately evaluated the grantee's financial requirements and needs."

MARCH 1965—NEED FOR BASIC IMPROVEMENT OF ACCOUNTING SYSTEM TO ENABLE THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADEQUATE FINANCIAL INFORMATION

The General Accounting Office found that the Area Redevelopment Administration's accounting system did not provide for the development of costs by activities and functions. These and other deficiencies described in the report were of such significance as to preclude approval of the Area Redevelopment Administration's accounting system by the Comptroller General. The Area Redevelopment Administration has advised that the Administration would, in accordance with the proposals of the General Accounting Office, begin to design an accounting system which could be approved.

MARCH 1965—UNNECESSARY GRANT APPROVED TO ASSIST IN FINANCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KEYSTONE INDUSTRIAL PARK OF THE SCRANTON LACKAWANNA INDUSTRIAL BUILDING CO.

The Scranton Lackawanna Industrial Building Co., is a private, nonprofit corpora-

tion owned entirely by the Scranton Chamber of Commerce, a nonprofit corporation. In August 1961, the company submitted proposals requesting financial assistance for developing the Keystone Industrial Park. In late 1962, the Area Redevelopment Administration approved a grant for \$424,000 which was later reduced to \$322,000 because of an underrun in project costs. The General Accounting Office's review of the data available at the time the request was approved clearly shows that had a careful examination been made of such data, it would have been evident that the project could be undertaken without the assistance of a Federal grant. The report of the General Accounting Office indicates that it does not believe there was compliance with the statutory requirement "that there be little probability that a project could be undertaken without the assistance of a grant," and that the Area Redevelopment Administration's determination that this requirement was met was not supported by information available prior to the grant concerning the grantee's financial condition. The General Accounting Office concludes:

It appears that the review [by the ARA] was designed to determine only whether in the absence of a grant, the grantee's future projects might be adversely affected rather than whether the project in question could have been completed without grant funds and that in this respect neither the Community Facilities Administration, in making its review, nor the Area Redevelopment Administration, in reviewing the Community Facilities Administration's conclusions, gave sufficient consideration to the intent of the pertinent provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act.

APRIL 1965—POSSIBLE NEED FOR CLARIFICATION OF STATUTORY PROVISION LIMITING THE AMOUNT OF FEDERAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO INDUSTRIAL OR COMMERCIAL PROJECTS

Section 6(b) (9) of the Area Redevelopment Act provides that loans to assist in projects for industrial or commercial usage—shall not exceed 65 per centum of the aggregate cost to the applicant (excluding all other Federal aid in connection with the undertaking) of acquiring or developing land and facilities (including, in cases of demonstrated need, machinery and equipment), and of construction, altering, converting, rehabilitating, or enlarging the building or buildings of the particular project.

H.R. 6991, the proposed Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 contains a similar provision.

The Area Redevelopment Administrator has interpreted this provision to permit, under certain circumstances, the inclusion in project costs of all or a part of the value of the applicant's existing land and facilities. The GAO reviewed nine industrial or commercial area projects, under section 6 of the act, which involves the expansion of existing and operating facilities and for which loans totaling \$160 million were made. It was disclosed that Federal financial assistance ranged from 76 to 100 percent of the actual cost of expanding the facilities, because of including existing assets of the borrower as a cost of the project. Furthermore, the total appraised value of all such assets were not included in all cases. Instead, only that amount was included which maximized the amount of Federal financing and minimized or eliminated the amount of other financing required by the project.

The General Accounting Office believes that it may have been the legislative intent to limit Federal financing to 65 percent of the new capital expenditures for a project, and that the applicant's previously acquired and existing assets should not be included in determining project costs. In fact, the ARA initially established a policy in line with this, but later modified its policy.

The report recommends that the Congress in considering H.R. 6991 and S. 1648 consider clarifying this situation.

APRIL 1965—FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN UN-NECESSARY PROJECTS COSTS RESULTING FROM FAILURE TO PROPERLY RECOGNIZE EFFECT OF INTERCORPORATE OWNERSHIP

The Area Redevelopment Administration approved and disbursed a loan of \$355,000 to Farwest Fisheries, Inc., Anacortes, Wash., to assist in financing the purchase and improvement of an existing salmon cannery, although \$500,000 of the \$700,000 total project cost was to be paid by the borrower to its parent corporation for the plant which was owned and then being operated by the parent corporation, and only \$200,000 was to be expended for purchase of additional machinery and equipment. Notwithstanding the fact that both the ARA and the SBA, which is responsible for the performance of certain functions and duties under the Area Redevelopment Act, were aware that an intercorporate relationship might exist which would negate the justification for Federal assistance in financing the total project as proposed, and although the borrower was not yet incorporated at the time of loan approval, neither agency made a sufficient review to disclose the true relationship between the two corporations.

The General Accounting Office brought this matter to the attention of the Congress because a large part of the Federal funds made available for the project did not serve the objective of the Area Redevelopment Act through the creation of new employment opportunities, but assisted in the purchase of an operating plant by the borrower from its parent corporation.

The GAO also pointed out to the Area Redevelopment Administrator and the Small Business Administration that officials of both agencies were negligent in disbursing Federal funds without first reasonably establishing that the project was essential to carry out the purposes of the statute and noted that this situation emphasized the need for a greater sense of personal responsibility on the part of Government employees. The Small Business Administration admonished its staff members and issued remedial instructions to prevent reoccurrences, but the Area Redevelopment Administration did not agree that its officials were negligent.

The General Accounting Office feels that in addition to remedial instructions issued by the Small Business Administration, the Administrator of the ARA should request the Administrator of SBA to establish procedures to prevent the reoccurrence of the above and that the Administrator of ARA should cause to be included in loan authorizations, executed prior to the incorporation or organization of the prospective borrower, a provision making a positive finding by the SBA as to the relationship of a borrower to any interested party a condition precedent to disbursement of loan funds.

MAY 1965—LACK OF COMPLIANCE WITH STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS FOR LOCAL FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION IN AREA REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Section 6 of the Area Redevelopment Act requires that not less than 10 percent of the aggregate cost of a federally assisted industrial or commercial project be supplied by the State, an agency, or political subdivision thereof, or by an Indian tribe or area organization which is nongovernmental in character as equity capital or as a loan repayable only after the Federal financial assistance has been repaid in full. The legislative history of this provision shows clearly that the intent was to insure that each project had the active support of the community as evidenced by its willingness to invest funds and

assume financial risks in regard to the project.

A review by the General Accounting Office disclosed a number of projects for which all or part of the required State or community financing was, in fact, supplied by the borrower or its principals. Under the policies adopted by the Area Redevelopment Administration, this was permissible provided a "bona fide effort is made [by a local development organization] to raise funds on a broad base." The General Accounting Office is of the opinion that such financing arrangements are not consistent with the objectives of the statute and their approval by the Area Redevelopment Administration was improper.

The General Accounting Office reasoned that the mere channeling of funds of a borrower or others having an interest in the project substantially identical to that of a borrower through a local development organization and back into the borrower's project without such organization's undertaking a bona fide financial risk does not constitute compliance with the terms of section 6 of the act.

The report of the GAO points out that, under the provisions of H.R. 6991, the required State or community financial participation in industrial or commercial projects would be reduced to 5 percent of aggregate project costs. H.R. 6991 also permits this requirement to be waived if the Secretary determines that the funds are not reasonably available from State or community sources because of economic distress or other good cause. The report points out that the failure of a community to respond to a fund-raising drive for the benefit of a project is not necessarily evidence that the community is not able to participate, but rather may evidence lack of community support for the project.

The report recommends that the Congress in studying H.R. 6991 give consideration to this situation and to the need for providing criteria for the Secretary in determining whether State or community funds must be contributed to a project.

MAY 1965—OVERSTATEMENT OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES ESTIMATED TO BE CREATED IN ECONOMICALLY DEPRESSED AREAS

Since the inception of the area redevelopment program, the ARA has maintained statistics showing the total number of job opportunities expected to be directly created or saved as a result of assistance extended under the ARA. ARA has used these statistics extensively in testimony before congressional committees and subcommittees as evidence of the expected accomplishments of the area redevelopment program. Department of Commerce and ARA officials have repeatedly assured various committees of the Congress of the validity and reliability of the job estimates.

During hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, ARA officials informed the subcommittee that as of February 1964, ARA had approved a total of 285 loans under section 6 of the act (loans for industrial or commercial usage). These loans represented a commitment of approximately \$120 million for Federal assistance and ARA estimated that 34,168 jobs would be created after the projects had been in operation 1 full year.

The GAO reviewed the analyses made by ARA of the employment opportunities expected to be created by the 285 projects referred to above. The review disclosed that the analyses by ARA were inadequate, were not consistent with the type of analysis described to the Congress, and that ARA generally accepted the representations of the applicant without making an adequate analysis of the applicant's payroll projections

to evaluate the reasonableness of the applicant's representations.

The GAO then reviewed the 80 projects (out of the 285) which had been completed and in operation for 1 full year. The ARA had estimated that these 80 projects would create 9,539 jobs. The GAO found that only 4,912 jobs were actually created—an overstatement by the ARA of approximately 94 percent. The report states that if what was found in the 80 projects is true for all 285 projects, then the ARA estimate of 34,168 jobs was overstated by approximately 16,600 jobs.

The report points out that on September 18, 1964, ARA revised its procedures for evaluating the number of employment opportunities to be created. The GAO concluded that if these revised procedures are effectively implemented and administered, they would result in more reliable estimates. The GAO has not, however, yet evaluated the accuracy of the administration's current estimated employment figures developed under these different procedures.

MAY 1965—FEDERAL LOAN ASSISTANCE FOR PLANT ACQUISITION AND IMPROVEMENT RESULTED IN NO NEW EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES WITHIN REDEVELOPMENT AREA IN WHICH THE PLANT WAS LOCATED

The General Accounting Office review of the circumstances under which the Area Redevelopment Administration, Department of Commerce, included \$494,000 in an industrial loan to Josephine Plywood Corp. (formerly West Coast Plywood Co.), Portland, Oreg., to acquire and improve an industrial facility at Happy Camp, Calif., disclosed that the loan was approved despite the existence of adverse information relating to the effect which the project would have on employment. Further, the Area Redevelopment Administration permitted disbursement of loan funds without having evaluated firm plans and specifications for the plant improvements in the light of their effect upon proposed plant employment.

The borrower originally applied for an industrial loan for its own facility and advised of a contractual relationship with a second plant (partly owned by borrower's principal) to assure adequate raw materials. Subsequently, the borrower requested an additional loan to purchase the above-mentioned second plant to assure raw material supply and advised that production would be increased by making certain improvements and operating two shifts in this veneer plant—this, in spite of the fact that representatives of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, advised it could not certify favorably that there existed the necessary timber to support the two-shift operation.

ARA first refused the combined project and authorized a loan on the first application, conditioned upon satisfactory evidence of ample raw material supply. Attorneys for the borrower declined the loan and advised would accept only combined loan due to disagreement of participating bank for separate project—this in spite of the fact that the bank advised ARA it was willing to participate in either separate or combined projects.

The Area Redevelopment Administrator questioned the employment advantage of the second plant and asked for illustrations. In fact, ARA project analysis reflected no appreciable increase in employment and even no adequate source of raw materials. Nevertheless, loan was authorized with the requirement that plans and specifications for improvements of second plant must be submitted, but without making this requirement a condition precedent to loan disbursement, thereby removing ARA from the position of being able to evaluate the effect of the improvements upon proposed plant employment before disbursement of the loan.

The \$494,000 loan created no additional employment in the redevelopment area in which the plant was located.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I conclude where I began. I will vote untold sums to cure the disease of poverty; not to make war on it, but to cure the disease, if that is the better term for it; but I will vote nothing for the kind of program that has now been diffused all over America and that will become probably the greatest boondoggle since bread and circuses in the days of the ancient Roman Empire, when the republic fell. I will be no party to it.

I am ready, as the great Bard has said, to accept all the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. I am ready to accept the criticism. I am ready to accept people say, "You are against the poor."

The only answer I shall have is, "I am not against the poor. I was impoverished once, without a father, and the best that I could do was to go to school in overalls, and to work, peddling milk, berries, fruit, and honey from the bees I kept, in order to keep the family going."

I will vote it, but I will never vote it for this kind of program, which is the very acme of waste and extravagance and unorganization and disorganization; and, as the man from Michigan said, a colossal disgrace, and, in some cases, an absolute fraud upon the taxpayers of this country.

I have done. I have seen enough. When the roll is intoned, I expect to vote "nay," and to be able to justify that vote.

Mr. President, the day will come, I am afraid—and probably not too long from now—when there will be those standing at the wailing wall weeping for America. Our destiny has been extremely good. In this generation we have trifled with it. All we need see are the clouds of challenge and provocation that are on the horizon of the world, the refuges and sanctuaries that we have to crawl into.

Before this session is over, we shall have a so-called tax equalization act. We must stop the foreigners from raiding our money. We passed a Gold Act because Charley De Gaulle was raiding our gold supply.

How long will the rest of our gold reserve last at the rate we are going?

We are committing untold sums in Asia. That supplemental appropriation bill will have \$1.7 billion in it before we get out of this Congress and before the curtain of adjournment comes down. Wait until the deficit of our country is chalked up. Let this program run a little while and then watch it.

I have tried to be helpful to this administration, and I shall continue to do so. But I say to the Senate tonight what I said at a meeting in Chicago. I shall support the President. Then I shall try to hold him to strict accountability. Believe me, when the elections come next year, as they will, and men in public office must go to make their peace with the electorate, I shall be there, too, to say, "Tell them how we got into this fix." If it must be the political line, I accept it. If it must be the economic line, I accept it, because I believe the position that we assert is one that can be sustained before the American people.

I read the signs. Never in the history of the Federal Reserve Board have they owned so many Government securities as they do right now. Never have time deposits gone up; and those are available for bank loans. Never have demand deposits risen to such proportions. Never have there been so many transfers from the demand side of the ledger to the other side.

Mr. President, we are on a binge. It cannot last. We are blithely throwing, not millions, but billions into a program in the hope that it will be sustained. God willing, I hope it will be sustained. But I cannot summon the requisite faith to believe that we are serving our country when we pass this kind of bill with such a euphemistic title—"To expand the war on poverty."

Mr. President, I am ready for the third reading of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, today, while the Senate continues its consideration of H.R. 8283, the proposed Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, I wish to add some cautionary words.

I feel I must state, in all frankness, that I am not presently an enthusiastic supporter of this particular legislation. I intend to vote for the bill, and I have voted against proposals which would have reduced the authorization below that of the original administration request. I did, however, vote for the amendment, offered by the junior Senator from Vermont, to reduce the authorization by \$150 million, inasmuch as the item was not requested by the administration, either through the Office of Economic Opportunity or the Bureau of the Budget.

I realize that this is a relatively new program. Perhaps it has not yet had a chance to fully prove itself. Furthermore, the President feels it is important within the framework of his economic security planning.

There have, nonetheless, been a number of unfavorable reports on the Office of Economic Opportunity's operations, including, particularly, charges of heavy political favoritism, which I find disquieting. What the true facts are in these situations, I do not know, but the reports have been widespread and there must undoubtedly be some substance to some, if not all of them. The concept of the goals of the original legislation appeared worthy; however, I am beginning to wonder if the moneys appropriated for the various programs covered by the legislation are really being as advantageously and efficiently used as was initially planned.

This is not intended as any reflection on the Director, Mr. R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., whom I personally respect, and who

has always impressed me as a person of high integrity.

Nonetheless, there have been reports of waste and maladministration in some areas, although the program appears to have worked well in my own State. I am, however, concerned about some of the things reportedly developing in connection with this program in other parts of the country.

Moreover, I think that we are making a serious mistake in changing the present law to remove the Governor's veto. Time and time again, during the debate, I have supported every amendment which had as its purpose the recognition of the rights of the States and the status of the Governors of the States. I happen to believe that the States still have some rights under this republican form of Government, and I think that this basic principle has been involved here. In my estimation, the chief executive in a State, who, as the chief executive, has been named by his people, and who knows the problems of his State better than individuals and agencies outside its boundaries, should have the authority to reject projects under this program which, in his judgment, would not be beneficial and in the best interests of his State. As to whether the Governor of a particular State is a Democrat or a Republican, I do not feel that this makes any difference, in view of the fact that the people of that particular State have spoken by a majority in selecting their chief executive. Last year, the Senate, by a vote of 80 to 7, took the position that the Governor should have a veto. I think that position was the right one. I look with concern upon our continuing impingement upon the rights and responsibilities of the States, because if we are to preserve this American form of Government we are going to have to preserve some recognition of State independence and State responsibility. Here again, I am not aware of any instance in which the Governor of my own State has found it necessary to use the veto, but I think he and all other Governors should continue to have recourse to the veto if it is needed in the future.

For these reasons, and related ones, I have reservations about this program.

Furthermore, I fear that the time is coming that the demands of the Vietnam hostilities will make themselves felt on the American taxpayer's pocketbook in a manner not yet evident. When that time comes, the question as to whether or not we can have both "guns" and "butter" will have to be answered.

Perhaps we can continue to have some of the "butter" as represented by this multi-faceted legislation, but we certainly must have the guns to support our Nation's military efforts calculated to be in the interests of its own security.

I believe that the American people should take notice that the future monetary costs of the war in Vietnam may require some changes in funding this program and possibly others. Efforts should be made now to insure that full value is being received from the Federal appropriations being heavily poured into programs designated to alleviate our domestic economic ills. The siphoning

off of funds designated for this purpose, either through laxity, or for promotion of political objectives, or even personal aggrandizement, as has been reported from some areas of the Nation, should not be tolerated.

As a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I am concerned that the build-up of our Nation's armed services, to meet requirements of the expanded hostilities in Vietnam, will present a heavy price tag later on this fiscal year. With this in mind, I wish now to provide these cautionary remarks, so that the American public may be on notice as to the decision it may well have to make and as to the importance that present opportunities and moneys be wisely and effectively utilized. The time may come when our accelerating defense costs may necessitate a tightening of our belts in regard to certain spending programs, especially if there are continued reports as to inefficiency and improper use of funds in the administration of those programs.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I shall vote for the bill, which would extend the authorization for the programs of the Economic Opportunity Act. This bill authorizes funds to finance these programs, and it will enable the Office of Economic Opportunity to continue the effort to reach the causes of poverty. As I have said several times during the debate, the administration of the programs under this office must be improved if the program is to be effective. I hope very much that the administration will give attention to the debate in the Senate, and in the House, so that abuses and waste can be eliminated.

I was one of the original supporters of this bill in 1964, when the Congress passed the law to establish these programs. I have followed closely the application of the provisions of this act in my own State of Kentucky, and it is my conviction that these programs can be important in offering greater opportunity to our citizens, and particularly to our young people, who have much need.

Even with the good beginning in Kentucky, complaints have been voiced from time to time over individual programs and projects. These complaints have been particularly directed at the duplication of work and the establishment of too many different offices and organizations for planning and running similar programs in one area. There has also been concern over the inflated wage levels prescribed by the Department of Labor for youth training programs, and there have been complaints over political usage of some of the plans being organized. Nevertheless, there is strong support for the programs, but our people want improvements to be made, and they want the programs run without waste, without duplication, and with the objective of helping those who need help.

I have reviewed the most recent statistics compiled by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and I find the following status of the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Kentucky this summer:

Over 40 grants for community action programs have been made to communities and community organizations, and almost 25,000 Kentucky children are participating in the Head Start program.

Almost 9,000 young men and women have been at work in Kentucky under the work-training program, enabling them to continue or to resume high school education.

Announcement of the location of 5 Job Corps centers in Kentucky has been made during the past year, and close to 900 young men and women are on the job at the 3 centers which are open. Additionally, there are almost 9,000 Kentucky applicants who are eligible for assignment and have been so notified.

In addition to existing programs of the Farmers Home Administration and the Small Business Administration, some 450 special loans have been made in rural areas and to small business in Kentucky under the provisions of this act.

Special programs have also extended basic educational training to 7,200 adult citizens in a number of Kentucky communities, where classes have been established locally for this purpose under this act.

More than 6,600 families with thousands of dependent children are participating, through the employment of the head of the family, under the work experience program in 19 counties in Kentucky. I am well acquainted with this program, as the basic authority was originally provided by an amendment to the Social Security Act in 1961. I supported this amendment, recommended by the 1959 Special Senate Subcommittee on Unemployment on which I served, and I worked with officials of my State to establish one of the early demonstration projects of this type.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has made a hopeful start. Waste, duplication, and political use must be prevented. The emphasis on providing basic education and training to enable those assisted to enter into employment must be continued. In particular regard to the Job Corps, I believe it very important that training in these centers lead to specific placement in jobs. As I said in the Senate on the first day of debate, the real purpose of enrolling young men and women in Job Corps centers—and in other programs under this act—is to provide the means by which they can learn to work and to be productive in life. The Office of Economic Opportunity ought to give greater and special attention to directing those undergoing training toward a particular job or occupation.

I do not believe that this act was designed to provide simply a work program or a relief program, and I have noted that President Johnson and Mr. Shriver have agreed with this interpretation. I also think it of note that the House approved an authorization of some \$400 million more than the amounts requested by the administration. In the Senate, I have voted to reduce this authorization to a level of \$1.1 billion, well under the House bill and less than the bill reported by the Senate committee,

but over \$300 million above the appropriation made last year. I thought this sum sufficient for the second year of the new program, considering the need for improving its effectiveness, and with our budget deficits and the growing cost of the war in Vietnam.

The bill now before the Senate, for which I will vote, and which I believe will be passed, includes extensions of the programs which are now at work in Kentucky. Funds are authorized for the Job Corps, the work-training program used in our high schools, and the work-study program used by our colleges. The community action programs will be expanded and I call particular attention to the change which would enable unemployed members of low-income farm families to participate in work-experience programs on public projects in their local areas.

I was a county judge in Kentucky during the depression days some 30 years ago, and I saw at first hand the problems and needs of people who are unemployed, and who lack education and training. In the intervening years, during my service in the Senate, and in my travels through every county of my State, the lessons of those days have come to mind. I think this education and training are needed to enable people to help themselves.

But more is needed also. Local communities, and their officials and citizens, must provide assistance, direction, and interest, and the initiative, the ambition, and the faith of the individual must be stimulated.

I support this program and hope that it will succeed. It would be tragic if this vast effort with its programs in the millions of dollars does not succeed in helping people to help themselves and lift people and children toward great opportunities and hope in life.

PROGRESS REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM IN THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, recently Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag made his progress report on the economic opportunity program in the State of Minnesota. He pointed out that a total of \$16,109,752 of Federal funds have been provided to the State, in a wide range of programs including Job Corps camps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, work-study programs, community action programs, project Head Start, programs to combat poverty on Indian reservations, and progress in the other areas open under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

One of the brightest areas of our efforts in the State of Minnesota has been that undertaken by the citizens and leaders in Hennepin County, and in the city of Minneapolis.

To date, Minneapolis has received \$749,653 from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity to help break the cycle of poverty in which poor children find themselves, having an inadequate diet, poor housing, poor education, little job training, and limited outlook. The Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County is waging an impressive array of programs on all the fronts of the poverty-stricken child. These

programs involve a summer school program for over 3,000 children, a Neighborhood Youth Corps program for jobs for potential and real high school dropouts, vocational and educational counseling assistance for unemployed dropouts and graduates of high schools, and a summer work camp, a project Head Start grant for prekindergarten pupils, and the Project Motivation, in which University of Minnesota students tutor elementary schoolchildren and try to boost their interest in education.

The actions by Hennepin County and the city of Minneapolis are notable for their efforts to fulfill the pledge made by President Johnson, "to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."

As an example of what these programs are doing, and the public acceptance of their fine efforts, I ask unanimous consent that the following articles from the Minneapolis Star of July 19, 1965 be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point, as well as a letter from the capable and distinguished president of the Community Health and Welfare Council, Mr. Marvin Borman.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MASLON, KAPLAN, EDELMAN,
JOSEPH & BORMAN,
Minneapolis, Minn., July 26, 1965.

Senator WALTER F. MONDALE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: It occurs to me that one of the most important aspects of the war on poverty is the manner in which the various programs are understood and accepted by the community. I was, therefore, pleased by the enclosed article which appeared in the Minneapolis Star on July 19.

In my opinion this article reflects a positive attitude on the part of the press which is gratifying as well as serving to better inform the community at large of the current status of our efforts.

We at the Community Health and Welfare Council take a great deal of pride in the success we have had to date in our efforts to combat poverty in Hennepin County, and hope that you will concur in our feeling that the attitudes of the community as expressed in the enclosed article give promise for continued success of the program.

Sincerely,

MARVIN BORMAN,
President, Community Health and Welfare Council.

[From the Minneapolis Star, July 19, 1965]

WAR ON POVERTY—A PROGRESS REPORT
(By Carol Honsa, Jim Shoop, and Ben Kaufman)

PLANS FOCUS ON YOUNG TO SNAP POVERTY
"CYCLE"

"In the past, poverty was accepted as an unpleasant but ever present reality of life. There really was no thought of eliminating poverty * * *. Such an idea was inconceivable." Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County.

In an affluent society that likes to think it can identify and solve its problems, the "inconceivable" idea has given way to a nationwide "war on poverty."

The war is being fought on many fronts, from prekindergarten classrooms to Job

Corps camps to birth control clinics. In Minneapolis, antipoverty programs can mean anything from art museum field trips for deprived youngsters, dental examinations for poor preschoolers, to part-time jobs for needy students in danger of dropping out of high school.

And if the poor are to be always with us, so too will the antipoverty programs designed to improve their lot, according to the hard-headed idealist responsible for directing \$750,000 in Minneapolis antipoverty efforts.

Joseph H. Kahle, director of the Economic Opportunity Committee of the Community Health and Welfare Council, believes the United States will concentrate ever-increasing amounts of public spending on welfare programs as it comes to realize the futility of the arms race.

"A certain amount of money has to be spent to keep the economy going," Kahle said in an interview. "Antipoverty will be an important part of this public spending. 'You can see it now, in public works, park development * * * the whole 'Great Society' bit,' Kahle said. 'Fortunately, we're in the situation today where we can afford this kind of spending.'"

"I don't mean that this is going to happen tomorrow," he added. "To get at deep-rooted poverty, it'll take 10 to 15 years to break the cycle."

To date Minneapolis has received \$749,653 from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity to help break this cycle of poverty in which poor children with inadequate diet, housing, education, job training, and limited outlook grew up to be poor adults.

The logical place to start, according to Kahle, is with children whose future lives have not been entirely hemmed in by their environment.

With the exception of a \$33,240 grant for antipoverty administration and program development, all the Minneapolis programs are aimed at children and youths, from preschoolers to 22-year-olds who hold dead-end jobs at the bottom of the wage scale.

The largest is a \$296,642 summer school program for 3,360 poverty area children designed to give them cultural experiences they have missed because of their poor backgrounds.

Next in size is the \$167,270 Neighborhood Youth Corps program which provides after-school and summer jobs for 475 dropouts and potential dropouts, primarily from South, North, Central, and Vocational High Schools.

Unemployed dropouts and graduates of these four poverty area high schools can also seek the help of post high school counselors for vocational and educational advice under a \$89,544 antipoverty program.

A \$71,824 Federal grant is helping to finance a summer work camp for 120 junior high school boys considered likely to drop out of school. Training in work skills and good work habits, plus counseling and remedial reading courses, is the focus of the YMCA-operated camp near Monticello, Minn. In Project Head Start, 840 prekindergarten pupils are getting medical and dental examinations, inoculations, and enrichment classes this summer at 16 Minneapolis elementary schools.

The smallest Federal grant, \$19,307, went for Project Motivation in which University of Minnesota students tutor elementary school children and try to boost their interest in education. The university's YMCA operates this program.

The health and welfare council's Economic Opportunity Committee, which screens and submits antipoverty program applications to Washington, has also applied for \$1.4 million more in Federal funds for nine additional programs.

These include three programs now operated by the Minneapolis Youth Development

Project, a Minneapolis health department birth control clinic, and a Minneapolis park board work program.

Other program applications would provide part-time jobs for high school students in the Mound, Brooklyn Center, and other suburban Hennepin County schools similar to the Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs available to Minneapolis students.

Other proposals, still under consideration at local levels, would establish neighborhood service teams in poverty areas, an educational program for Minneapolis workhouse inmates, and a basic education program for near-illiterate adults.

POVERTY FUNDS TO RURAL AREAS \$5 MILLION

More than \$11 million in Federal funds has been allocated to fight the war on poverty in Minnesota, \$5 million of which is being used to mount the offensive in rural areas outside Hennepin and Ramsey Counties.

Vladimir Shipka, director of the State office of economic opportunity, said the biggest rural project is the \$1.5 million State conservation department project to put 2,200 youths 16 to 21 years old to work pruning trees, clearing underbrush, and maintaining State parks and forests.

The present program expires August 1 and the conservation department has submitted another proposal for \$5.9 million to continue the project beyond that date.

The second largest out-State project, approved in late June, is the \$1.3 million work and training program of the St. Louis County Welfare Department. It is designed to train 300 unemployed relief recipients as auto mechanics, metal workers, landscapers, janitors, and hotel and motel housekeepers.

Head Start

Twenty-one project "Head Start" programs to give children of prekindergarten age from poor families better preparation for school have been approved for school districts in 15 counties outside the Twin Cities area.

These Head Start programs will involve about 3,000 children at a price tag of about \$350,000.

To apply for antipoverty funds, a county or group of counties acting together must first form a "community action council." This is usually made up of about 35 persons active in the fields of welfare, employment, education, health, agriculture, business, labor, law enforcement, and the clergy, plus representatives of the poor such as unemployed fathers or relief clients.

To date, community action councils have been approved in Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis Counties and the city of Duluth, plus one multicounty setup composed of Sherburne, Stearns, and Benton Counties.

Shipka said a community action council area should have a population of at least 50,000.

FIFTEEN OTHERS

Fifteen other applications, ranging from 2 to 7 counties each and comprising a total of 48, are on file in Washington awaiting approval, Shipka said, and 13 others involving 34 counties are in the talking stage.

Typical of the rural proposals now under consideration in Washington is one recently approved by the Tri-County Council (Sherburne-Benton-Stearns) for the Holdingford School District.

The proposal will put 80 youths between 16 and 21 to work at \$1.25 an hour building picnic areas, shelters and lavatory facilities in parks, planting trees and building tennis and basketball courts on the school grounds, learning how to lay floor and ceiling tile, and helping janitors, librarians and school cooks.

Total cost of the proposal is \$48,698. The Federal share is \$39,408.

The tri-county group has submitted similar projects—all approved now—for St. Cloud, Sauk Rapids, Foley, Albany, Big Lake, Becker and Elk River Schools, worth \$238,687, to 600 youths.

Projects totaling \$712,353 have been approved for seven Minnesota Indian reservations.

Typical is the one for the Leech Lake Reservation, where only 40 of the reservation's 559 families have a yearly income over \$4,000 and 208 earn less than \$1,000.

A \$231,405 project will attempt to set up a health education, eye and dental clinic; establish community libraries; provide adult education in cabinet-making, carpentry, masonry, mechanics, shorthand and typing, and homemaking, and provide half-day pre-school classes.

THIRTEEN PERCENT OF CITY FAMILIES IN POVERTY

How extensive is poverty in Minneapolis? Federal Government figures for 1959 and 1960, the most recent available, show that in the city 13.9 percent of all families—or 16,861 families—had incomes of less than \$3,000, the "poverty line" set by the Federal Government; 5.2 percent of the men in the labor force and 3.1 percent of the women were unemployed; 15.8 percent of all housing units in the city were deteriorated or dilapidated.

Comparable percentages for Hennepin County, including Minneapolis, are somewhat lower because of the relative affluence of the suburbs.

The Hennepin County Community Health and Welfare Council, which administers local programs under the Federal war on poverty, found that lower income families, adults with little education and substandard housing, are concentrated largely in 38 census tracts that ring downtown Minneapolis, extending south as far as Lake Street and north as far as Dowling Avenue North.

Thomas F. Brinton, research director for the council, said he believes the proportion of low-income families in the city and county has remained relatively constant in the 5 years since the last census figures were compiled.

ANTIPOVERTY WORK IS INITIAL SUCCESS IN GLENWOOD AREA

When Mrs. Roland Tweeter said, "I do not have any trouble getting them to go," she captured the spirit underlying the initial success of this summer's antipoverty projects for children and teenagers.

"Oh, they're excited all right," Mrs. Tweeter said, over the din raised by some of her 12 children in their 5-bedroom Glenwood housing development apartment.

"Brian keeps talking about his trip to the zoo. They like the field trips best."

Brian and his 4-year-old twin Brenda are enrolled in Project Head Start at nearby Harrison school where two older brothers are in summer school.

"You know, he's had as many as 4 half-pints of milk in one sitting," a teacher's aid in the school lunchroom said of Brian, who sat shoveling in his second bowl of cereal in the pilot breakfast program.

Brian, blond and husky, seemed to need the extra energy, because he hauled the aid toward a parked bus later en route to another "exciting" field trip.

"Last year, there would have been no one to help me," the attractive 18-year-old high school graduate said in her counselor's office.

Together, they are trying to determine if nursing is her field and can a training place be found.

The girl lives with her grandmother:

"My dad said as long as I was living under his roof, I did not have to go to college, or anywhere for that matter."

Some days she lacks bus fare, but she is seeking work by going from business to business, in addition to the help the antipoverty programs are offering.

Kathy Merchant knows where to find the "kids who just hang around."

At 16, she is a staff assistant in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, seeking out young people and bringing them to job finders and social workers for aid.

She was involved in the program originally because she needed a summer job but was asked to take a promotion (and pay raise) to work as a scout for the Youth Corps.

GETTING POOR TO REACT IS KEY POVERTY PROJECT

"Frankly, I don't see how we can lose. When you pay enough attention to people, they react."

Listening to poor people express their needs—and having them react by participating in the planning and execution of antipoverty programs—is the key point of the Minneapolis antipoverty effort, according to Joseph H. Kahle, its director.

"For the first time," Kahle said, "we're really going all out to listen to, to solicit, the opinions of the people who have been ignored, sometimes deliberately ignored by society."

"I don't see how you can help but get a positive response."

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 requires that the poor themselves must take an active role in shaping programs for their own benefit.

This marks, according to many social welfare leaders, an effort to move away from benevolent welfare programs imposed from above on poor persons who may not want or see the need for such programs.

Accordingly, the economic opportunity committee of the Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County, the local antipoverty agency, includes 4 residents of Minneapolis poverty areas among its 42 members. Two of these can actually be considered poor, according to Kahle.

In addition, the committee's 4 task forces on health, education, employment, and social services include 20 poor persons among their 84 members.

Agencies submitting an antipoverty proposal for task force and committee approval are required to show that poor persons who would be expected to fit in their programs have been consulted in the planning process.

But the economic opportunity committee faces a problem in getting more poverty area residents in on its work, according to Kahle.

"It's just hard to find poverty area people who are willing or who have the time to meet with the committee or task forces," he said. "The person with time and money can afford it. But the man who can't leave his job for an afternoon meeting can't."

A second problem, Kahle said, is reaching the inarticulate poor—the apathetic person with a hopeless outlook on life who don't speak up about their needs or seek out welfare agencies to help them.

But Kahle said he hoped that one of the antipoverty programs under consideration by the committee—a \$160,000 neighborhood service team proposal—could lick the problem by employing poverty area residents to reach their neighbors and link them with welfare agency services.

"The real advantage of neighborhood workers is that they can get to the ones we don't even know about," said Kahle. "They can talk to them far more effectively than we can."

"Our goal: An America in which every citizen shares all the opportunities of his society, in which every man has a chance to advance his welfare to the limit of his capabilities."

"We have come a long way toward this goal. We still have a long way to go."

"The distance which remains is the measure of the great unfinished work of our society."

"To finish that work I have called for a national war on poverty. Our objective:

Total victory." (President Johnson, Mar. 16, 1964.)

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a statement on the bill prepared by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK].

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR CLARK

I have for many years been of the view that the Federal Government should provide the impetus, along with private and civic groups, to develop birth control programs and family planning facilities.

I am happy to note that the idea of population control is on the move at last. It has become acceptable to admit that there is a crisis in the world and a serious problem in the United States.

In his state of the Union message, President Johnson called for "new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population."

Again, on June 25 this year, at the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, President Johnson called upon the world to face up to the challenge of the world population crisis.

On that occasion the President stated: "Let us in all our lands—including this one—face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying populations and seek the answers to this most profound challenge to the future of the world. Let us act on the fact that less than \$5 invested in population control is worth \$100 invested in economic growth."

While the population problem of the United States may not be so serious as it is in other parts of the world, it is nevertheless connected with the world population crisis.

This connection is most apparent in two respects: first, the attitude of the United States toward its own problem is logically related to its attitude toward the more acute problem elsewhere, and will, therefore, influence the world's attitude on the impending crisis; second, the economic measures which the United States will have to take to meet an uncontrolled growth of its population will limit our capability to provide the economic aid which the rest of the world has to call on in the quest for stability.

Population growth rates have already reached drastic proportions in many countries. Here at home, the problem is hardly less significant.

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC FACTS

The present level of fertility in the United States is approximately 3.4 children per woman. In 1964, the number of live births per 1,000 of the total population was 21.2. Both these figures represent a slight tapering off of the birth rate over the past few years, but there is no sustained trend of significant reduction.

As the following table indicates, the Census Bureau's projections of population growth show that, even if the average fertility is reduced by one child per woman, there will be a drastic increase:

U.S. population, 1960, and projection to year 2010, at 4 levels of fertility

[In millions]

Year	Population level, measured by children per woman			
	3.35	3.23	2.78	2.45
1960	179	179	179	179
1970	211	209	206	206
1980	252	245	236	233
1990	301	288	271	262
2000	362	338	308	291
2010	438	399	352	322

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, July 1964.

There is more than prophecy to depend on. In 1960, there were 11 million women in the prime reproductive ages of 20-29. Now that the postwar babies are reaching these ages, there will be 15 million women between 20 and 29 in 1970, and 20 million by 1980. This is not prophecy, because the girls have already been born. The question is, at what rates will they reproduce? If they do so at or near the present levels, they will be the mothers of a new baby boom in the following two decades that will make the population increase of the fifties look very small.

As the above figures show, reproduction at present levels will produce a population at the turn of the century of 362 million—twice the 1960 figure. In the 10 years following 2000, another 76 million would be added—almost three times the increase of 1950-1960. A decline in rate of 1 child per woman (2.45), would yield 291 million people in the year 2000, about 100 million, rather than 160 million, more than we now have.

These gross figures have most serious implications for the domestic economy. The problem reaches to the heart of the questions of employment, education, welfare, and the conservation of resources, with frightening implications for many aspects of our lives.

EFFECT ON EMPLOYMENT

Perhaps the best way to understand this is to look at projected employment needs and contrast them with the projected growth of the economy.

The average annual growth of the labor force from 1957 to 1962 was 800,000. That average increased between 1962 and 1964 to 1,200,000. The projected average annual growth of the labor force between now and 1970 is 1,500,000. This means that 9 million extra jobs will have to be created by 1970 merely to keep up with the growth.

These figures compare with the annual average growth in jobs between 1947 and 1964 of 750,000.

While it has been estimated that in 1964, 1.5 million jobs were provided under the stimulus of the tax cut, this figure has never been sustained. Our gross national product grew at the rate of 4.75 percent. The Labor Department estimates that the average rate of growth must equal that figure for the next half dozen years if the unemployment rate is to be kept below 5 percent.

This is enough to show that the United States has a vital interest in the rate at which today's children, if not today's women, will reproduce. Do we want to double our population in the next 35 years?

POPULATION AND POVERTY

But consider the special impact on the poverty program.

The correlation between poverty and high fertility is amply established. The following facts cannot be controverted:

The poor are more likely than any other group to have large families: (1 in 3 families with 6 or more children have an annual income of less than \$3,000; 1 in 7 families with 4 or 5 children have an annual income of less than \$3,000; 1 in 10 families with 2 or 3 children have an annual income of less than \$3,000).

The median income of those with large families is very substantially lower than the median income of other families: The median annual income of two-children families is \$6,900; the median annual income of four-children families is \$6,500; the median annual income of six-children families is \$5,000, \$5,000.

Since large families exist most frequently among those who can least afford to maintain them, they become a burden on the State. A population increase which could be largely sustained by those who produce it would bring problems enough. A population increase whose major incidence is among those who cannot individually afford it could spell disaster. One-third of the poor are children—about 10 million children.

High fertility among the poor is the prime cause of multigenerational poverty. When a family which lacks the resources to sustain a single child has to try and rear six children, their upbringing is totally inadequate to the task of fitting them for a productive role in society. They remain destitute to the nth generation.

Poor and unemployed fathers, besides siring more children than the affluent and wage earning, also desert their wives more often. The families are left to the aid to dependent children section of welfare programs.

Aid to dependent children has increased, and is increasing instead of diminishing. In the last 10 years, its burden has grown 104 percent; and the 4 million people on its roll outnumber the combined total of all others on relief, the old, blind, disabled, etc.

High fertility deepens the poverty of the poor, and spreads and intensifies the worst accompaniment of hopeless poverty: violent crime, juvenile delinquency, child abuse and neglect, malnutrition, slum housing, social alienation.

There is no reason to believe most of the poor are more anxious than most other people to have large families. Many do not want all their children; nor, to use another yardstick, do all Negroes want all theirs. The only difference, in this respect, between the poor and the middle classes is that they cannot always exercise their choice because they are not sufficiently aware that there is a choice. Many studies have shown this, and have also shown that poor families are eager to have more instruction in family planning.

A private study in 1960 entitled, "Growth of American Families," found that the average family wants between a minimum of 3.1 children and a maximum of 3.4 children (with the poor wanting slightly fewer children than the rest).

Differences were found between white and nonwhite wives. White wives, the survey found, want a minimum of 3.1 and a maximum of 3.5 children, while nonwhite wives want a minimum of 2.7 and a maximum of 3 children.

Since the poor are reproducing themselves faster than the population as a whole, any war on poverty which ignores the matter of fertility is reducing automatically the impact of its investment. No one would suggest that family planning is the solution for all problems of poverty. But all, surely, would agree that programs aimed at reducing poverty cannot possibly achieve their objective unless impoverished families are helped to have only the number of children they want.

Fortunately, population control is not the scare word it used to be. Talk about family planning has become more candid and less controversial lately. More than discussion, however, is taking place.

Tax-supported birth-control assistance in the form of advice, drugs, and devices is increasing in all parts of the country.

Before 1959, only seven States—all in the Deep South—included family planning as a regular part of their public health services. By summer 1964, this had risen to 20, and by now has risen again—together with a spread of private affiliates with some State support.

Public facilities for giving information and materials have been set up or are in the process of being organized in cities and counties of at least 33 States and the District of Columbia.

And the Federal Government has been expanding its role, and in a few areas, supporting local birth-control activities.

The initiative has been taken by various agencies of the Federal Government, including the Departments of the Interior, Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This spate of interest, however, needs direction. More explicit encouragement to the State and communities is needed from Washington.

A population policy should be defined, with national goals.

The facts show that a policy of family planning has got to be advocated, and facilities for family planning made available, especially to the poor who have them least and need them more. Government policy is still a thing of confusion. The policies of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity must be clarified and extended.

While in HEW there has been an increase of interest and involvement—especially in the area of research—there can and should be improvements.

In 1965 about \$9 million is being spent by the Government on research into reproductive biology, sterility, fertility, and population dynamics. Of this, about \$800,000 is directly relevant to fertility control. Of course these other areas of research are most important, but one wonders whether the allotment to fertility control is fully reflective of the President's state of the Union address.

Without going into detail on the population activities of HEW, it is fair to say the Department is not giving a firm enough lead. It should make a clear and explicit policy statement, governing its health and welfare programs: to give strong leadership to State and local health departments, encouraging them to include family planning services in the regular medical care which they provide or purchase. Standards for such services need to be established, and help given in training personnel. Also, it should advertise the matching grants which it will make available as part of the maternal health service, if the State requests it.

The Office of Economic Opportunity will consider requests for funds for family planning services in community action programs. Many such requests have been made.

Eight projects, so far, have been funded. Among the communities who have received grants are Corpus Christi, Oakland, St. Louis, Buffalo, Nashville, and Austin.

Our largest cities, however, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and others, are not among the recipients.

I am afraid that the guidelines of the Office of Economic Opportunity for birth control aid do not fulfill the President's promise in the state of the Union message or at the United Nations:

OEO funds are not allowed to be used to advertise the availability of a family planning program funded by an OEO grant.

The emphasis on local initiative is so strong that the notion of positive encouragement from Washington is precluded. OEO ought to encourage the inclusion of family planning services in community action and other poverty programs.

OEO should modify its rules to assure that doctors in the program do not feel restrained from advocating family planning, and suggesting a particular method as being most suitable for a particular patient provided it does not conflict with the patient's religious beliefs.

OEO precludes giving contraceptive devices and drugs, funded by its money, to unmarried women or women not living with their husbands. Yet—unmarried or separated mothers are an important part of the childbearing, impoverished class; they add materially to the costs of poverty program and aid to dependent children. If a public health clinic is to be set up to minister to the poor, why should these categories be excluded? If our aim is to attack one of the great causes and sustainers of poverty, we should not be deterred by dubious moral judgments from fully carrying out the aim.

It is to be hoped that these restrictive policies will be removed, and OEO, HEW and other Federal agencies will actively encourage local communities to establish family planning services throughout the country.

To this end, H.R. 8283 was amended by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to include family planning among the proj-

ects to be included as components of community action programs.

This will mark the first time that there has been an explicit congressional authorization for Federal encouragement of birth-control activities in the States.

The activities of the Federal Government in this field need further encouragement.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] in response to a question raised by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS].

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR McNAMARA TO REPORT REFERRED TO BY SENATOR WILLIAMS

Yesterday, the Senator from Delaware, [Mr. WILLIAMS] referred to a report he stated had recently been issued by the OEO relating to Federal antipoverty laws.

The Senator was referring to a catalog of Federal programs for individual and community improvement—of programs related to the war on poverty. The reason this catalog is not yet available is because it has not been completed. What the Senator saw is a draft—which is being circulated among the various Federal agencies for their comments, additions, and corrections. I understand that when the catalogue is completed, it will be made generally available. There is already a large advance demand.

Under section 613 of the Economic Opportunity Act, provision is made for an information center through which information on all Federal programs related to the purposes of the act may be made available to local officials and other interested persons. The idea here is very simple—those engaged in planning, implementing, or carrying out local antipoverty programs need a single source of information concerning available Federal assistance that may contribute to the elimination of poverty. This is essential to comprehensive, coordinated programs.

The catalog is one phase of OEO's effort to carry out section 613. It attempts to list the various programs according to purpose—the needs they serve. It provides a brief description of each—what it does, who is eligible, who administers it, and how further information can be obtained. In view of the number of complaints that have been made about the confusion of Federal programs as seen from the local level, such a catalog should prove a remarkably useful and helpful document. It represents something that has never been done before—something that will help communities to do some rational planning as opposed to hit and miss efforts to take advantage of this or that program providing Federal funds. And it should help Federal officials and the Congress as well.

And I might add that the problem is not just a matter of Federal programs being unknown. The real problem is seeing how they can be made to fit together—how one can be used to supplement another, for example, or how one can be used to do a little more effectively what could also be done some other way.

This is a matter of great importance for the war on poverty. It is the whole idea behind the coordination provisions of the act. I think it is a good thing that OEO has started on it right in the beginning. The cost of the draft—\$80,000—includes not only the catalog but also a planning scheme under which a start can be made toward eliminating duplication and overlap and achieving standards which will permit us to determine whether new programs—proposed by any one of dozens of Federal agencies—

are really needed. I need hardly elaborate upon the savings that can ultimately be derived from such an effort.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass? On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea" and the Senator from California would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE] is paired with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND]. If present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming would vote "yea" and the Senator from Mississippi would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting the Senator from Michigan would vote "yea" and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] is paired with the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Florida would vote "yea" and the Senator from Texas would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY] would vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is necessarily absent because of death in the family.

The Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are detained on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay" and the Senator from Michigan would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "nay" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] is paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "nay" and the Senator from Florida would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 61, nays 29, as follows:

[No. 233 Leg.]

YEAS—61

Aiken	Hart	Moss
Anderson	Hartke	Muskie
Bartlett	Hayden	Nelson
Bass	Inouye	Neuberger
Bayh	Jackson	Pastore
Bible	Javits	Pell
Brewster	Jordan, N.C.	Prouty
Burdick	Kennedy, Mass.	Proxmire
Byrd, W. Va.	Kennedy, N.Y.	Randolph
Cannon	Kuchel	Ribicoff
Case	Long, La.	Russell, S.C.
Church	Long, Mo.	Scott
Cooper	Magnuson	Smith
Dodd	Mansfield	Symington
Douglas	McGovern	Talmadge
Ervin	McIntyre	Tydings
Fong	Metcaif	Williams, N.J.
Fulbright	Mondale	Yarborough
Gore	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Gruening	Montoya	
Harris	Morse	

NAYS—29

Allott	Hickenlooper	Pearson
Bennett	Hill	Robertson
Boggs	Holland	Russell, Ga.
Byrd, Va.	Hruska	Saltonstall
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Simpson
Cotton	Lausche	Stennis
Dirksen	McClellan	Thurmond
Dominick	Miller	Williams, Del.
Ellender	Morton	Young, N. Dak.
Fannin	Mundt	

NOT VOTING—10

Clark	McGee	Sparkman
Curtis	McNamara	Tower
Eastland	Murphy	
McCarthy	Smathers	

So the bill (H.R. 8283) was passed.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. NELSON. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer (Mr. KENNEDY of New York in the chair) appointed Mr. McNAMARA, Mr. MORSE, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. NELSON, Mr. JAVITS, and Mr. PROUTY conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask that H.R. 8283 as amended by the Senate be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we have just completed final action on another significant and substantial piece of legislation, the antipoverty bill. We owe much credit to the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] who, with the able assistance of the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] and the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], so ably and skillfully managed the bill.

All Members of the Senate deserve credit for the patience and cooperation in bringing this measure to a conclusion. The opposition to the measure was strong, sincere, and demonstrated great perseverance in pointing out what they claimed to be the administration's shortcomings in any new program of this magnitude. However, the Senate has demonstrated its faith in the program

and voted to continue the thrust and purpose of the program with the expectation that if there are rough edges, they will be worked out in short order.

To the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] who presented his opposition so eloquently, to the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] and the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] who presented their opposition so thoroughly and to the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] who presented his modifications so effectively, we owe a special thanks.

I hope that the Senate will continue the momentum gained today and will cooperate in assisting the leadership in completing the remaining legislation so that we may adjourn around Labor Day.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATION ACT, 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 603, H.R. 10323.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 10323) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there will be no further voting tonight. I do not believe there will be any discussion, even on the military construction appropriation bill.

As I recall, unanimous consent has been obtained to have the Senate convene at 11 o'clock tomorrow morning. It can be stated that the military construction appropriation bill will be the first order of business following the transaction of morning business. Very likely it will be followed by the J.F.K. film measure.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, can the majority leader say whether that will be all the business for tomorrow?

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is all there will be tomorrow, so far as I know at the moment.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I should like to know if the Senator is asking for unanimous consent to take up House Concurrent Resolution 285, Calendar No. 302?

Mr. MANSFIELD. What measure is that?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. The motion picture measure, Calendar No. 302. If it is to be taken up, I wish to make some remarks.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I merely announced that it was likely to be taken up. The Senator from Iowa will have an opportunity to speak on the measure.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. The Committee on Agriculture has unanimously reported a bill that I would like to have taken up sometime tomorrow if there is no objection. If there is objection, I shall be glad to have its consideration postponed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If the Senator will obtain clearance on the Republican side, I shall be glad to try to accommodate him.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, on yea-and-nay vote No. 214, on August 17, as shown at page 19896 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I made a motion to reconsider the vote, when in fact I was not eligible to make that motion. The motion was actually made by the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], as also shown in the RECORD. I ask that the RECORD be corrected accordingly. The error appears at the bottom of the second column of that page. I ask that my name and the remarks attributed to me at that point in the RECORD be stricken.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The correction will be made.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. SYMINGTON, from the Committee on Armed Services, without amendment:

H.R. 9544. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period of approximately 620,000 long tons of natural rubber from the national stockpile (Rept. No. 626);

H. Con. Res. 453. Concurrent resolution expressing the approval of Congress for the disposal of magnesium from the national stockpile (Rept. No. 628);

H. Con. Res. 454. Concurrent resolution expressing the approval of Congress for the disposal of diamond dies from the national stockpile and nonstockpile bismuth alloys (Rept. No. 627); and

H. Con. Res. 455. Concurrent resolution expressing the approval of Congress for the disposal of hyoscine from the national stockpile (Rept. No. 629).

By Mr. THURMOND, from the Committee on Armed Services, with an amendment:

H.R. 6007. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the promotion of qualified Reserve officers of the Air Force to the Reserve grades of brigadier general and major general (Rept. No. 633).

By Mr. HOLLAND, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with an amendment:

H.R. 4152. An act to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act and the Farm Credit Act of 1933, to provide means for expediting the retirement of Government capital in the Federal intermediate credit banks, including an increase in the debt permitted such banks in relation to their capital and provision for the production credit associations to acquire additional capital stock therein, to provide for allocating certain earnings of such banks and associations to their users, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 630).

By Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, without amendment:

H.R. 4170. An act to provide for adjustments in annuities under the Foreign Service retirement and disability system (Rept. No. 631).

By Mr. ELLENDER, from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments:

H.R. 9220. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Delaware River Basin Commission for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 632).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MOSS (for himself, Mr. CLARK, and Mr. METCALF):

S. 2435. A bill to redesignate the Department of the Interior as the Department of Natural Resources and to transfer certain agencies to and from such department; to the Committee on Government Operations.

(See the remarks of Mr. Moss when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BIBLE (by request):

S. 2436. A bill to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay a judgment in favor of the Snake or Paiute Indians of the Oregon area (area III of the Northern Paiute Nation), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MONDALE:

S. 2437. A bill for the relief of Mr. Parviz Azad; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ERVIN:

S. 2438. A bill for the relief of Yong Cha Yang and Norwood Fitzgerald Dennis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PELL:

S. 2439. A bill to amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, as amended, so as to authorize the establishment and operation of sea grant colleges and programs by initiating and supporting programs of education, training, and research in the marine sciences and a program of advisory services relating to activities in the marine sciences, to facilitate the use of the submerged lands of the Outer Continental Shelf by participants carrying out these programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. PELL when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

REDESIGNATION OF DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AS THE DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, on the 1st of July of this year, I addressed the Senate, setting forth my reasons for believing that major changes must be made in the structure of the executive agencies if they are to manage adequately our natural resource conservation programs.

I pointed out that we in the Congress recognize the importance of America's natural resources. The 88th Congress earned the name, "The Conservation Congress." The 89th is continuing diligent work on resource legislation.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 19 (legislative day, AUGUST 18), 1965

Ordered to be printed with the amendment of the Senate

AN ACT

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the “Economic Opportunity
4 Amendments of 1965”.

5 ~~AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS~~

6 ~~JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES~~

7 ~~SEC. 2.~~ Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity
8 Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the
9 following: “For purposes of this subsection and section
10 114(a), any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the
11 United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee

1 subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of sec-
 2 tion 214(a) or 212(d)-(5), respectively, of the Immigra-
 3 tion and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent
 4 resident of the United States.”

5 ~~JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS~~

6 SEC. 3. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity
 7 Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: “(d) Each
 8 enrollee must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation
 9 in the following form: ‘I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that
 10 I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of
 11 America and will support and defend the Constitution and
 12 laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and
 13 domestic’. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United
 14 States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation
 15 required under this subsection.”

16 ~~JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES’~~

17 ~~COMPENSATION ACT~~

18 SEC. 4. Section 106(c)-(2)-(A) of the Economic Op-
 19 portunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

20 “(A) The term ‘performance of duty’ in the Federal
 21 Employees’ Compensation Act shall not include any act
 22 of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post
 23 of duty, except while participating in an activity (including
 24 an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such

1 post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and
2 supervision of the Corps."

3 ~~JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES~~

4 SEC. 5. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act
5 of 1964 is amended by inserting the word “male” before the
6 word “enrollees” in the first sentence.

7 WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL
8 ASSISTANCE

9 SEC. 6. The first sentence of section 115 of the Eco-
10 nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out
11 "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking
12 out "or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".

13 ~~WORK STUDY PROGRAMS LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL~~
14 ~~ASSISTANCE~~

SEC. 7. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting
in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out "or June 30,
1966, whichever is later,".

19 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COM-
20 MUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

21 COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION

22 SEC. 8. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity
23 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and" at the end of
24 paragraph (3); by striking out the period at the end of para-

1 graph ~~(4)~~ and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”, and by
 2 adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

3 “~~(5)~~ which includes provision for reasonable pub-
 4 lie access to books and records of the agency or agen-
 5 cies engaged in the development, conduct, and adminis-
 6 tration of the program, in accordance with procedures
 7 approved by the Director.”

8 GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS
 9 ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

10 SEC. 9. ~~(a)~~ The first sentence of section 208~~(a)~~ of
 11 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1946 is amended by strik-
 12 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by
 13 striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

14 ~~(b)~~ Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesign-
 15 ating subsection ~~(b)~~ as subsection ~~(c)~~ and inserting a new
 16 subsection ~~(b)~~ as follows:

17 “~~(b)~~ The Director is authorized to prescribe regula-
 18 tions establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assist-
 19 ance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such com-
 20 munity action program or components as have received
 21 assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such
 22 regulations.”

23 ~~(c)~~ Section 208~~(c)~~ of such Act (as so redesignated by
 24 subsection ~~(b)~~ of this section) is amended by adding at the
 25 end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The requirement

1 imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such
2 regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate estab-
3 lishing objective criteria for determinations covering situa-
4 tions where a literal application of such requirement would
5 result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent
6 with the purposes sought to be achieved."

7 DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

8 SEC. 10. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity
9 Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting "of part B" before
10 "of title I" and (2) striking out "and such plan has not been
11 disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission"
12 and inserting in lieu thereof "and such plan has not been dis-
13 approved by the Governor within thirty days of such submis-
14 sion, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the
15 Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the
16 provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part".

17 NOTICES

18 SEC. 11. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act
19 of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the
20 following:

21 "(c) When the Director receives an application from
22 a private nonprofit agency for a community action program
23 to be carried on in a community in which there is a com-
24 munity action agency carrying on a number of component

1 programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such
2 community action agency of the receipt of such application."

3 ~~ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS PAYMENTS;~~

4 ~~FEDERAL SHARE~~

5 ~~SEC. 12.~~ Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity
6 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year
7 ending June 30, 1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and
8 each of the two succeeding fiscal years,".

9 ~~ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER~~

10 ~~TRAINING~~

11 ~~SEC. 13.~~ Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity
12 Act of 1964 is amended—

13 ~~(1)~~ by striking out "From the sums appropriated
14 to carry out this title" in section 213(a) and inserting
15 in lieu thereof "From so much of the sums appropriated
16 or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved
17 pursuant to section 218"; and

18 ~~(2)~~ by redesignating section 218 as section 219
19 and inserting immediately after section 217 the follow-
20 ing new section 218:

21 ~~"TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS~~

22 ~~"SEC. 218.~~ Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums
23 appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any
24 fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to
25 provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to

1 colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies,
 2 or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or
 3 organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or
 4 preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described
 5 in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any
 6 (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons
 7 undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director
 8 may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

9 VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

10 SEC. 14. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 11 1964 is amended by striking out part C thereof, and by re-
 12 designating part D as part C and section 221 as section 220.

13 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO
 14 COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

15 COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO
 16 ASSIST MANUFACTURING

17 SEC. 15. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity
 18 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the
 19 period at the end thereof the following proviso: “: *Provided,*
 20 That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing
 21 used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, includ-
 22 ing dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing
 23 merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of
 24 a new or different substance”.

1 ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED
2 AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

3 SEC. 16. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act
4 of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

5 “MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
6 EMPLOYEES

7 SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and
8 implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to
9 assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions,
10 and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operat-
11 ing programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily
12 contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers
13 and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of
14 housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.”

15 AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

16 SEC. 17. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act
17 of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence
18 thereof the following new sentence: “Workers in farm fami-
19 lies with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be con-
20 sidered unemployed for the purposes of this title.”, and (2)
21 by striking out of the last sentence the following: “for the
22 fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,”.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND
COORDINATION

VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF
OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS

SEC. 18. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designation “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.”

~~(b)~~ Subsection ~~(d)~~ of such section is amended to read as follows:

~~“(d)-(1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104 (d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.~~

1 “(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers
 2 as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection
 3 (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent
 4 as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c),
 5 and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the com-
 6 putation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c)
 7 the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that
 8 received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the
 9 Classification Act of 1949.”

10 NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

11 SEC. 19. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 12 of 1964 is amended by striking “fourteen” in the second
 13 sentence and inserting in lieu thereof “twenty”.

14 AFFIDAVITS

15 SEC. 20. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 16 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof.

17 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

18 SEC. 21. (a)(1) The first sentence of section 131 of
 19 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
 20 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

21 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
 22 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
 23 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
 24 \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
 25 the sum of \$825,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,

1 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
2 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
3 Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

4 ~~(b)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 220 of such Act
5 ~~(as so redesignated by section 11 of this Act)~~ is amended
6 by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

7 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended to
8 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title,
9 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
10 \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
11 the sum of \$680,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
12 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
13 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
14 Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

15 ~~(c)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 321 is amended by
16 striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

17 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended
18 to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this
19 title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum
20 of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965;
21 and the sum of \$70,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June
22 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
23 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated
24 as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

25 ~~(d)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 503 of such Act

1 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu
2 thereof "three".

3 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended to
4 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title,
5 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
6 \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
7 the sum of \$300,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
8 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
9 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as
10 the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

11 ~~(c)(1)~~ The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is
12 amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof
13 "three".

14 ~~(2)~~ The second sentence of such section is amended to
15 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title
16 (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving
17 fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby author-
18 ized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal
19 year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$20,000,000 for
20 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year
21 ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such
22 sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter
23 authorize by law."

1 ~~AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT~~
 2 ~~MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUN-~~
 3 ~~TEERS~~

4 ~~SEC. 22. (a) Paragraph (2)(A) of section 205(b) of~~
 5 ~~the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C.~~
 6 ~~425(b)(2)(A)) is amended by striking out "or" before~~
 7 ~~"(iii)" and by inserting before the proviso and after "Peace~~
 8 ~~Corps Act" the following: ", or (iv) not in excess of three~~
 9 ~~years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer~~
 10 ~~under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of~~
 11 ~~1964".~~

12 ~~(b) The amendments made by this section shall not~~
 13 ~~apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this~~
 14 ~~Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.~~

15 *That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity*
 16 *Amendments of 1965".*

17 ~~AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS~~

18 ~~JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES~~

19 *SEC. 2. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity*
 20 *Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the*
 21 *following: "For purposes of this subsection, any native and*
 22 *citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba*
 23 *as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1,*

1 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5),
2 respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be
3 considered a permanent resident of the United States.”

4 *JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS*

5 *SEC. 3. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity*
6 *Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: “(d) Each*
7 *enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of*
8 *Cuba described in section 104(a) of this Act) must take and*
9 *subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: ‘I*
10 *do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and*
11 *allegiance to the United States of America and will support*
12 *and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States*
13 *against all its enemies foreign and domestic’. The provisions*
14 *of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be ap-*
15 *plicable to the oath or affirmation required under this sub-*
16 *section.”*

17 *JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES’*

18 *COMPENSATION ACT*

19 *SEC. 4. Section 106(c)(2)(A) of the Economic Op-*
20 *portunity Act of 1964 is amended retroactive to January 1,*
21 *1965, to read as follows:*

22 *“(A) The term ‘performance of duty’ in the Federal*
23 *Employees’ Compensation Act shall not include any act*
24 *of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post*
25 *of duty, except while participating in an activity (including*

1 an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such
 2 post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and
 3 supervision of the Corps.”

4 *JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES*

5 *SEC. 5.* Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 6 of 1964 is amended by inserting the word “male” before the
 7 word “enrollees” in the first sentence.

8 *SEC. 6.* Section 114(a) of the Economic Opportunity
 9 Act is amended by adding a new unnumbered paragraph
 10 following the end of subsection (a), as follows:

11 “For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen
 12 of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a
 13 nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1,
 14 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5),
 15 respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall
 16 be considered a permanent resident of the United States.”

17 *JOB CORPS—PAYMENTS TO EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES*

18 *PROHIBITED*

19 *SEC. 7.* Subsection (e) of section 103 of the Economic
 20 Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the
 21 period and adding after the word “terminated” the follow-
 22 ing: “: Provided, however, That the Director shall make no
 23 payments to any individual or to any organization in com-
 24 pensation for the service of referring candidates for enroll-
 25 ment in the Corps or names of such candidates.”

1 *WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL*
2 *ASSISTANCE*

3 *SEC. 8. The first sentence of section 115 of the Eco-*
4 *nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out*
5 *“two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking*
6 *out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.*

WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

9 SEC. 9. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity
10 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting
11 in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out "or June 30,
12 1966, whichever is later,".

13 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COM-
14 MUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

15 COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION

16 *SEC. 10. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity*
17 *Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “and” at the end of*
18 *paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of para-*
19 *graph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”, and by*
20 *adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:*

21 “(5) which includes provision for feasible access of
22 the public to information including, but not limited to,
23 reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request
24 of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable
25 public access to books and records of the agency or agen-

1 cies engaged in the development, conduct, and adminis-
 2 tration of the program, in accordance with procedures
 3 approved by the Director.”

4 SEC. 11. Section 205(a) of the Economic Opportunity
 5 Act is amended as follows:

6 Between the words “including” and “employment” in the
 7 last sentence of subsection (a), insert the words: “but not
 8 limited to”.

9 Between the words “management,” and “welfare” in
 10 the last sentence of subsection (a), insert the words: “family
 11 planning, consumer credit education, consumer debt coun-
 12 seling,”.

13 SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED
 14 POOR

15 SEC. 12. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 16 of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as sub-
 17 section (f) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection
 18 (d) as follows:

19 “(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under
 20 this section for special programs (1) which involve activities
 21 directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor
 22 who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because
 23 of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or
 24 training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addi-

1 tion to other services provided, will enable such persons to
 2 participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of
 3 the community or area served by the program, including
 4 without limitation activities which will contribute to the man-
 5 agement, conservation, or development of natural resources,
 6 recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government
 7 parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are con-
 8 ducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that
 9 the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent
 10 with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of
 11 employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay
 12 and other suitable conditions of employment.”

13 GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—SELF-HELP

14 HOUSING REHABILITATION

15 SEC. 13. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 16 of 1964 is amended by adding the following new subsection:

17 “(e) In extending assistance under this section the
 18 Director shall also give special consideration to programs
 19 which will, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard
 20 housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated
 21 with such rehabilitation: Provided, That such programs will
 22 not result in the displacement of employed workers.”

1 GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS
2 ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

3 SEC. 14. (a) *The first sentence of section 208(a) of*
4 *the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-*
5 *ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by*
6 *striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.*

7 (b) *Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesign-*
8 *ating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new*
9 *subsection (b) as follows:*

10 “(b) *The Director is authorized to prescribe regula-*
11 *tions establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assist-*
12 *ance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such com-*
13 *munity action programs or components as have received*
14 *assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such*
15 *regulations.”*

16 (c) *Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by*
17 *subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the*
18 *end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The requirement*
19 *imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such*
20 *regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate estab-*
21 *lishing objective criteria for determinations covering situa-*
22 *tions where a literal application of such requirement would*

1 result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent
2 with the purposes sought to be achieved.”

3 PARTICIPATION OF STATE ACTIVITIES

4 SEC. 15. Section 209(a) of the Economic Opportunity
5 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period the
6 following: “including, but not limited to, continuing consulta-
7 tion with appropriate State agencies on the development,
8 conduct, and administration of such programs”.

9 DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

10 SEC. 16. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity
11 Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

12 “(c) In carrying out the provisions of part B of title I
13 and title II of this Act, reasonable provision shall be made,
14 pursuant to regulations issued by the Director, for an infor-
15 mal public hearing at the Office of the Director upon the
16 request of the Governor of a State as to his objections to
17 any application from such State under such provisions: Pro-
18 vided, however, That this section shall not apply to contracts,
19 agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institu-
20 tion of higher education in existence on the date of the ap-
21 proval of this Act.”

22 NOTICES

23 SEC. 17. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act
24 of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the
25 following:

1 “(d) When the Director receives an application from
 2 a private nonprofit agency for a community action program
 3 to be carried on in a community in which there is a com-
 4 munity action agency carrying on a number of component
 5 programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such
 6 community action agency and the Governor of the State in
 7 which the community is located of the receipt of such appli-
 8 cation. When the Director determines that a separate con-
 9 tract or grant is desirable and practical and that special
 10 cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant
 11 directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency.

12 SEC. 18. Section 211 of the Economic Opportunity Act
 13 of 1964 is retitled to include the words “POLITICAL ACTIVI-
 14 TIES AND” preceding the word “PREFERENCE”.

15 Section 211 of such Act is further amended by inserting
 16 a new subsection (a), as follows, and redesignating existing
 17 section 211 as subsection “(b)”:

18 “(a) Any person who is employed by any agency ad-
 19 ministering or conducting a community action program re-
 20 ceiving assistance under this part and whose salary is paid
 21 in principal part from funds appropriated pursuant to this
 22 part, shall be deemed to be an officer or employee of a State
 23 or local agency for the purposes and within the meaning of
 24 the Act entitled ‘An Act to prevent pernicious political activi-

1 ties', approved August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), as
2 amended."

3 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS;

4 FEDERAL SHARE

5 SEC. 19. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity
6 Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year
7 ending June 30, 1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and
8 each of the two succeeding fiscal years,".

9 ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER

10 TRAINING

11 SEC. 20. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity
12 Act of 1964 is amended—

13 (1) by striking out "From the sums appropriated
14 to carry out this title" in section 213(a) and inserting
15 in lieu thereof "From so much of the sums appropriated
16 or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved
17 pursuant to section 218"; and

18 (2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219
19 and inserting immediately after section 217 the follow-
20 ing new section 218:

21 "TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

22 "SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums
23 appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any
24 fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to
25 provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to

1 colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies,
 2 or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or
 3 organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or
 4 preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described
 5 in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any
 6 (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons
 7 undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director
 8 may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

9 VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

10 SEC. 21. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of
 11 1964 is amended by striking out the second sentence of section
 12 220(a) of part C thereof.

13 AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO
 14 COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

15 SEC. 21. In title III of the Economic Opportunity Act
 16 of 1964 in the heading “PART A—AUTHORITY TO MAKE
 17 GRANTS AND LOANS”, delete the words “GRANTS AND”
 18 and the dash after the word “make” in the first subsequent
 19 sentence and the subsequent number “(1)”.

20 COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO
 21 ASSIST MANUFACTURING

22 SEC. 23. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity
 23 Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the
 24 period at the end thereof the following proviso: “: Provided,
 25 That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing

1 *used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, includ-*
 2 *ing dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing*
 3 *merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of*
 4 *a new or different substance”.*

5 *ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED*
 6 *AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES*

7 *SEC. 24. Section 31 of the Economic Opportunity Act*
 8 *of 1964 is amended to read as follows:*

9 *“MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL*
 10 *EMPLOYEES*

11 *“SEC. 311. The Director is atuhorized to develop and*
 12 *implement a program of loans, loan guarantces, and grants to*
 13 *assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions,*
 14 *and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operat-*
 15 *ing programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily*
 16 *contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers*
 17 *and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of*
 18 *housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.”*

19 *SEC. 25. Section 331(c) of the Economic Opportunity*
 20 *Act is amended by striking the words “January 31, 1965”*
 21 *and inserting in lieu thereof the words “June 30, 1966”.*

22 *AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM*

23 *SEC. 26. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act*
 24 *of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence*
 25 *thereof the following new sentence: “Workers in farm fami-*

1 *lies with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be con-*
 2 *sidered unemployed for the purposes of this title.”, and (2)*
 3 *by striking out of the last sentence the following: “for the*
 4 *fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,”.*

5 *AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND*
 6 *COORDINATION*

7 *VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF*
 8 *OTHER PROVISIONS AND FEDERAL LAWS*

9 *SEC. 27. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the*
 10 *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking*
 11 *out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause desig-*
 12 *nation “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection*
 13 *with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a*
 14 *character eligible for assistance under this Act.”*

15 *(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read*
 16 *as follows:*

17 *“(d)(1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to*
 18 *an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104*
 19 *(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title*
 20 *18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to*
 21 *such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in para-*
 22 *graphs (2) and (3) of this subsection, volunteers shall not*
 23 *be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subjct to*
 24 *the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, in-*

cluding those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation.
and Federal employee benefits.

“(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers
as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection
(a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent
as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c),
and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the com-
putation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c)
the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that
received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the
Classification Act of 1949.

“(3) For the purposes of the Act entitled ‘An Act to
prevent pernicious political activities’, approved August 2,
1939 (53 Stat. 1147), a volunteer under this section shall
be deemed to be a person employed in the executive branch
of the Federal Government.”

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 28. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act
of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 605. (a) The President shall, during 1965, ap-
point a National Advisory Council on Economic Oppor-
tunity (hereinafter referred to as the “Advisory Council”)
for the purpose of reviewing the administration and opera-
tion of programs under this Act, evaluating their effectiveness
in furthering the purposes of this Act, and making recom-

1 mendations for the improvement of such programs, admin-
2 istration, and operation, including proposals for changes in
3 this Act.

4 “(b) The Advisory Council shall be appointed by the
5 President without regard to the civil service laws and shall
6 consist of twenty-one persons who shall be representative of
7 the public in general and appropriate fields of endeavor
8 related to the purposes of this Act. From among the mem-
9 bers of the Advisory Council the President shall designate a
10 Chairman, who shall not be a regular full-time employee
11 of the United States. The Advisory Council shall meet at
12 the call of the Chairman but not less often than twice a year.
13 The Director shall be an *ex officio* member of the Advisory
14 Council.

15 “(c) The Advisory Council is authorized to engage such
16 technical assistance as may be required to carry out its func-
17 tions, and the Director shall, in addition, make available to
18 the Advisory Council such secretarial, clerical, and other
19 assistance and such pertinent data prepared by the Office
20 of Economic Opportunity as it may require to carry out
21 such functions.

22 “(d) The Advisory Council shall make an annual report
23 of its findings and recommendations to the President not later
24 than March 31 of each calendar year beginning with the
25 calendar year 1966. The President shall transmit each such

1 *report to the Congress together with his comments and recom-*
2 *mendations."*

3 *PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR*

4 *SEC. 29. Part A of title VI of the Economic Oppor-*
5 *tunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof*
6 *the following new section:*

7 *"PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR*

8 *"SEC. 610. (a) It is the intention of Congress that when-*
9 *ever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall*
10 *be considered in the development, conduct, and administra-*
11 *tion of programs under this Act.*

12 *"(b) There is hereby established in the Office a Task*
13 *Force on Programs for the Elderly Poor. The task force*
14 *shall be composed of nineteen members who shall be ap-*
15 *pointed by, and shall serve at the pleasure of, the Director*
16 *pursuant to section 602(c) to represent industry, labor,*
17 *agriculture, education, minority groups, and social service*
18 *organizations. The Director shall name one such member as*
19 *Chairman. The task force shall investigate the needs of the*
20 *elderly poor, examine the effect on the elderly poor of*
21 *programs under this and other Federal Acts, and, where*
22 *appropriate, recommend modifications of existing programs*
23 *and the institution of new programs to assist the elderly*
24 *poor to improve their standard of living. The task force*
25 *shall make a report of its findings and recommendations to*

1 the Director for transmittal to the President and Congress
2 on or before June 30, 1966.”

3 AFFIDAVITS

4 SEC. 30. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of
5 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof and
6 substituting a new section 616, as follows:

7 “TRANSFER OF FUNDS

8 “SEC. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appro-
9 priations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per
10 centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any
11 appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to
12 carry out programs or activities under any such title may be
13 transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of
14 carrying out programs or activities under any other such
15 title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the
16 amounts otherwise available under any title by more than
17 10 per centum.”

18 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

19 SEC. 31. (a)(1) The first sentence of section 131 of
20 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by strik-
21 ing out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”.

22 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
23 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
24 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
25 \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and

1 the sum of \$535,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
2 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
3 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
4 Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

5 (b)(1) The first sentence of section 220 of such Act
6 (as so redesignated by section 14 of this Act) is amended
7 by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

8 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
9 read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title,
10 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
11 \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
12 the sum of \$880,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
13 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the
14 succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the
15 Congress may hereafter authorize by law; \$150,000,000 of
16 the funds appropriated for the fiscal year 1966 for the pur-
17 pose of carrying out the provisions of this title may be used
18 for the purposes of section 205(d)."

19 (c)(1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by
20 striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

21 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended
22 to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this
23 title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum
24 of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,
25 and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June

1 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
2 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated
3 as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

4 (d)(1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act
5 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu
6 thereof “three”.

7 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
8 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title,
9 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
10 \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and
11 the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,
12 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and
13 the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as
14 the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.”

15 (e)(1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is
16 amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof
17 “three”.

18 (2) The second sentence of such section is amended to
19 read as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title
20 (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving
21 fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby author-
22 ized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal
23 year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for
24 the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year
25 ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such

1 sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter
2 authorize by law.”

3 (f) Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
4 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof a new
5 section as follows:

6 “SEC. 617. The Director shall adopt such administrative
7 measures as are necessary to assure that benefits of this Act
8 will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and
9 urban areas.”

10 AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—
11 MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUN-
12 TEERS

13 SEC. 32. (a) Paragraph (2)(A) of section 205(b) of
14 the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C.
15 425(b)(2)(A)) is amended by striking out “or” before
16 “(iii)” and by inserting before the proviso and after “Peace
17 Corps Act” the following: “, or (iv) not in excess of three
18 years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer
19 under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of
20 1964”.

21 (b) The amendments made by this section shall not
22 apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this
23 Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.

24 SEC. 33. Section 103 of part 1 of title I of the Economic
25 Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the

1 *beginning of said section the following: "The Director of*
2 *the Office will not authorize any Job Corps program that*
3 *would result in the displacement of employed workers or*
4 *impair existing contracts for services."*

Passed the House of Representatives July 22, 1965.

Attest:

RALPH R. ROBERTS,

Clerk.

Passed the Senate with an amendment August 19 (legislative day, August 18), 1965.

Attest:

FELTON M. JOHNSTON,

Secretary.

AN ACT

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 19 (legislative day, AUGUST 18), 1965

Ordered to be printed with the amendment of the
Senate

15. PROPERTY; BUILDINGS. The Government Operations Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) S. 1004, to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act so as to make title III directly applicable to procurement of property and nonpersonal services by executive agencies, and S. 1516, with amendment, to authorize GSA to enter into contracts for the inspection, maintenance, and repair of fixed equipment in federally owned buildings. p. D866
16. POVERTY. Conferees were appointed on H. R. 8283, to expand the poverty program (p. 21572). Senate conferees have already been appointed. Rep. Ayres protested the selection of the House minority conferees by Rep. Powell and stated he would ask for changes in the members of the minority conferees before a conference is held on the bill (p. 21614).
17. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATION BILL. Conferees were appointed on this bill, H. R. 10323 (p. 21547). Senate conferees have already been appointed.
18. SUGAR. Rep. Langen criticized the activities of sugar lobbyists and stated that it has been estimated that their fees amount to \$80 million a year. p. 21600
19. TIMBER IMPORTS. Rep. Hansen expressed concern over timber imports from Canada and expressed hope that the Government "will do something to help the domestic softwood industry and its employees overcome the disadvantage of the imports." pp. 21567-8
20. COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS. Rep. Latta was elected a member of the Rules Committee and Rep. Dole a member of the Government Operations Committee. pp. 21585-6
21. NOMINATION. Rep. Boland and Mathias commended the nomination of Lawrence F. O'Brien to be Postmaster General. pp. 21587-8, 21589
22. FOREIGN AID. Rep. Waggoner commended the economic development of Taiwan to the degree that most foreign aid can now be terminated and stated that aid under Public Law 480 will continue through 1966. pp. 21593-4
23. RURAL MAIL. Rep. Langen stated that he has written Postmaster General nominee Lawrence F. O'Brien asking him "to review the problems and reverse the past decisions that have led to drastically curtailed mail service in rural areas." p. 21600
24. EDUCATION. Rep. Quie expressed concern over the degree of Federal involvement in education and inserted a report of the Republican task force on education, "The Federal Government in Education." pp. 21602-8
25. CLAIMS. Received from the President a supplemental appropriation estimate to pay certain claims and judgments (H. Doc. 283). p. 21625
26. WATERSHEDS. Received from the Budget Bureau plans for works of improvement on the following watersheds: Blue Eye Creek, Ala.; Beardsley, Calif.; Revolon, Calif.; Mill Creek, Ind.; Mosquito of Harrison, Iowa; Turkey Creek, Kans.; Little Delaware-Mission Creek and tributaries, Kan.; Lower Bayou Teche, La.; Back Swamp, N.C.; Margaret Creek, Ohio; Rock Creek, Okla.; Escondido Creek, Tex.; Williams Creek, Tex.; to Agriculture Committee. Upper Ooptank River, Del. and Md.; Little Raccoon Creek, Ind.; Timber Creek, Kans.; Tamarac, Minn.; Quapaw, Okla.; Duck Creek, Tex.; Cherrystone, Va.; to Public Works Committee. pp. 21625-6

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

27. RECREATION; SOIL CONSERVATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Hansen inserting an article, "Recreation Potential on Iowa Farms", and stating that it gives an idea of the great progress being made in Iowa soil conservation farmers. pp. A4895-6
- Rep. Wilson inserted the first of a four-part series advocating the opening of a portion of the San Gorgonio Wilderness Area in the San Bernardino Mountains for the development of recreation facilities. pp. A4904-5
28. FARM LABOR. Extension of remarks of Rep. Cederberg stating that "repeated pleas for laborers to harvest a number of important Michigan crops have made little impression at the U. S. Department of Labor", and inserting correspondence with the Michigan Farm Bureau on this subject. p. A4903
29. CIGARETTE LABELING. Rep. Brown, Calif., inserted an article, "The Quiet Victory of the Cigarette Lobby: How It Found the Best Filter Yet--Congress." pp. A4911-4

BILLS INTRODUCED

30. WATER POLLUTION. S. 2481 by Sen. Ribicoff, to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, to increase the share of Federal financial assistance for construction of municipal sewage treatment works and to authorize increased appropriations for the purpose of making such grants; to Public Works Committee. Remarks of author, pp. 21475-6
31. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS. S. Res 142 by Sen. Hartke, proposing a study to determine feasibility of utilizing trade credits issued by the International Monetary Fund to facilitate international trade; to Foreign Relations Committee. Remarks of author, pp. 21479-81
32. TRANSPORTATION. H. R. 10764 by Rep. Gonzalez, to amend section 1(14)(a) of the Interstate Commerce Act to insure the adequacy of the national railroad freight car supply; to Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.
33. NATURAL RESOURCES. H. R. 10766 by Rep. Ottinger, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a program of research, study and surveys, documentation, and description of the natural environmental systems of the United States for the purpose of understanding and evaluating the condition of these systems and to provide information to those concerned with natural resources management; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.
34. LAND. H. R. 10767 by Rep. Ottinger, to amend the Migratory Bird Conservation Act to provide that no land contained in the national wildlife refuge system shall be sold, transferred for any other use, or otherwise disposed of without the approval of the Migratory Bird Commission; to Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.
35. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION. H. R. 10775 by Rep. Rivers, S.C., to authorize certain construction at military installations; to Armed Services Committee.

"(b) The term 'motor vehicle', as used in this headnote, means a motor vehicle of a kind described in item 692.05 or 692.10 of this subpart (excluding an electric trolley bus and a three-wheeled vehicle) or an automobile truck tractor.

"(c) The term 'bona fide motor-vehicle manufacturer', as used in this headnote, means a person who, upon application to the Secretary of Commerce, is determined by the Secretary to have produced no fewer than 15 complete motor vehicles in the United States during the previous 12 months, and to have installed capacity in the United States to produce 10 or more complete motor vehicles per 40-hour week. The Secretary of Commerce shall maintain, and publish from time to time in the Federal Register, a list of the names and addresses of bona fide motor-vehicle manufacturers.

"(d) If any Canadian article accorded the status of original motor-vehicle equipment is not so used in the manufacture in the United States of motor vehicles, such Canadian article or its value (to be recovered from the importer or other person who diverted the article from its intended use as original motor-vehicle equipment) shall be subject to forfeiture, unless at the time of the diversion of the Canadian article the United States Customs Service is notified in writing, and, pursuant to arrangements made with the Service—

"(i) the Canadian article is, under customs supervision, destroyed or exported, or

"(ii) duty is paid to the United States Government in an amount equal to the duty which would have been payable at the time of entry if the Canadian article had not been entered as original motor-vehicle equipment."

Identification of automotive products

SEC. 405. (a) Redesignate item 692.25 (p. 326) as 692.27; in headnote 1(b) of subpart B, part 6, schedule 6 (p. 325) substitute "item 692.27" in lieu of "item 692.25"; and insert in proper numerical sequence (pp. 325 and 326) new items as follows:

" 692.06	If Canadian article, but not including any electric trolley bus, three-wheeled vehicle, or trailer accompanying an automobile truck tractor (see general headnote 3(d)).	Free
" 692.11	If Canadian article, but not including any three-wheeled vehicle (see general headnote 3(d)).	Free
" 692.21	Chassis, if Canadian article, except chassis for an electric trolley bus, or a three-wheeled vehicle; hodies (including cabs), if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2 of this subpart).	Free
" 692.23	Chassis, if Canadian article, except chassis designed primarily for a vehicle described in item 692.15 or a three-wheeled vehicle; hodies (including cabs), if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2 of this subpart).	Free

" 692.25	If Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2 of this subpart).	Free
" 692.28	Automobile truck tractors, if Canadian article; other articles, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2 of this subpart).	Free

(b) Insert in proper numerical sequence (pp. 150, 229, 297, 305, 308, 321, 323, 355, and 364, respectively) new items as follows:

" 361.90	Any article described in the foregoing items 360.20 to 360.70, inclusive, 360.80, 361.80, or 361.85, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free
" 516.98	Any article described in the foregoing items 516.71 to 516.76, inclusive, or 516.94, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free
" 646.79	Any article described in the foregoing item 646.20 and items 646.40 to 646.78, inclusive (except 646.45 and 646.47), if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free
" 652.39	Any article described in the foregoing items 652.12 to 652.38, inclusive, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free

" 658.10	Any article described in the foregoing items 657.09 to 658.00, inclusive, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free.
" 682.65	Any article described in the foregoing items 682.10 to 682.60, inclusive (except 682.50), if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free.
" 685.55	Any article described in the foregoing items 685.20 to 685.50, inclusive, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free
" 721.20	Any article in the foregoing items covering clocks, clock movements, clock cases and dials and parts thereof, plates (720.67), assemblies and subassemblies for clock movements, and other parts for clock movements, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free
" 727.60	Any article described in the foregoing items 727.10 to 727.55, inclusive, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free

(c) Insert in proper numerical sequence (pp. 145, 164, 365, 380, and 395, respectively) new items 355.27, 389.80, 728.30, 745.80, and 774.70, each having an article description and rate as follows:

"	Any article described in the foregoing provisions of this subpart, if Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6).	Free
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(d) Redesignate item 613.16 as 613.18; and insert in proper numerical sequence new items as follows:

207.01 (p. 92)	545.64 (p. 249)	652.76 (p. 306)
220.46 (p. 93)	547.16 (p. 249)	652.86 (p. 306)
357.91 (p. 147)	610.81 (p. 273)	652.88 (p. 306)
357.96 (p. 147)	613.16 (p. 278)	653.41 (p. 307)
358.11 (p. 147)	613.19 (p. 278)	660.43 (p. 310)
517.82 (p. 229)	618.48 (p. 279)	660.45 (p. 310)
535.15 (p. 242)	620.47 (p. 281)	660.47 (p. 310)
540.72 (p. 244)	642.21 (p. 292)	660.51 (p. 310)
544.18 (p. 247)	642.86 (p. 294)	660.53 (p. 310)
544.32 (p. 247)	642.88 (p. 294)	660.55 (p. 310)
544.42 (p. 247)	646.93 (p. 298)	660.86 (p. 310)
544.52 (p. 248)	647.01 (p. 298)	660.91 (p. 310)
544.55 (p. 248)	647.06 (p. 298)	661.11 (p. 310)
545.62 (p. 249)	652.10 (p. 305)	661.13 (p. 310)
661.16 (p. 310)	683.11 (p. 321)	711.85 (p. 346)
661.21 (p. 310)	683.16 (p. 321)	711.91 (p. 346)
661.36 (p. 311)	683.61 (p. 322)	711.93 (p. 346)
661.96 (p. 311)	684.51 (p. 322)	711.95 (p. 346)
662.36 (p. 312)	684.63 (p. 322)	711.97 (p. 346)
662.51 (p. 312)	684.71 (p. 323)	711.99 (p. 346)
664.11 (p. 312)	685.71 (p. 323)	712.26 (p. 346)
678.51 (p. 318)	685.81 (p. 323)	712.28 (p. 346)
680.21 (p. 319)	685.91 (p. 323)	712.51 (p. 346)
680.23 (p. 319)	686.11 (p. 323)	772.66 (p. 394)
680.28 (p. 319)	686.21 (p. 323)	772.81 (p. 394)
680.31 (p. 319)	686.61 (p. 324)	772.86 (p. 394)
680.36 (p. 319)	686.81 (p. 324)	773.26 (p. 395)
680.58 (p. 319)	687.51 (p. 324)	773.31 (p. 395)
680.61 (p. 319)	687.61 (p. 324)	773.36 (p. 395)
682.71 (p. 321)	688.16 (p. 324)	791.81 (p. 399)
682.91 (p. 321)	688.41 (p. 324)	791.91 (p. 399)

"each such item having the article description 'If Canadian article and original motor-vehicle equipment (see headnote 2, part 6B, schedule 6) * * *' subordinate to the immediately preceding article description, and having 'Free' in rate of duty column numbered 1.

TITLE V—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Authorities

SEC. 501. The head of any agency performing functions authorized by this Act may—

(1) authorize the head of any other agency to perform any of such functions; and

(2) prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to perform such functions.

Annual report

SEC. 502. The President shall submit to the Congress an annual report on the implementation of this Act. Such report shall include information regarding new negotiations, reductions or eliminations of duties, reciprocal concessions obtained, and other information relating to activities under this Act.

The CHAIRMAN. No amendments to the bill are in order except amendments offered by the direction of the Committee on Ways and Means. Are there any amendments?

Mr. MILLS. There are no amendments, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. DONOHUE, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of

the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9042) to provide for the implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 551, he reported the bill back to the House.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. UTT. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman qualifies.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. UTT moves that H.R. 9042 be recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

The question was taken.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 280, nays 113, not voting 39, as follows:

[Roll No. 255]

YEAS—280

Abbott	Casey	Fallon
Abernethy	Cederberg	Farbstein
Adams	Celler	Farnsley
Addabbo	Chamberlain	Farnum
Albert	Clark	Fascelli
Annunzio	Clausen,	Findley
Arends	Don H.	Fino
Ashley	Clevenger	Fisher
Ashmore	Cohelan	Flood
Aspinall	Colmer	Fogarty
Bandstra	Conable	Foley
Barrett	Cooley	Ford, Gerald R.
Bates	Corbett	Fountain
Beckworth	Craley	Fraser
Bell	Culver	Frelinghuysen
Bingham	Cunningham	Friedel
Blatnik	Curtis	Fulton, Pa.
Boggs	Daddario	Fulton, Tenn.
Boland	Daniels	Fuqua
Bolton	Davis, Ga.	Gallagher
Brooks	Dawson	Garmatz
Broomfield	de la Garza	Gathings
Brown, Calif.	Deianey	Gettys
Broyhill, Va.	Derwinski	Gialmo
Burke	Donohue	Gibbons
Burleson	Dorn	Gilbert
Burton, Calif.	Dow	Gilligan
Burton, Utah	Dowdy	Green, Oreg.
Byrne, Pa.	Downing	Green, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.	Dwyer	Greigg
Cabell	Dyai	Griffin
Cahill	Edwards, Calif.	Griffiths
Callahan	Ellsworth	Grover
Carey	Evans, Colo.	Gubser
Carter	Everett	Hagan, Ga.

Hagen, Calif.	Mailliard	Rogers, Fla.
Halleck	Martin, Nebr.	Ronan
Halpern	Mathias	Rooney, N.Y.
Hamilton	Matsunaga	Rooney, Pa.
Hanna	May	Roosevelt
Hansen, Iowa	Meeds	Rosenthal
Hansen, Wash.	Michel	Rostenkowski
Hardy	Miller	Rumsfeld
Harris	Mills	St. Onge
Harvey, Ind.	Minish	Scheuer
Harvey, Mich.	Mink	Schmidhauser
Hathaway	Minshall	Schneebeil
Hawkins	Mize	Selden
Heistowski	Moeller	Senner
Henderson	Moore	Sickles
Herlong	Moorhead	Sikes
Hicks	Morgan	Sisk
Hollifield	Morris	Skubitz
Holland	Morrison	Slack
Horton	Morton	Smith, Iowa
Hosmer	Moss	Smith, N.Y.
Howard	Multer	Smith, Va.
Hungate	Murphy, Ill.	Springer
Huot	Murphy, N.Y.	Stafford
Hutchinson	Murray	Staggers
Irwin	Nedzi	Steed
Jennings	Nelsen	Stephens
Joelson	Nix	Sullivan
Johnson, Calif.	O'Brien	Sweeney
Johnson, Okla.	O'Hara, Ill.	Taylor
Jonas	Olson, Minn.	Teague, Tex.
Jones, Ala.	Ottinger	Tenzer
Jones, Mo.	Patman	Thompson, Tex.
Karsten	Patten	Thomson, Wis.
Karsh	Pelly	Todd
Keith	Pepper	Trimble
Kelly	Perkins	Tuck
Keogh	Philbin	Tunney
King, Calif.	Pickle	Tupper
King, Utah	Pike	Tuten
Kirwan	Pirnie	Udall
Kluczynski	Poage	Van Deulin
Leggett	Poff	Vanik
Long, Md.	Price	Vivian
Love	Purcell	Watts
McCarthy	Quie	Weitner
McCulloch	Quillen	Whalley
McDade	Race	White, Tex.
McDowell	Reidin	Widnall
McFall	Reid, N.Y.	Wilson, Bob
McGrath	Reinecke	Wilson,
McMillan	Resnick	Charles H.
McVicker	Rhodes, Ariz.	Wolff
Macdonald	Rhodes, Pa.	Wright
Machen	Rivers, Alaska	Wyatt
Mackay	Rivers, S.C.	Wydler
Mackie	Roberts	Yates
Madden	Rodino	Younger
Mahon	Rogers, Colo.	Zablocki

NAYS—113

Adair	Erlenborn	O'Konski
Anderson,	Feighan	Olsen, Mont.
Tenn.	Ford,	O'Neal, Ga.
Andrews,	William D.	Pool
Giffin	Gonzalez	Powell
Andrews,	Goodell	Pucinski
N. Dak.	Grabowski	Randall
Ashbrook	Gray	Reid, Ill.
Ayres	Grider	Reuss
Baldwin	Gross	Robison
Battin	Gurney	Roudebush
Beicher	Haley	Roush
Bennett	Hall	Roybal
Berry	Hanley	Satterfield
Betts	Hansen, Idaho	St Germain
Bow	Harsha	Schlesler
Brademas	Hays	Schweiker
Bray	Hechler	Scott
Brock	Hull	Secret
Broyhill, N.C.	Ichord	Shipley
Buchanan	Jacobs	Shriver
Callaway	Johnson, Pa.	Smith, Calif.
Cameron	Kastenmeier	Stalbaum
Chelf	King, N.Y.	Stanton
Clancy	Krebs	Stratton
Cleveland	Kunkel	Stubblefield
Conte	Laird	Talcott
Conyers	Langen	Teague, Calif.
Cramer	Latta	Utt
Curtin	Lennon	Vigorito
Dague	Lipscomb	Waggonner
Davis, Wis.	McClory	Walker, Miss.
Dent	MacGregor	Walker, N. Mex.
Devine	Marsh	Watkins
Dickinson	Martin, Ala.	Watson
Dole	Monagan	White, Idaho
Dulski	Mosher	Whitener
Duncan, Oreg.	Natcher	Whitten
Duncan, Tenn.	O'Hara, Mich.	Williams

NOT VOTING—39

Anderson, Ill.	Barling	Clawson, Del
Andrews,	Bolling	Collier
George W.	Bonner	Corman

Denton	Landrum	Roncallo
Diggs	Lindsay	Ryan
Dingell	Long, La.	Saylor
Edmondson	McEwen	Thomas
Edwards, Ala.	Martin, Mass.	Thompson, N.J.
Evins, Tenn.	Matthews	Toll
Flynt	Morse	Ullman
Hébert	O'Neill, Mass.	Willis
Jarman	Passman	Young
Kee	Reifel	
Kornegay	Rogers, Tex.	

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Collier for, with Mr. Hébert against.
Mr. Diggs for, with Mr. Reifel against.
Mr. Thompson of New Jersey for, with Long of Louisiana against.
Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts for, with Mr. Passman against.
Mr. Martin of Massachusetts for, with Mr. Edwards of Alabama against.
Mr. Dingell for, with Mr. Del Clawson against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mr. Willis with Mr. McEwen.
Mr. Thomas with Mr. Morse.
Mr. Kornegay with Mr. Saylor.
Mr. George W. Andrews with Mr. Lindsay.
Mr. Edmondson with Mr. Bonner.
Mr. Matthews with Mr. Baring.
Mr. Toll with Mr. Corman.
Mr. Roncallo with Mr. Flynt.
Mr. Ryan with Mr. Landrum.
Mr. Rogers of Texas with Mr. Denton.
Mr. Kee with Mr. Ullman.
Mr. Young with Mr. Jarman.

Mr. POOL changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that those Members desiring to do so have 5 legislative days within which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

TO EXPAND THE WAR ON POVERTY AND ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PROGRAMS UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. POWELL, BRADEMAS, CAREY, HAWKINS, GIBBONS, WILLIAM D. FORD, QUIE, GOODELL, and BELL.

population paying income tax and approximately 46 percent of the real estate tax of the District of Columbia being taxable—54 percent being owned by the Federal Government or rather the citizens of the United States, the District of Columbia government, foreign governments, and other organizations. What makes the proponents think Congress will appropriate a higher percentage of funds? History does not show this.

What makes them think that home rule will bring about an honest form of government when throughout the United States this is not always true?

What makes them think it is the panacea for our problems in the areas of education, health, welfare, recreation, and all other social concerned fields? It hasn't been answered in other cities and States throughout the country. Yes, we have problems in the District, no one could possibly deny this—so does every other city in the United States. But with a population growing so fast we have to be patient and gradually try to solve these problems and I use the word "gradually" advisedly. If there is a criticism of our current Federal programs, it is that we are trying to do too much for too many people at one time. We have to try out a program, test it to see if it does the things we want it to do. This is the only way to have a well governed people and not chaos. We very much fear that if we have home rule, we will soon be bankrupt as it would seem we are inclined to let our emotions run away with our commonsense.

Instead of it being the worst governed city as stated in Changing Times, we have always believed the District to be one of the best governed cities—a city for all the citizens of the United States and not just for those who live here. It has been free from politics as such and free from graft.

We believe that the hand of our government should be strengthened rather than change our present form of government and have it fail as it did during the period prior to 1878.

Mr. Chairman, I have attended a number of the school board meetings, and if we elect our school board, I doubt very much that we will have a better school system than we have now. In fact, I question whether it will be as good.

We believe the superintendent of the District schools is a dedicated man; and that the members of the Board of Education should continue to be selected by the judges of the courts rather than be elected.

As president of the federation, I attended the board meeting, at which the sit-down episode occurred, and if that is a sample of what we will have when home rule elects the board, the schoolchildren in the District are not likely to receive as good an education as they have the opportunity to do now.

At this meeting, the spokesman for a so-called Committee of 100 stated that the appointed of the new assistant superintendent in charge of the elementary schools was not from the community of which the majority of the children were and therefore could not understand the problems of most of the children attending the District schools. He also said that future appointments should be on this basis. Now that puts appointments on the basis of color instead of qualifications. Is this within the purview of the Civil Rights Act?

The track system is not a race problem as Mrs. Rosalyn Switzer stated Sunday a week ago on the "Dimension Four" program. The District Federation of Women's Clubs had come to that conclusion and has endorsed the track system. The color of the skin of a child does not determine his ability to keep up with other children. This is determined by the background of the child, and the track system simply gives it a chance to learn at the level it can absorb.

No amount of money expended by local or Federal Governments for educational purposes is going to give young folks the incentive to learn which is so necessary to get an education. Incentive comes from within ourselves. It is instilled in us by our parents or teachers but mostly, it has to be born in us.

We need more vocational schools for those who are better able to work with their hands than with books.

We need to teach good citizenship, not civil disobedience which breaks down our respect for law. There are too many people out with a hatchet instead of putting their shoulder to the wheel, to build rather than to tear down.

A statement was made on the television to the effect that the clock is ticking, time is moving, and we should and must do something about the situation in Washington or we will have riots here. This statement is seeds of riots and seeds of depredation. Flammatory statements can cause riots as occurred in Philadelphia, Rochester, Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles. May I remind you that all these cities have complete and free voting rights, as well as home rule and access to all places and have had for a long time?

In July 1919, the District of Columbia had a race riot, but at that time, we did not succumb to pressures and threats. Immediate action was taken then, soldiers patrolled the streets and in a short time law and order was restored. The way to put out a fire is not by adding fuel. For obvious reasons, under no circumstances should a riot be invited or allowed to get under way in the Nation's Capital. The Federal Government should be in control at all times.

Many people need to have the following attributes: "First of all to work, and then self-restraint; obedience to law; respect for authority; creative imagination; right conduct; * * * some capacity for leadership, some positive contribution to the community he lives in, some sense of common decency in the maintenance of neighborhoods."

They should have "respect for law, respect for property, respect for the rights of others—these have to come first. And these must be enforced by the courts and by the suddenly stiffened demands of a fed-up society."

What we need are good laws and good law observance and courts that will punish when punishment is due. We, in the District of Columbia Federation, are thankful for, and we respect the men who are willing to give their lives in police work, and we support them in every way we can—not undermine them.

We believe that when the members of this committee review all the facts, they will realize that the District of Columbia should remain the Federal City, as envisioned by our Founding Fathers, who had the wisdom and the vision, which somehow—we must hold onto.

FOREIGN AID DISCUSSION 3 P.M., WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, SPEAKER'S DINING ROOM

(Mr. FRASER (at the request of Mr. FARNSLEY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the bipartisan group that has been sponsoring the foreign aid discussions, I am very pleased to announce that the next meeting will be Wednesday, September 1, at 3 p.m. in the Speaker's Dining Room.

"Vietnam: Winning the Support of the Peasants" will be the subject of the dis-

cussion. Two top officials from AID with responsibility for Vietnam and the Far East will be present.

AID TO MEDICAL AND DENTAL SCHOOLS

(Mr. FRASER (at the request of Mr. FARNSLEY) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow we will consider extending the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act. The 1963 legislation has been successful and it is essential that we continue and expand its operation. Since its enactment, 2,279 new first year places have been created in medical, dental, public health, nursing, pharmacy, and optometry schools. This progress is encouraging.

However, we are still not providing new places fast enough. In 1962 there were approximately 149 physicians for every 100,000 Americans. At that time, the medical schools were graduating approximately 7,500 M.D.'s per year. In order to maintain that ratio in 1975 they would have to increase the size of their graduating classes to 11,000. But, in the 2 years since 1963, only 725 new medical places have been created. Because of the time necessary to complete a medical education, the rate at which new places are being created is too slow to provides 11,000 graduates in 1975. Facilities on which construction begins this year will not produce a general practitioner until 1973, or a specialist until 1975.

In 1963, there were 64.6 dentists for every 100,000 individuals. To maintain this ratio, dental schools will need to graduate more than 70,000 dentists between now and 1980. At the present rate of graduations, only slightly more than 55,000 dentists can be graduated, reducing the ratio of dentists to 50 per 100,000 persons.

Minnesota needs this legislation as do other States. The average age of dentists in the State is 58 years. Half of the Minnesota dentists will probably not be practicing in 10 years.

The University of Minnesota, which is in my district, needs this legislation in order to construct a new medical-dental outpatient clinic and a new dentistry building. This will cost some \$20 million, much of which will have to come from the Federal Government. The new facilities will increase the number of graduates, provide better training in comprehensive medical care methods, and provide facilities in educating doctors in new methods.

Expanding the number of first year places available does not insure an adequate supply of qualified doctors. We must also encourage the best students to enter the health professions.

A high school graduate who desires to be a doctor must anticipate that his education will cost \$20,000 to \$30,000. This is certainly a deterrent to young people who are otherwise eager and promising. A disproportionate number of medical

and dental students are drawn from families which are able to pay for professional education. In 1963, half of the medical students came from the 20 percent of families having incomes over \$10,000.

The National Defense Education Act and the National Science Foundation Act provide fellowships for teaching and science students. A critical shortage was recognized in these areas and the Federal Government responded with scholarship assistance. Now that we have recognized the imminent shortage of health profession personnel, we must provide comparable scholarships.

Both loans and scholarships are provided by this bill in order to encourage the most qualified students to go on to professional schools. The practice of providing Federal funds for student loans is extended for 3 years. Grants are also made to schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, and optometry for scholarships in amounts up to \$2,500 per year.

Dr. Robert Howard, dean of the University of Minnesota Medical School and president of the American Association of Medical Colleges, testified before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call his excellent testimony to the attention of my colleagues by inserting it at this point.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT HOWARD, DEAN, MEDICAL SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

I think it is clear that in the last several years there has been increasing awareness on the part of the American public of its concern over health matters and awareness of a relative shortage of physicians. These matters were spoken to with clarity by the President in his message to Congress on the 7th of January 1965, where he pointed out this concern and he pointed out the shortage of physicians which has been very real and has been of interest and concern to all of us responsible for medical education these past several years.

This shortage or this need for more manpower will be even more severe in the future, if we are to develop programs such as those that are envisioned in the DeBaKey report. The medical complexes for dealing with the killer diseases will require even more physicians than are now needed, and I think that it is appropriate that real attention be given to this matter of strengthening the Nation's ability to provide opportunities for medical education.

In 1963 the health profession's educational assistance amendment was passed and has been in actual operation for the last year. This provided \$175 million total for support of construction of schools of medicine, dentistry, public health, nursing, optometry, and pharmacy. This was \$175 million over a 3-year period.

During the past year I have been privileged to serve as a consultant to the Public Health Service and have visited some 10 schools that had put in applications for support under this act. In two or three of these instances they were brandnew schools. In the remainder they represented schools that were increasing their capacity for medical education.

I could not help but be impressed by what this act had done in stimulating these schools either to develop as new schools or to increase their enrollments.

The total new physicians—the total new places in medical schools represented by just these 10 schools that I was privileged to visit was something in the neighborhood of 400, and this is just in 1 year's time.

So you can see that the impact of this act was a very real one, and in just 1 year's time, then, there had been a considerable move forward on the part of the Nation's schools for the development of more educational opportunity.

I would like to call your attention to the fact that medical schools have, to date, either put in specific applications or filed letters of intent totaling more than \$400 million of requests in support of construction of facilities. It would require maximum funds in an amount of slightly more than that, I suppose in the neighborhood of \$500 million, based on present kinds of programs. But this is a very substantial contribution on the part of schools and their States that support them or their private endowments, and replies again reflect this national interest in this problem.

So I am here, among other things, to urge that the construction feature of H.R. 3141 be passed; that it be increased in its amount to meet these growing needs. We do strongly support the provisions of this legislation and the administration's position with respect to this which asks for an extension over a 4- or 5-year period.

We do, however, recognize that Congress has at times indicated an interest in applying some sort of limitations on such programs, and we would urge that if it does that it appropriate no less than \$160 million for each year of the period in which it hopefully will extend the act.

I would like to speak briefly to the portion of the act that relates to provision for student loans. We also urge the extension of the student loan program and that the amount which may be loaned to individual students in any given academic year be increased from \$2,000 to \$2,500 per year. This would conform with what is possible for other students under the National Defense Education Act.

This program, too, in a year's time has proved very helpful and very popular, and the funds that were made available during this last year were sufficient only to meet 57 percent of the requests made by students.

One of the things we are interested in is extending the possibility to go to medical school to students who come from families of relatively modest incomes and clearly this kind of act will help them do that.

Dr. Berson is going to speak to the other aspects of this bill and, in particular, I think he is going to say things about the provisions of the bill that would provide general support for medical schools, and this, too, I would want to go on record as saying is badly needed and if medical schools with rapidly rising costs are to be able to meet the needs of the future some form of support of this kind is clearly in order.

Thank you very much.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON THE ANTIPOVERTY BILL

(Mr. AYRES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to hear that the minority conferees for the antipoverty conference between the House and the other body were announced today.

Mr. Speaker, the list prepared by the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL], listed the members of the minority that would be members of the conference, when no members of the minority were even asked who they might want, let alone myself, the ranking minority member.

Mr. Speaker, I think this is an outrage. We all know that this antipoverty program is somewhat confused, but little did I realize that the chairman of that committee would take it in his own hands to submit a list to you, Mr. Speaker, which was announced here today as to who the members of the minority on the conference would be. In fact, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] was not even a member of the ad hoc subcommittee that heard all of the testimony.

Tomorrow, Mr. Speaker, I shall ask when the House convenes unanimous consent that the names be stricken from the list on the minority side and that the conference not be started until, Mr. Speaker, you have an opportunity to appoint a list that I have submitted to you.

The SPEAKER. The Chair suggests that the gentleman might confer with the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor between now and tomorrow.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I could not agree with you more. For the last hour and a half I have tried to confer with the chairman of the committee. The only person I have been able to talk to is an assistant, a gentleman by the name of Mr. Stone. Mr. Stone could not tell me how the list was prepared. All he said was that the chairman programed the conference to meet tomorrow, and the conferees had been notified.

Mr. Speaker, I did my best to confer with the chairman; however, he has not seen fit to accept my phone call.

PROBLEMS OF NEGRO RELOCATION AS A RESULT OF URBAN RENEWAL

(Mr. WIDNALL (at the request of Mr. CURTIS) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the problems of relocation as a result of urban renewal projects have fallen particularly heavily on the Negro citizen and other minority groups whose opportunities for finding or affording decent, safe, and sanitary relocation housing have, in many areas, been greatly curtailed. Only last July 13 the Washington bureau director for the NAACP, Mr. Clarence Mitchell, in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, commented on the fact that even present relocation techniques appear insufficient for the job to be done adequately. Said Mr. Mitchell:

There is a strong suspicion that a careful analysis of the housing now occupied by displaced persons would show that far too many have moved into areas with greater overcrowding and worse slum condition than the places that they left.

The careful analysis mentioned by Mr. Mitchell has been done in at least one area of the country. In July of 1963, the Connecticut Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report entitled "Family Relocation Under Urban Renewal in Connecticut—Problems and Proposals in a Typical Federal Government Program Involving

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued Sept. 7, 1965
For actions of Sept. 3, 1965
89th-1st; No. 163

CONTENTS

Adjournment.....	4,5	Economic Policies.....	3	Recreation.....	8
Appropriations.....	9	Marketing.....	7	Rubber.....	10
CCC.....	2	Military construction....	2	Stockpile.....	10
Cotton.....	7	Poverty.....	1,6	Wilderness.....	8

HIGHLIGHTS: Conferees agreed (on Sept. 2) to file report on bill to expand poverty program.

HOUSE

1. **POVERTY.** Conferees agreed (on Sept. 2) to file a conference report on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. p. D884
2. **MILITARY CONSTRUCTION.** The Armed Services Committee reported without amendment H. R. 10775, the military construction authorization bill which includes an item for payment of CCC for certain family housing which was financed from the sale of surplus commodities (H. Rept. 956). p. 22057
3. **ECONOMIC POLICIES.** Rep. Patman commended the administration's economic policies and inserted an article contrasting economic philosophies of today with those of 1929. pp. 22045-6
4. **ADJOURNED** until Tues., Sept. 7. p. 22056

SENATE

5. **ADJOURNED** until Tues., Sept. 7, after meeting briefly without transacting any business. p. 22058

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

6. POVERTY. Rep. Martin, Ala., inserted his two newsletters on legislation of interest to his constituents, including the Appalachia program. pp. A4997, A5000-1
7. MARKETING; COTTON. Extension of remarks of Rep. Williams inserting an address outlining the goals of the Miss. Marketing Council for the maximum development and utilization of the total resources of Miss., with special emphasis on agricultural products. pp. A5001-3
8. WILDERNESS; RECREATION. Rep. Wilson, Calif., inserted the final part in a series of articles on the need for recreational development of the San Gorgonio Wilderness Area. pp. A5004-5

BILLS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

9. APPROPRIATIONS. H. R. 8639, the Departments of State, Justice and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies appropriations for 1966. Approved Sept. 2, 1965 (Public Law 89-164).
10. STOCKPILE. H. R. 9544, to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed six-month waiting period, of approximately six hundred and twenty thousand long tons of natural rubber from the national stockpile. Approved Sept. 2, 1965 (Public Law 89-168).

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COMMITTEE HEARINGS SEPT. 7:

Watershed projects, H. Public Works (exec).

oOo

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

D.C. home rule bill cleared for floor action by discharge petition.
See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Senate met at 9 a.m. and, pursuant to order previously entered, immediately adjourned (without transaction of any business) until noon Tuesday, September 7, when it will consider H.R. 10586, Labor-HEW supplemental appropriations.

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

HIGHWAYS

Committee on Public Works: Subcommittee on Public Roads, in executive session, unanimously approved for full committee consideration with amendments S. 2084, promoting more effective control of outdoor advertising signs and junkyards near Federal highways.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

Bills Introduced: Three public bills, H.R. 10872-10874; four private bills, H.R. 10875-10878; and three resolutions, H.J. Res. 654, H. Con. Res. 487, and H. Res. 569, were introduced.
Page 22057

Bills Reported: Reports were filed as follows:

H.R. 10775, authorizing certain construction at military installations (H. Rept. 956);

H.R. 10115, authorizing the residents of the District of Columbia to make known their preference on the question of home rule and, if they wish, to elect a board for the purpose of preparing a municipal charter for submission to the voters and to Congress, amended (H. Rept. 957); and

H.R. 9273, to repeal certain provisions of law relating to the printing as House documents of certain proceedings (H. Rept. 958).
Page 22057

D.C. Home Rule: A sufficient number of signatures was obtained (218) to motion No. 5 to discharge the Committee on Rules from further consideration of H. Res. 515, a rule providing for the consideration of, the waiving of points of order against, and 5 hours of debate on, H.R. 4644, to provide an elected mayor, city council, and nonvoting Delegate to the House of Representatives for the District of Columbia. The rule also

provides for continuing consideration of the legislation to its final disposal and the substitution of S. 1118, a similar bill, with an amendment to insert the House-passed language.
Pages 22056-22057

Bills Referred: Five Senate-passed bills were referred to appropriate committees.
Page 22056

Program for Tuesday: Adjourned at 12:10 p.m. until Tuesday, September 7, 1965, at 12 o'clock noon. For program see Congressional Program Ahead in this DIGEST.

Committee Meetings

NATIONAL PARKS

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation held a hearing and approved for full committee action the following bills:

H.R. 7919, to provide for the establishment of the Roger Williams National Memorial in the city of Providence, R.I.; and

H.R. 6515, to supplement the act of October 6, 1964, establishing the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission.

Testimony was heard from Representative Price, and Park Service officials.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

Committee on Public Works: Subcommittee on Roads held a hearing on highway beautification legislation. Testimony was heard from Representative Pirnie, and public witnesses.

Statements were submitted for the record by Representatives Berry and Gibbons.

BILLS SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT

New Laws

(For last listing of public laws, see DIGEST, p. D881, September 2, 1965)

H.R. 1763, authorizing payment of witness' fees in habeas corpus cases and in proceedings on motion attacking the sentence. Signed September 2, 1965 (P.L. 89-162).

H.R. 3997, providing for recording of procedures in U.S. district courts by means of electronic equipment as well as by shorthand or mechanical means. Signed September 2, 1965 (P.L. 89-163).

H.R. 8639, fiscal 1966 appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary,

Joint Committee Meetings

POVERTY

Conferees, on Thursday, September 2, in executive session, agreed to file a conference report on the differences between the Senate- and House-passed versions of H.R. 8283, proposed Economic Opportunity Act Amendments.

and related agencies. Signed September 2, 1965 (P.L. 89-164).

H.R. 3990, increasing per diem, mileage, and subsistence allowances for Federal jurors. Signed September 2, 1965 (P.L. 89-165).

H.R. 5497, requiring that filing fees be paid in full before the court may discharge the bankrupt. Signed September 2, 1965 (P.L. 89-166).

H.R. 3992, permitting Federal court reporters to charge either party for trial transcripts. Signed September 2, 1965 (P.L. 89-167).

H.R. 9544, authorizing disposal without regard to the 6-month waiting period of 620,000 tons of rubber from the national stockpile. Signed September 2, 1965 (P.L. 89-168).

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM AHEAD

Week of September 6-11

(Committee meetings are open unless otherwise indicated)

Senate Chamber

On Tuesday, Senate will consider H.R. 10586, Labor-HEW supplemental appropriations, to be followed (not necessarily in the order listed) by H.R. 8027, assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers; S. 500 (H.R. 2580), immigration; and miscellaneous other bills as they are reported from committees.

Senate Committees

Committee on Appropriations: September 8-10, executive hearings, on fiscal 1966 appropriations for foreign aid, Wednesday at 2 p.m., and Thursday and Friday at 10 a.m. and 2 p.m., 1223 New Senate Office Building.

Committee on the District of Columbia: September 9, Subcommittee on Business and Commerce, to continue hearings on pending bills to strengthen the Motor Vehicle Safety Responsibility Act of the D.C., 11 a.m., 6226 New Senate Office Building.

Committee on Finance: September 9, executive, on H.R. 7502, tax treatment of losses suffered from major disasters, and proposed amendments thereto, 10 a.m., 2221 New Senate Office Building.

Committee on Foreign Relations: September 8, open and executive, on nominations, and committee business, 11 a.m., S-116, Capitol.

Committee on Government Operations: September 8, Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures, to resume hearings on S. 1676, birth control bill, 10 a.m., 3302 New Senate Office Building.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: September 8, to hold hearings in connection with water shortage in the northeast section of the country, 10 a.m., 3110 New Senate Office Building.

September 9, Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, on S. 2148, authorizing acceptance of property in Suffolk County, N.Y., for addition to the Fire Island National Seashore, 10 a.m., 3110 New Senate Office Building.

Committee on the Judiciary: September 8, executive, on committee business, 10:30 a.m., 2300 New Senate Office Building.

September 8, subcommittee, on the nomination of Sidney O. Smith, Jr., to be U.S. district judge for the northern district of Virginia, 10:30 a.m., 2228 New Senate Office Building.

September 9 and 10, Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, to resume its hearings on economic concentration, Thursday at 10:30 a.m., and Friday at 10 a.m., 2228 New Senate Office Building.

September 9, Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, on S. 2049, realigning counties comprising territory of U.S. district courts for the eastern and western districts of Oklahoma, 10 a.m., 2228 New Senate Office Building.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare: September 8, Subcommittee on Health, on S. 595 and H.R. 3141, proposed Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments, 10 a.m., 4232 New Senate Office Building.

Committee on Rules and Administration: September 8, executive, on committee business, 10 a.m., 301 Old Senate Office Building.

House Chamber

Monday, no session (Labor Day).

Tuesday, after calling the Consent and Private Calendars the House will consider, under suspension of the rules, the following bills:

Sept 14, 1965

- found unsound governmentally," and inserted an article, "The Extraordinary Powers of the Bureau of the Budget." pp. 22965-8
7. MINERALS. Received from the President the semi-annual report of the Office of Minerals Exploration, Geological Survey. p. 22863
8. ACCOUNTING; BONDING. Received from Treasury the annual report on operations in connection with the bonding of Federal employees. p. 22936

HOUSE

9. POVERTY. Received the conference report on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (H. Rept. 1001)(pp. 22803-6). The bill amends title III (Special Programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas) of the Economic Opportunity Act so as to make clear that prohibition against loans to cooperatives organized for manufacturing purposes does not prevent loans to cooperatives processing dairy products or similar edible farm products; to clarify the authority granted with respect to the types and scope of assistance and the institutions through which assistance may be extended to migrant workers and their families; and to authorize the appropriation of \$55 million for fiscal year 1966 for carrying out the purposes of title III. Also, the bill extends until June 30, 1966, the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers who have been directed since Jan. 1, 1964, to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Government at the time of use.
10. LOANS. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for the consideration of H. R. 10232, the FHA loan expansion bill. See Digest 161 for a summary of this bill. pp. 22780-81
11. LANDS. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported without amendment S. 1190, to provide that certain limitations shall not apply to certain land patented to the State of Alaska for the use and benefit of the University of Alaska (H. Rept. 984). p. 22861
12. BUILDINGS. The Government Operations Committee reported with amendment S. 1516, to authorize GSA to enter into contracts for the inspection, maintenance, and repair of fixed equipment in federally owned buildings (H. Rept. 993). p. 22861
13. TRANSPORTATION. Conferees were appointed on S. 1588, to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation (pp. 22777-78). Senate conferees have already been appointed.
14. TARIFF. The Ways and Means Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) with amendment H. R. 6568, to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide for alteration of the duties on importation of copra, palm nuts and palm nut kernels and the oils crushed therefrom. p. D919
15. DISASTER RELIEF. Several Representatives discussed the damage caused by hurricane Betsy in Louisiana and urged legislation for additional disaster relief. pp. 22811-12, 22812-13, 22844, 22847, 22852

16. PUBLIC WORKS; ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Rep. Patman commended and inserted excerpts from the President's speech on the occasion of the signing of the Public Works and Economic Development Act. pp. 22812-19
17. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Schmidhauser inserted a speech by Vice President Humphrey commending the cooperative rural electrification program. pp. 22841-42
18. WATER POLLUTION. The "Daily Digest" states that the conferees "agreed to file a conference report on...S.4, establishing a national program for the control and abatement of water pollution." p. D919
19. PEANUTS. Rep. Abbitt stated that the "peanut industry is one of the most important segments of industry in my area of Virginia," and inserted a speech of the president of the Association of Virginia Peanut and Hog Growers, Inc. pp. 22848-49
20. INSECTICIDES; FISHERIES. The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee reported without amendment S. 1623, to authorize a continuing study by Interior of the effects of insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, and other pesticides upon fish and wildlife for the purpose of preventing losses to this resource (H. Rept. 1002). p. 22861
21. WATERSHEDS. The Public Works Committee approved plans for works of improvement on the following watershed projects: Cooper Creek, Ark.; Limestone Stream, Maine; Long Creek, Miss.; Tuscumbia River, Miss. and Tenn.; Grindstone-Lost-Muddy Creek, Mo.; Stewarts Creek-Lovills Creek, N. C. and Va.; Upper Elk Creek, Okla.; Ferron, Utah; Choccolocco Creek, Als.; Little Clear Creek, Ark.; Grove River and South Fork Broad River, Ga.; SuAsCo supplement, Mass.; Busseron supplement, Ind.; Upper Choptank River, Del. and Md.; Little Raccoon Creek, Ind.; Timber Creek, Kans.; Tamarac River, Minn.; Quapaw Creek, Okla.; Buck Creek, Tex.; Cherrystone, Va.; and Rock Creek, Okla. pp. 22797-98

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

22. OPINION POLL. Rep. Brock inserted the results of his 1965 legislative questionnaire, including items of interest to this Department. p. A5151
23. INFORMATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Younger expressing concern over information "processes" used by the administration, and inserting several articles on the number of press releases issued by the White House, one of which made reference to this Department. p. A5152
24. POVERTY. Reps. Edwards, Ala., Gubser, and Quie inserted articles critical of the poverty program. pp. A5157, A5171, A5181
25. PERSONNEL; PAY. Extension of remarks of Sen. Randolph stating that "It is mandatory that we arrive at an equitable level of compensation for our dedicated Federal employees." pp. A5159-62
26. WATER. Extension of remarks of Rep. Bandstma urging passage of the bill to provide loans for the development of rural water systems and inserting an article, "Water: Rural America's Greatest Need." pp. A5165-6
Extension of remarks of Reps. Brock urging greater utilization of our water resources and inserting articles, "Water: A Dwindling Reserve", and "100 Billion for Fresh Water?" pp. A5174-7

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

September 14, 1965.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. POWELL, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 8283]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: *That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965."*

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

JOB CORPS—DISPLACEMENT OF WORKERS

SEC. 2. Section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after "SEC. 103." the following new sentence: "*The Director of the Office shall prescribe regulations to prevent programs under this part from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services.*"

JOB CORPS—PAYMENTS TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS PROHIBITED

SEC. 3. Subsection (e) of section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the period and adding after the word "terminated" the following: "*∴ Provided, however, That the Director shall make no payments to any individual or to any organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for enrollment in the Corps.*"

JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES

SEC. 4. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States."

JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS

SEC. 5. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: "(d) Each enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of Cuba described in section 104(a) of this Act) must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic'. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection."

JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION ACT

SEC. 6. Section 106(c)(2)(A) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended retroactive to January 1, 1965, to read as follows:

"(A) The term 'performance of duty' in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps."

JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

SEC. 7. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting the word "male" before the word "enrollees" in the first sentence.

WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—CUBAN REFUGEES

SEC. 8. Section 114(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States."

WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 9. The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out " , or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".

WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 10. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out "or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION

SEC. 11. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and", and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(5) which includes provision for reasonable access of the public to information including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director."

TYPES OF PROGRAMS

SEC. 12. The last sentence of section 205(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after "including" the following: ", but not limited to,".

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

SEC. 13. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection (d) as follows:

"(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under this section for special programs (1) which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addition to other services provided, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community or area served by the program, including without limitation activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment."

GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 14. (a) The first sentence of section 208(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out ", or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".

(b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations."

(c) Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: "The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved."

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 15. Section 209(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period the following: "including, but not limited to, consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs".

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

SEC. 16. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) In carrying out the provisions of part B of title I and title II of this Act, reasonable provision shall be made, pursuant to regulations issued by the Director, for an informal hearing at the Office of the Director upon the request of the Governor of a State as to his objections to any application from such State under such provisions: Provided, however, That this section shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of the approval of this Act."

NOTICES

SEC. 17. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

"(d) When the Director receives an application from a private nonprofit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such community action agency and the Governor of the State in which the community is located of the receipt of such application. When the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that good cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency."

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS; FEDERAL SHARE

SEC. 18. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and each of the two succeeding fiscal years,".

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER TRAINING

SEC. 19. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended—

(1) by striking out “From the sums appropriated to carry out this title” in section 213(a) and inserting in lieu thereof “From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218”; and

(2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following new section 218:

“TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

“SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine.”

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

SEC. 20. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the second sentence of section 220(a) of part C thereof.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY
IN RURAL AREAS

SEC. 21. Title III of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “Grants and” in the heading, and by striking out the dash after the word “make” in the first subsequent sentence and the subsequent number “(1)”.

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO ASSIST
MANUFACTURING

SEC. 22. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following proviso: “: Provided, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance”.

ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
EMPLOYEES

SEC. 23. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES"

"SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children."

INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

SEC. 24. Section 331 (c) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by striking the words "January 31, 1965" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "June 30, 1966".

AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

SEC. 25. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: "Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title.", and (2) by striking out of the last sentence the following: "for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,".

*AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION
VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF OTHER PROVISIONS
AND FEDERAL LAWS*

SEC. 26. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designation "(C)" and inserting in lieu thereof "in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act."

(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(d)(1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

"(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949."

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 27. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking "fourteen" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "twenty".

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

SEC. 28. Part A of title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

"SEC. 610. It is the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under this Act."

AFFIDAVITS

SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof and substituting a new section 616, as follows:

"TRANSFER OF FUNDS

"SEC. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appropriations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to carry out programs or activities under any such title may be transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of carrying out programs or activities under any other such title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the amounts otherwise available under any title by more than 10 per centum."

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 30. (a)(1) The first sentence of section 131 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$700,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(b)(1) The first sentence of section 221 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$850,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(c)(1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(d)(1) *The first sentence of section 503 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".*

(2) *The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."*

(e)(1) *The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".*

(2) *The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."*

(f) *Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows:*

DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

"SEC. 617. The Director shall adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure that benefits of this Act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas."

AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUNTEERS

SEC. 31. (a) Paragraph (2)(A) of section 205(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C. 425(b)(2)(A)) is amended by striking out "or" before "(iii)" and by inserting before the proviso and after "Peace Corps Act" the following: ", or (iv) not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964".

(b) The amendments made by this section shall not apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.

And the Senate agree to the same.

ADAM C. POWELL
JOHN BRADEMAS,
HUGH L. CAREY,
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
SAM M. GIBBONS,
WILLIAM D. FORD,

Managers on the Part of the House.

PAT McNAMARA,
WAYNE MORSE,
RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
GAYLORD NELSON,
J. K. JAVITS,

WINSTON L. PROUTY,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The Senate amendment struck out all of the House bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute text. The House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, with an amendment which is a substitute for both the House bill and the Senate amendment.

The differences between the House bill and the substitute agreed upon in conference are described in this statement, except for incidental minor, technical, and clarifying changes. References to the "Act" are to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

JOB CORPS—DISPLACEMENT OF EMPLOYED WORKERS

The Senate amendment contained a provision, which had no counterpart in the House bill, which prohibited the Director from authorizing a Job Corps program which would result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services. The conferees have agreed upon a compromise under which the Director is required to prescribe regulations to prevent Job Corps programs from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services.

JOB CORPS—PAYMENTS TO RECRUITERS

The Senate amendment prohibited the Director from making payments to any individual or organization for the service of referring candidates for enrollment in the Job Corps or names of such candidates. The House bill contained no similar provision. The conference report contains a substitute which provides that the Director shall make no payments to any individual or organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for the Corps.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE BY CUBAN REFUGEES

Both the House bill and the Senate amendment contained a provision permitting Cuban refugees to serve in the Job Corps and in work-training programs carried on under part B of title I. The Senate amendment also provided that the requirement that Job Corps enrollees take an oath of allegiance to the United States shall not apply in the case of Cuban refugees. The conference substitute includes this provision of the Senate amendment.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—ACCESS OF PUBLIC TO INFORMATION

The Senate amendment provided that community action programs must include provisions for feasible access of the public to information, including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference agreement adopts the Senate provision, except that the word "feasible" is changed to "reasonable".

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—TYPES OF PROGRAMS

The present act contains examples of programs which fall within the purposes of community action programs. The Senate amendment added to the list the fields of family planning, consumer credit education, and consumer debt counseling programs. It also gave emphasis to the fact that the list is merely to give examples by providing that the programs falling within the purpose of the part include, but are not limited to, the listed fields. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference substitute omits the listing of additional examples of types of permissible programs. It adopts, however, the Senate provision insuring that the listed fields are not the only ones in which programs may be carried. The managers on the part of the House wish it to be understood that the omission of the Senate provision in no way indicates that it is their intention or the intention of the Senate conferees to discourage the continuation and expansion of these programs. Programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

The Senate amendment authorized the Director to make grants for special programs directed at the needs of those chronically unemployed poor persons who have poor employment prospects, and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to obtain appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs. These programs, in addition to other services, would enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community served by the program, including activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands. The programs must be conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under the act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment. It was also provided that \$150,000,000 of the funds appropriated for carrying out title II of the act for the fiscal year 1966 could be used for this purpose. The House bill contained no similar provision. The provisions for these special programs are retained in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, the provision for earmarking a portion of the funds appropriated for title II for this purpose was not retained.

GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—SELF-HELP HOUSING
REHABILITATION

The Senate amendment contained a provision requiring the Director to give special consideration to programs which would, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation. This provision is not included in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

The Senate amendment required that the procedures established by the Director to facilitate participation of the States in community action programs must include continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs. The House bill did not contain any comparable provision. The conference substitute adopts this provision, except that required consultation need not be "continuing."

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

The present act provides that no assistance can be made available for work-training programs or community action programs until the Governor of the State in which they are to be carried on has been given notice of the plan for the assistance and has not disapproved it within 30 days.

The House bill amended this provision so that, in the event of the disapproval of a plan by a Governor, the Director could reconsider it, and if he found it fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this act, could override the Governor's disapproval.

The Senate amendment struck out this provision of the act and, in lieu thereof, inserted a requirement that provision be made, pursuant to regulations issued by the Director, for an informal public hearing at the Office of the Director upon the request of the Governor of a State as to his objections to any application from such State under such provisions.

The conference substitute is like the Senate amendment, except that the hearing need not be public.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PRIVATE NONPROFIT AGENCIES

The House bill provided that when the Director receives an application for a community action program to be carried out in a community in which a community action agency is carrying on a program consisting of several component programs, he must give notice to that agency. The Senate amendment added a requirement that the Director also give notice to the Governor of the State. The Senate amendment also provided that when the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that special cause has been shown, he may make a grant directly to, or contract directly with, such agency.

The conference substitute includes both of these Senate provisions, except that the requirement that "special" cause must be shown

before the Director may contract directly has been altered to require "good" cause to be shown.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The Senate amendment contained provisions, which had no counterpart in the House bill, relating to the application of the Hatch Political Activities Act to persons employed by agencies administering or carrying on community action programs and to persons serving in the Vista volunteers.

The managers on the part of the House wish to make it clear that their insistence on the exclusion of these provisions was based upon the difficulty of applying the existing statutory restrictions to organizations and agencies for which they were not designed. They in no way intend to depart from the principle that these programs must be conducted on a nonpolitical basis, free of any activity designed to further the election or defeat of any candidate for public office.

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

The House bill struck out part C of title II of the act providing for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity, a center to encourage voluntary assistance for deserving and needy children. The Senate amendment retained part C. but deleted the provision under which the center was directed to collect the names of persons who voluntarily desire to assist such children financially, and to obtain information concerning deserving and needy children from social welfare agencies.

The conference report adopts the Senate provision.

INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

The Senate amendment extended until June 30, 1966, the program provided for by the act for making indemnity payments to dairy farmers who have been directed to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use at the time of such use. The conference substitute adopts the Senate provision.

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

The Senate amendment added a provision to the act stating the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor should be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under the act. The conference report retains this provision of the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment also provided for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity of a Task Force on Programs for the Elderly Poor. The conference substitute does not include this provision.

TRANSFER OF FUNDS BETWEEN TITLES

The Senate amendment added a section to the act permitting up to 10 percent of the amount appropriated or allocated for any title to be transferred for use in carrying out other titles, but the amount available for use for any title could not be increased by more than 10 percent. The conference substitute includes this provision.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

The Senate amendment required the Director to adopt such administrative measures as are necessary to assure that benefits of the act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas. The substitute agreed upon in conference contains a modification of the Senate provision under which the Director is required to adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure such equitable distribution.

AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$825,000,000 to carry out title I of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$535,000,000 for such purpose. The amount fixed in conference is \$700,000,000.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$680,000,000 to carry out title II of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$880,000,000 for such purpose. The conference substitute authorizes the appropriation for such purpose for such year of \$850,000,000.

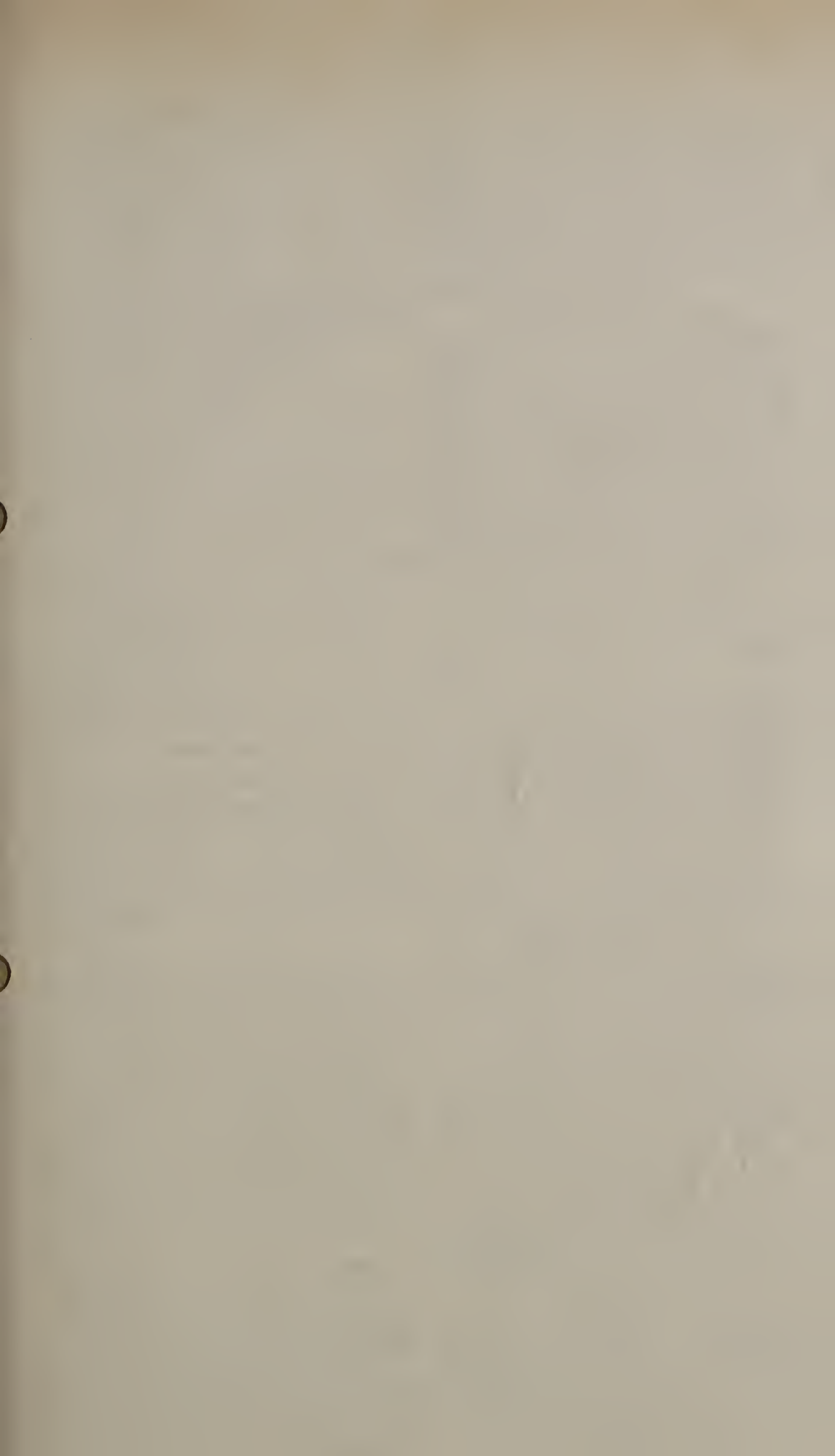
The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$70,000,000 to carry out title III. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$55,000,000 for such purpose. The conference substitute adopts the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$300,000,000 to carry out title V. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$150,000,000 for such purpose. The conference report contains the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$20,000,000 to carry out title VI. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$30,000,000 for such purpose. The substitute agreed upon in conference adopts the Senate figure.

ADAM C. POWELL,
JOHN BRADENAS,
HUGH L. CAREY
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
SAM M. GIBBONS,
WILLIAM D. FORD,

Managers on the Part of the House.



Mr. Pool with Mr. Battin.
 Mr. Delaney with Mr. Fino.
 Mr. Macdonald with Mrs. May.
 Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Lindsay.
 Mr. Rooney with Mr. Gerald R. Ford.
 Mr. Hébert with Mr. Arends.
 Mr. Celler with Mr. Conable.
 Mrs. Kelly with Mrs. Bolton.
 Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Adair.
 Mr. Carey with Mr. Pirnie.
 Mr. Keogh with Mr. Minshall.
 Mr. Resnick with Mr. Harvey of Indiana.
 Mrs. Griffiths with Mr. Harvey of Michigan.
 Mr. Rosenthal with Mr. McClory.
 Mr. Daddario with Mr. Derwinski.
 Mr. Thomas with Mr. Morton.
 Mr. Moss with Mr. Hansen of Idaho.
 Mr. Bonner with Mr. Martin of Alabama.
 Mr. Toll with Mr. Ryan.
 Mr. Sisk with Mr. Purcell.
 Mr. Poage with Mr. Hagan of Georgia.
 Mr. Abbitt with Mr. Long of Maryland.
 Mr. Roosevelt with Mr. McCarthy.
 Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Thompson of Texas.

Mr. DIGGS changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. MACKAY changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXPANDING THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. POWELL submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which was ordered to be printed:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1001)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: "That this Act may be cited as the 'Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.'"

"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

"Job Corps—Displacement of workers

"SEC. 2. Section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after 'SEC. 103.' the following new sentence: 'The Director of the Office shall prescribe regulations to prevent programs under this part from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services.'

"Job Corps—Payments to certain individuals or organizations prohibited

"SEC. 3. Subsection (e) of section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the period and adding after the word 'terminated' the following: 'Provided, however, That the Director shall make no payments to any individual or to any organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for enrollment in the Corps.'

"Job Corps—Cuban refugees

"SEC. 4. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: 'For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States.'

"Job Corps—Enrollee affidavits

"SEC. 5. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: '(d) Each enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of Cuba described in section 104(a) of this Act) must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic." The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection.'

"Job Corps—Application of Federal Employees' Compensation Act

"SEC. 6. Section 106(c)(2)(A) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended retroactive to January 1, 1965, to read as follows:

"(A) The term "performance of duty" in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps.'

"Job Corps—Enrollee work activities

"SEC. 7. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting the word 'male' before the word 'enrollees' in the first sentence.

"Work training programs—Cuban refugees

"SEC. 8. Section 114(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: 'For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States.'

"Work training programs—Limitations on Federal assistance

"SEC. 9. The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three', and by striking out 'or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,'.

"Work-study programs—Limitations on Federal assistance

"SEC. 10. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three', and by striking out 'or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,'.

"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

"Community action programs—Public information

"SEC. 11. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'and' at the end of paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof 'and', and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(5) which includes provision for rea-

sonable access of the public to information including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director.'

"Types of programs

"SEC. 12. The last sentence of section 205(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after 'including' the following: 'but not limited to,'.

"Special programs for the chronically unemployed poor

"SEC. 13. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection (d) as follows:

"(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under this section for special programs (1) which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addition to other services provided, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community or area served by the program, including without limitation activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment.'

"General community action programs—Limitations on Federal assistance

"SEC. 14. (a) The first sentence of section 208(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three', and by striking out 'or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,'.

"(b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations.'

"(c) Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: 'The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved.'

"Participation of State agencies

"SEC. 15. Section 209(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period the following: 'including, but not limited to, consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs'.

"Disapproval of plans"

"SEC. 16. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) In carrying out the provisions of part B of title I and title II of this Act, reasonable provision shall be made, pursuant to regulations issued by the Director, for an informal hearing at the Office of the Director upon the request of the Governor of a State as to his objections to any application from such State under such provisions: *Provided, however, That this section shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of the approval of this Act.*"

"Notices"

"SEC. 17. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

"(d) When the Director receives an application from a private nonprofit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such community action agency and the Governor of the State in which the community is located of the receipt of such application. When the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that good cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency."

"Adult basic education programs—Payments; Federal share"

"SEC. 18. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966,' and inserting in lieu thereof 'and each of the two succeeding fiscal years,'"

"Adult basic education programs—Teacher training"

"SEC. 19. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended—

"(1) by striking out 'From the sums appropriated to carry out this title' in section 213(a) and inserting in lieu thereof 'From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218; and

"(2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following new section 218:

"Teacher training projects"

"SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine."

"Voluntary assistance program for needy children"

"SEC. 20. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the second sentence of section 220(a) of part C thereof.

"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS"

"SEC. 21. Title III of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'Grants and' in the heading, and by striking out the dash after the word 'make'

in the first subsequent sentence and the subsequent number '(1)'."

"Cooperative association—Prohibition of loans to assist manufacturing"

"SEC. 22. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following proviso: '*Provided, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance.*'"

"Assistance for migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees"

"SEC. 23. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"Migrants and seasonally employed agricultural employees"

"SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children."

"Indemnity payments to dairy farmers"

"SEC. 24. Section 331(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by striking the words 'January 31, 1965,' and inserting in lieu thereof the words 'June 30, 1966'."

"AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM"

"SEC. 25. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: 'Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title,' and (2) by striking out of the last sentence the following: 'for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,'"

*"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION"**"Vista volunteers—Assignment; application of other provisions and Federal laws"*

"SEC. 26. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designation '(C)' and inserting in lieu thereof 'in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.'"

"(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(d) (1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits:

"(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2) (B) of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949."

"National advisory council"

"SEC. 27. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking 'fourteen' in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof 'twenty'."

"Programs for the elderly poor"

"SEC. 28. Part A of title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"Programs for the elderly poor"

"SEC. 610. It is the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under this Act."

"Affidavits"

"SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof and substituting a new section 616 as follows:

"Transfer of funds"

"SEC. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appropriations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to carry out programs or activities under any such title may be transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of carrying out programs or activities under any other such title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the amounts otherwise available under any title by more than 10 per centum."

"Authorization of appropriations"

"SEC. 30. (a) (1) The first sentence of section 131 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$700,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'"

"(b) (1) The first sentence of section 221 of such Act is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$850,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'"

"(c) (1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'"

"(d) (1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the

fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

"(e) (1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'.

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'

"(f) Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"*'Distribution of Benefits Between Rural and Urban Areas*

"SEC. 617. The Director shall adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure that benefits of this Act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas.'

"AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUNTEERS

"SEC. 31. (a) Paragraph (2) (A) of section 205(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C. 425(b) (2) (A)) is amended by striking out 'or' before '(iii)' and by inserting before the proviso and after 'Peace Corps Act' the following: ', or (iv) not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964'.

"(b) The amendments made by this section shall not apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this Act without the consent of the then obligee institution."

And the Senate agree to the same.

ADAM C. POWELL,
JOHN BRADEMAs,
HUGH L. CAREY,
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
SAM GIBBONS,
WILLIAM D. FORD,

Managers on the Part of the House.

PAT McNAMARA,
WAYNE MORSE,
RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
GAYLORD NELSON,
JACOB K. JAVITS,
WINSTON L. PROUTY,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The Senate amendment struck out all of the House bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute text. The House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, with an amendment which is a substitute for both the House bill and the Senate amendment.

The differences between the House bill and the substitute agreed upon in conference are described in this statement, except for incidental minor, technical, and clarifying changes. References to the "Act" are to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

JOB CORPS—DISPLACEMENT OF EMPLOYED WORKERS

The Senate amendment contained a provision, which had no counterpart in the House bill, which prohibited the Director from authorizing a Job Corps program which would result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services. The conferees have agreed upon a compromise under which the Director is required to prescribe regulations to prevent Job Corps programs from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services.

JOB CORPS—PAYMENTS TO RECRUITERS

The Senate amendment prohibited the Director from making payments to any individual or organization for the service of referring candidates for enrollment in the Job Corps or names of such candidates. The House bill contained no similar provision. The conference report contains a substitute which provides that the Director shall make no payments to any individual or organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for the Corps.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE BY CUBAN REFUGEES

Both the House bill and the Senate amendment contained a provision permitting Cuban refugees to serve in the Job Corps and in work-training programs carried on under part B of title I. The Senate amendment also provided that the requirement that Job Corps enrollees take an oath of allegiance to the United States shall not apply in the case of Cuban refugees. The conference substitute includes this provision of the Senate amendment.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—ACCESS OF PUBLIC TO INFORMATION

The Senate amendment provided that community action programs must include provisions for feasible access of the public to information, including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference agreement adopts the Senate provision, except that the word "feasible" is changed to "reasonable".

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—TYPES OF PROGRAMS

The present act contains examples of programs which fall within the purposes of community action programs. The Senate amendment added to the list the fields of family planning, consumer credit education, and consumer debt counseling programs. It also gave emphasis to the fact that the list is merely to give examples by providing that the programs falling within the purpose of the part include, but are not limited to, the listed fields. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference substitute omits the listing of additional examples of types of permissible programs. It adopts, however, the Senate provision insuring that the listed fields are not the only ones in which programs may be carried. The managers on the part of the House wish it to be understood that the omission of the Senate provision in no way indicates that it is their intention or the intention of the Senate conferees to discourage the continuation and expansion of these programs. Programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

The Senate amendment authorized the Director to make grants for special programs directed at the needs of those chronically unemployed poor persons who have poor employment prospects, and are unable, because

of age or otherwise to obtain appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs. These programs, in addition to other services, would enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community served by the program, including activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands. The programs must be conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under the act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment. It was also provided that \$150 million of the funds appropriated for carrying out title II of the act for the fiscal year 1966 could be used for this purpose. The House bill contained no similar provision. The provisions for these special programs are retained in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, the provision for earmarking a portion of the funds appropriated for title II for this purpose was not retained.

GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—SELF-HELP HOUSING REHABILITATION

The Senate amendment contained a provision requiring the Director to give special consideration to programs which would, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation. This provision is not included in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

The Senate amendment required that the procedures established by the Director to facilitate participation of the States in community action programs must include continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs. The House bill did not contain any comparable provision. The conference substitute adopts this provision, except that required consultation need not be continuing.

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

The present act provides that no assistance can be made available for work-training programs or community action programs until the Governor of the State in which they are to be carried on has been given notice of the plan for the assistance and has not disapproved it within 30 days.

The House bill amended this provision so that, in the event of the disapproval of a plan by a Governor, the Director could reconsider it, and if he found it fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this act, could override the Governor's disapproval.

The Senate amendment struck out this provision of the act and, in lieu thereof, inserted a requirement that provision be made, pursuant to regulations issued by the Director, for an informal public hearing at the Office of the Director upon the request of the Governor of a State as to his objections to any application from such State under such provisions.

The conference substitute is like the Senate amendment, except that the hearing need not be public.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PRIVATE NON-PROFIT AGENCIES

The House bill provided that when the Director receives an application for a community action program to be carried out in a community in which a community action agency is carrying on a program consisting

of several component program, he must give notice to that agency. The Senate amendment added a requirement that the Director also give notice to the Governor of the State. The Senate amendment also provided that when the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that special cause has been shown, he may make a grant directly to, or contract directly with, such agency.

The conference substitute includes both of these Senate provisions, except that the requirement that special cause must be shown before the Director may contract directly has been altered to require good cause to be shown.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The Senate amendment contained provisions, which had no counterpart in the House bill, relating to the application of the Hatch Political Activities Act to persons employed by agencies administering or carrying on community action programs and to persons serving in the Vista volunteers.

The managers on the part of the House wish to make it clear that their insistence on the exclusion of these provisions was based upon the difficulty of applying the existing statutory restrictions to organizations and agencies for which they were not designed. They in no way intend any retreat from the principle that these programs must be conducted in a completely impartial manner, free of any partisan political activity or any activity designed to further the election or defeat of any candidate for public office.

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

The House bill struck out part C of title II of the act providing for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity a center to encourage voluntary assistance for deserving and needy children. The Senate amendment retained part C, but deleted the provision under which the center was directed to collect the names of persons who voluntarily desire to assist such children financially, and to obtain information concerning deserving and needy children from social welfare agencies. The conference report adopts the Senate provision.

INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

The Senate amendment extended until June 30, 1966, the program provided for by the act for making indemnity payments to dairy farmers who have been directed to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use at the time of such use. The conference substitute adopts the Senate provision.

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

The Senate amendment added a provision to the act stating the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor should be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under the act. The conference report retains this provision of the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment also provided for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity of a Task Force on Programs for the Elderly Poor. The conference substitute does not include this provision.

TRANSFER OF FUNDS BETWEEN TITLES

The Senate amendment added a section to the act permitting up to 10 percent of the amount appropriated or allocated for any title to be transferred for use in carrying out other titles, but the amount available for use for any title could not be increased by more than 10 percent. The conference substitute includes this provision.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

The Senate amendment required the Director to adopt such administrative measures as

are necessary to assure that benefits of the act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas. The substitute agreed upon in conference contains a modification of the Senate provision under which the Director is required to adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure such equitable distribution.

AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$825,000,000 to carry out title I of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$535,000,000 for such purpose. The amount fixed in conference is \$700,000,000.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$680,000,000 to carry out title II of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$880,000,000 for such purpose. The conference substitute authorizes the appropriation for such purpose for such year of \$850,000,000.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$70,000,000 to carry out title III. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$55,000,000 for such purpose. The conference substitute adopts the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$300,000,000 to carry out title V. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$150,000,000 for such purpose. The conference report contains the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$20,000,000 to carry out title VI. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$30,000,000 for such purpose. The substitute agreed upon in conference adopts the Senate figure.

ADAM POWELL,
JOHN BRADEMAS,
HUGH L. CAREY,
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
SAM GIBBONS,
WILLIAM D. FORD,

Managers on the Part of the House.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members desiring to do so may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the Record on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

CORRECTION OF ROLL CALL

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I note on roll call No. 280 yesterday I am recorded as absent. I was present and answered to my name and ask unanimous consent that the Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

UNITED NATIONS PARTICIPATION ACT AMENDMENTS

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 1903) to amend the United Nations Participation Act, as amended (63 Stat. 734-736).

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, S. 1903, with Mr. McFALL in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] will be recognized for 30 minutes and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, the subject matter of this bill is relatively simple and yet very important.

Mr. Chairman, S. 1903 contains two basic provisions:

In section 1, the bill amends subsections (a), (b), and (d) of section 2 of the United Nations Participation Act to provide greater flexibility in the assignment of persons appointed to represent the United States in the principal organs of the United Nations and in such organs, commissions, or other bodies of the U.N. as are concerned with nuclear energy or disarmament.

There are at present five persons who fit that definition and who would be affected by this legislation. They are the principal U.S. representative to the United Nations; his deputy; the deputy U.S. representative to the Security Council; and U.S. representatives to the Trusteeship Council and the Economic and Social Council.

The bill does not increase the number of these principal appointees to the United Nations. It does not change or lessen the requirement that each and every one of them has to be appointed subject to Senate confirmation.

What the bill does, however, is to give the principal U.S. representative to the United Nations more discretion and authority to use his four principal assistants as he sees fit to carry out the task of representing our country in the United Nations.

At present, only three of the five persons we are talking about may represent the United States in the Security Council; and only two of them may represent our country both in the Security Council and in the other principal organs and commissions of the United Nations. The remaining two appointees are frozen in their positions; they can only serve in the Trusteeship Council and in the Economic and Social Council respectively.

S. 1903 would change this. It would enable Ambassador Goldberg to use all four of his principal associates on a flexible basis to advance our national interests in the various organs and bodies of the United Nations.

Now let me comment briefly about section 2 of S. 1903.

Section 2 of the bill would raise the position of the U.S. representative to the European office of the United Nations in Geneva to the rank of statutory Ambassador.

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
(NOT TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued Sept. 16, 1965
For actions of Sept. 15, 1965
89th-1st; No. 170

CONTENTS

Appropriation.....2	Food prices.....16,21	Public works.....22
CCC.....2	Foreign trade.....8	Redevelopment.....22
Conservation.....20	Highways.....15,23	Stockpiling.....12
Disaster relief.....9	Inflation.....16	Tariffs.....7
Education.....11	Information.....3	Trade fairs.....5
Farmers Week.....14	Milk.....2	Water resources.....10,18
Federal charters.....13	Personnel.....6	Wildlife.....19
Fisheries.....4	Poverty.....1	Wild rivers.....17

HIGHLIGHTS: House voted to recommit conference report on bill to expand poverty program. Rep. Langen criticized administration's agricultural foreign trade policies. Senate committee reported resolution to establish annual National Farmers Week. Senate committee voted to report wild rivers bill.

HOUSE

1. **POVERTY.** By a vote of 209 to 180, agreed to a motion by Rep. Ayres to recommit the conference report on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, to conferees with instructions to insist on language of the House bill which retains the veto power of State Governors over community action programs and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs. pp. 23072-8, 23134

2. **DEFENSE APPROPRIATION BILL.** Received the conference report on this bill, H. R. 9221 (H. Rept. 1006)(pp. 23071-2, 23157). The Senate amendment to authorize the Defense Department to purchase milk for enlisted personnel which was pre-

viously furnished without charge by CCC, was reported in disagreement with a statement that the managers on the part of the House intended to offer a motion to concur in the Senate amendment with a technical correction to the legal citation.

3. INFORMATION. Passed with amendment S. 1483, to provide for the establishment of a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts, after substituting the language of a similar bill, H. R. 9460, which had been passed earlier with amendment. H. R. 9460 was tabled. pp. 23078-124
4. FISHERIES. The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee reported with amendment H. R. 23, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to initiate a program for the conservation, development, and enhancement of the Nation's anadromous fish in cooperation with the States (H. Rept. 1007). p. 23157
5. TRADE FAIRS. The Rules Committee reported resolutions for the consideration of H. R. 30, to provide for U. S. participation in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., and H. R. 9247, to provide for U. S. participation in the HemisFair 1968 Exposition to be held at San Antonio, Tex., p. 23157
6. PERSONNEL. A subcommittee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee approved for consideration of the full committee H. R. 5147, to amend the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act so as to permit certain additional health benefits plans to come within the purview of the Act. p. D925
7. TARIFFS; HARDWOODS. The Ways and Means Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 7723, to amend the U. S. Tariff Schedules to suspend the duty on certain tropical hardwoods. p. D925
8. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Langen stated that "a more realistic U. S. agricultural foreign trade policy would contribute much to the correction of our domestic farm problems," and inserted a statement of the House Republican Task Force on Agriculture critical of the administration's foreign agricultural trade policies. pp. 23140-1
Rep. Lipscomb stated that "the administration's decision to send a high level trade mission to Rumania and Poland is a tragic mistake." p. 23133
9. DISASTER RELIEF. Rep. Brademas expressed concern over recent hurricane and tornado damage and urged enactment of "new legislation to provide additional assistance for areas suffering a major disaster." pp. 23128-9
10. WATER RESOURCES. Rep. Udall urged enactment of legislation to authorize the Lower Colorado River Basin project. pp. 23126-8
Reps. Rosenthal and Ottinger urged increased efforts for the development and protection of water resources in the Northeast. pp. 23144-6, 23149-50
Rep. Monagan spoke in support of enactment of S. 4, the proposed Federal Water Pollution Control Act. p. 23149
11. EDUCATION. Conferees were appointed on H. R. 9567, the proposed Higher Education Act of 1965 (p. 23071). Senate conferees have already been appointed.
12. STOCKPILING. Received from the Office of Emergency Planning a semi-annual Statistical Supplement Stockpile Report. p. 23157

Police or other authorized personnel, shall be subject to arrest and prosecution.
THE HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING COMMISSION,
JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker and Chairman of the Commission.
EMANUEL CELLER,
CHARLES E. GOODELL,
Members.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 9567), to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. POWELL, PERKINS, Mrs. GREEN of Oregon, Messrs. ROOSEVELT, BRADEMAS, CAREY, DENT, GIBBONS, AYRES, GRIFFIN, QUIE, and REID of New York.

PERMISSION TO COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON DEFENSE DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL FOR FISCAL YEAR 1966

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers on the part of the House may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on the bill H.R. 9221, the Department of Defense appropriation bill for fiscal year 1966.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. 1006)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9221) "making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendment numbered 61.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, and 59; and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$1,135,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$125,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 60: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 60, and agree

to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert:

"SEC. 638. None of the funds provided herein shall be used to pay any recipient of a grant for the conduct of a research project an amount equal to as much as the entire cost of such project."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 63: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 63, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment insert:

"SEC. 640. None of the funds provided in this Act shall be available for the expenses of the Special Training Enlistment Program (STEP)."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 64: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 64, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the number proposed in said amendment, insert: "641"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 8, 10, 16, 24, 31, and 62.

GEORGE MAHON,
 ROBERT L. SIKES,
 JAMIE L. WHITTEN,
 DANIEL J. FLOOD,
 ALBERT THOMAS,
 JOHN J. MCFALL,
 GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB,
 MELVIN R. LAIRD,
 WILLIAM E. MINSHALL,
 FRANK T. BOW,

Managers on the Part of the House.

JOHN STENNIS,
 RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
 CARL HARTSEN,
 LISTER HILL,
 JOHN L. MCCLELLAN,
 ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
 HARRY FLOOD BYRD,
 LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
 MILTON R. YOUNG,
 MARGARET CHASE SMITH,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9221) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments; namely:

TITLE I—MILITARY PERSONNEL

Military personnel, Army

Amendment No. 1: Appropriates \$4,092,291,000 as proposed by the Senate instead of \$4,096,100,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 2: Deletes, as proposed by the Senate, House language relating to limitation on permanent change of station travel.

Amendment No. 3: Deletes word, as proposed by the Senate, correcting introduction to proviso.

Military personnel, Navy

Amendment No. 4: Deletes, as proposed by the Senate, House language relating to limitation on permanent change of station travel.

Military personnel, Marine Corps

Amendment No. 5: Deletes, as proposed by the Senate, House language relating to limitation on permanent change of station travel.

Military personnel, Air Force

Amendment No. 6: Deletes, as proposed by the Senate, House language relating to limitation on permanent change of station travel.

Amendment No. 7: Deletes word, as proposed by the Senate, correcting introduction to proviso.

Reserve personnel, Army

Amendment No. 8: Reported in disagreement. It is the intention of the managers on the part of the House to offer a motion to recede and concur with an amendment which will provide that the Army Reserve be programed to attain an end strength of 270,000 in fiscal year 1966.

It is the intention of the Committee of Conference, by its actions in connection with amendments 8, 10, and 62, to expressly disapprove a realignment or reorganization of the Army Reserve and Army National Guard as had been proposed in the budget estimates for fiscal year 1966. It is further intended to express disapproval of a subsequently offered plan providing for a limited realignment or reorganization in 17 States. It should be clear from this action that the realignment or reorganization of the Army Reserve Components can be effected only through the enactment of appropriate law.

National Guard personnel, Army

Amendment No. 9: Appropriates \$271,800,000 as proposed by the Senate instead of \$266,200,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 10: Reported in disagreement. It is the intention of the managers on the part of the House to offer a motion to recede and concur with an amendment which will provide that the Army National Guard be programed to attain an end strength of not less than 380,000 in fiscal year 1966.

TITLE II—OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

Operation and maintenance, Army

Amendment No. 11: Appropriates \$3,483,600,000 as proposed by the Senate instead of \$3,475,200,000 as proposed by the House.

Operation and maintenance, Defense Agencies

Amendment No. 12: Appropriates \$533,490,000 as proposed by the Senate instead of \$533,762,000 as proposed by the House.

TITLE III—PROCUREMENT

Procurement of equipment and missiles, Army

Amendment No. 13: Appropriates \$1,204,800,000 as proposed by the Senate instead of \$1,205,800,000 as proposed by the House.

Other procurement, Navy

Amendment No. 14: Appropriates \$1,135,000,000 instead of \$1,120,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,149,900,000 as proposed by the Senate.

TITLE IV—RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TEST, AND EVALUATION

Emergency fund, Defense

Amendment No. 15: Appropriates \$125,000,000 instead of \$150,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$100,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

TITLE V—EMERGENCY FUND, SOUTHEAST ASIA

Amendment No. 16: Reported in disagreement.

It is the intention of the managers on the part of the House to offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment providing \$1,700,000,000 for the Emergency Fund, Southeast Asia.

TITLE VI—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Amendment No. 17: Corrects title number. Amendments Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23: Correct section numbers.

Amendment No. 24: Reported in disagreement.

It is the intention of the managers on the part of the House to offer a motion to recede and concur in the amendment of the Senate providing authority for the purchase of milk for enlisted personnel heretofore made available through the Department of Agriculture, with a technical correction to the legal citation.

Amendments Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30: Correct section numbers.

Amendment No. 31: Reported in disagreement.

It is the intention of the managers on the part of the House to offer a motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment which provides notification to the Committees on Appropriations of use of authorities contained in section 612 and provides for a report of obligations monthly in connection therewith.

Amendments Nos. 32, 33, and 34: Correct section numbers.

Amendments Nos. 35 and 36: Provides language proposed by the Senate limiting household goods shipments to 11,000 pounds net in any one shipment instead of language proposed by the House allowing 13,000 pounds for general officers, 12,000 pounds for colonels, and 11,000 pounds for all others.

Amendments Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, and 59: Correct section numbers.

Amendment No. 60: Restores language proposed by the House respecting sharing of costs of research project grants, and corrects section number.

The committee of conference, in agreeing to the language of the House, does not intend to approve the granting of funds in excess of the total amount justified in the budget presentations.

Amendment No. 61: Strikes language proposed by the Senate with respect to the allocation of funds for repair, alteration, and conversion of naval vessels.

The committee of conference is agreed that the most effective practical use of both public and private shipyards must continue to be made since both are essential to the security of the Nation. The committee of conference is in agreement that allocations of funds for ship repair, alteration, and conversion should be made to both public and private yards on a reasonable and equitable basis consistent with the national interest. It is requested that the Secretary of Defense keep the appropriate committees of Congress informed at least quarterly of the allocations of funds for such purposes.

Amendment No. 62: Reported in disagreement. It is the intention of the managers on the part of the House to offer a motion to recede and concur with an amendment which will provide that funds may be transferred to implement a realignment or reorganization of the Army Reserve Components only upon the approval by Congress through the enactment of law of such a realignment or reorganization.

Amendment No. 63: Provides that no funds be used for expenses of the special training enlistment program, as proposed by the Senate, and corrects section number.

Amendment No. 64: Corrects section number.

GEORGE MAHON,
ROBERT L. F. SIKES,
JAMIE L. WHITTEN,
DANIEL J. FLOOD,
ALBERT THOMAS,
JOHN J. MCFALL,
GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB,
MELVIN R. LAIRD,
WILLIAM E. MINSHALL,
FRANK T. BOW,

Managers on the Part of the House.

RE-REFERENCE OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 646, RELATING TO THE JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the District of Columbia be discharged from further consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 646) directing the National Capital Planning Commission to make a study of the site selected for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and any other sites proposed for such Center, and that the bill be re-referred to the Committee on Public Works, since that committee has already taken original action on this legislation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

CORRECTION OF VOTE

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 216, on August 2, 1965, I am recorded as not voting. I was present and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

NORA ISABELLA SAMUELLI

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 618) for the relief of Nora Isabella Samuelli and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of Sept. 14, 1965.)

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Adair
Anderson,
Tenn.
Andrews,
George W.
Blatnik
Bolton
Bonner
Cahill
Corman
Daddario
Derwinski
Diggs
Edwards, Calif.
Farnsley
Frelinghuysen

[Roll No. 297]

Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gallagher
Grider
Hagan, Ga.
Hanna
Harvey, Ind.
Hébert
Jones, Mo.
Lindsay
Long, Md.
McClory
MacGregor
Machen
Martin, Ala.
May
Moss
O'Neal, Ga.
Pirnie
Poage
Pool
Reinecke
Resnick
Roosevelt
Roydebush
Ryan
Sisk
Thomas
Thompson, Tex.
Toll
Watson
Wright

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 382 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

COMMITTEE ON RULES

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight Thursday night to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of September 14, 1965.)

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, this conference report that I bring before the House today assures that the war on poverty can continue in fiscal 1966 at an even more vigorous pace than it moved at in 1965.

When our deliberations began, the Senate and House conferees were by no means on the same side of the fence. But because of the cooperation and diligence of Members of both Chambers and on both sides of the aisle, we were able to reach an agreement that honors the wisdom of both bodies.

The most dramatic difference was the amount authorized for appropriations for fiscal 1966. The Senate figure was \$1,650 million; the House, \$1,895 million. The overall conference amount is \$1,785 million, which represents a significant concession of \$135 million on the part of

the Senate and would still adequately provide for the activities under each title.

The conference allotted \$700 million for the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the work-study program under title I; \$850 million for community action programs and adult basic education under title II; \$55 million for special programs to combat rural poverty in title III; \$150 million for the work experience program set forth in title V; and \$30 million for the administration of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the operation of the VISTA program under title VI.

In title I on the Job Corps the House conferees determined that it was in the best interest of the House to accept three Senate amendments that were not contained in our bill. The first would require the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to prescribe regulations to prevent Job Corps programs from displacing presently employed workers or impairing existing contracts for services.

The second amendment would prohibit the Director from making any payments to any individual or organization solely as compensation for referring the names of Job Corps candidates. The third amendment would exempt Cuban refugees from taking an oath of allegiance they are not able to take, but which would pose an obstacle to their participation in the corps, contrary to the intent of the House.

In title II there were several significant amendments involving the community action programs. The thrust of the committee amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. REND] on the House floor providing for reasonable public access to the Office of Economic Opportunity's books and records was extended by authorizing other reasonable public access to information, including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups.

The Senate conferees receded on their specific inclusion, in the list of the examples of programs within the purposes of community action, of programs involving family planning, consumer credit education, and consumer debt counseling. We wish to make sure, however, that the continuation and expansion of programs in these areas will not be discouraged. To this end, we agreed to adopt the Senate provision making it clear that the listed examples are not the only ones, that the list is inclusive, not exclusive.

The Senate conferees also abandoned their amendment requiring the Director to give special consideration to self-help programs involving the rehabilitation of substandard housing and concomitant instruction in the basic skills involved in such work.

The House conferees agreed to accept a Senate amendment specifically authorizing the Director to make grants for special programs for the chronically unemployed in the past—and probably unemployable in the future—poor. The grants would, among other things, en-

able these persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of their community. I wish to assure the House that this is not a glorified leaf-raking provision. Rather it is a serious effort to put the elderly and other persons who cannot currently secure employment or training assistance under other programs to work to aid in the beautification of our countryside. The public interest is the paramount standard to be adhered to here. No employed workers will be displaced. These people will fill a gap, not create one. It is up to the Director to use as much or as little of title II funds for this purpose as he sees fit.

We had considerable difference of opinion when it came to determining the proper relationship between the Office of Economic Opportunity and the States in carrying out work-training and community action programs. The compromise we agreed upon accords with the House's desire to permit the Governors to have a voice and State agencies to be consulted. The conference agreed to the State participation in community action programs by, among other things, consulting with State agencies.

That part of the House bill which authorized the Director to override a Governor's disapproval of a work-training or community action program was deleted and in its place the Senate amendment was inserted requiring that the Director provide for an informal public hearing at the Director's office to entertain a Governor's objections to any application from his State. The House conferees also felt that it was proper to accept the Senate amendment requiring notice to a Governor when the Director receives an application for a community action program to be carried out in a community in which an umbrella-type community action agency is already operating.

We further agreed that, as the Senate stated, a grant to such a single program might be made when the Director determines that it would be desirable and practical and that good cause has been shown. The Senate agreed to substitute the term "good cause" suggested by us for the original "special cause."

Next, the Senate agreed to recede from their amendments making the Hatch Political Activities Act apply to persons employed by agencies administering or carrying on community action programs and to VISTA volunteers. While we were opposed to the coverage expansion, we do not wish the action to be construed on the part of anyone as an open invitation to indulge in partisan political activity while ostensibly engaged in the war on poverty.

We accepted several minor Senate amendments extending the life of the voluntary assistance program for needy children and of the program providing indemnity payments to dairy farmers. Neither of these programs are costly; both are of some social utility. Senate amendments calling for a task force on programs for the elderly poor and a revised National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity were not adopted, but the Senate direction to the Director

to consider, whenever feasible, the special problems of the elderly poor in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under the act was agreed to by the House as a reasonable guideline.

Finally, the conferees found merit in Senate amendments requiring the Director to adopt the necessary administrative measures to assure an equitable distribution of the act's benefits between the 46-percent rural poor and 54-percent urban poor and permitting the Director to transfer up to 10 percent of the amount appropriated or allocated for any title for use in carrying out another title, although no individual title could be increased by more than 10 percent. The practical wisdom of the administrative flexibility this would allow should be clear on its face. If some community action programs falter, then more Neighborhood Youth Corps workers could be provided, or vice versa.

These are the myriad compromises we worked out in a hard bargaining session. Each and every one of them is for the greater good of the entire poverty program and accords with the will of the House as expressed in debate on the original bill. I only hope that the sincere satisfaction of your conferees will be reflected in your acceptance of this conference report.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the distinguished author of this bill, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS], who has done such a noble task.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GIBBONS. I shall be glad to yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman if he will explain the effect of this section 16 with respect to the Governor's veto.

I believe, as I read it, it is considerably different from the way it was phrased when it left the House. I further believe that we ought to have in the RECORD exactly what the Governor's veto amounts to under this language.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana to respond to the question of the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would be glad to explain to the gentleman from Virginia the change that was made from the House language.

The conference report now pending before us retains the present absolute veto power of the Governor with respect to the three essentially Federal programs; namely, the Job Corps program, the VISTA volunteers, and the adult basic education program.

Mr. Speaker, the House version of the bill which we took to conference provided, however, that with respect to the community action programs and the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs, both essentially local, community programs, there could be an overriding of a Governor's veto if the Director of the program, upon examining a Governor's veto of one of these two kinds of projects, found the projects fully consistent

with the provisions and in furtherance of the provisions of the act.

Mr. Speaker, this is the version of the bill that we took to conference from the House.

The Senate version of the bill, however, provided for a requirement, pursuant to regulations issued by the Director, for an informal hearing in the office of the Director, upon request of the Governor of a State as to his objections to any application from his State.

The Senate had provided that such hearings should be made public. The conferees, feeling that the word "public" was not necessary, since these matters would be made public pretty fast anyway, deleted that particular word.

The final conference version that we bring to the House is, therefore, with the exception of the deletion of the word "public," like the Senate version.

Does this answer the question of the gentleman from Virginia?

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, so that we can understand that the informal hearing would not in itself constitute a veto of the Governor's objection or an overriding of the Governor's veto, if one chooses to put it that way, the informal hearing would provide a forum for discussing objections?

Mr. BRADEMAs. That is correct.

Mr. HARDY. But it would not nullify the Governor's veto; is that correct?

Mr. BRADEMAs. I am not sure that I understand the gentleman's question.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman from Virginia take the microphone so that we can all hear this discussion?

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, in the conference report there is language which provides for a hearing, presumably to be instituted by the Governor or requested by the Governor?

Mr. BRADEMAs. Yes.

Mr. HARDY. At which the Governor's objections, apparently, would be outlined to the Director; is that correct?

Mr. BRADEMAs. Yes; but I want to make it very clear to the gentleman from Virginia that the fact that the Governor raises objections would not constitute a veto power on the part of the Governor over either of these two kinds of programs.

Mr. HARDY. But if after the informal hearing, or whatever it is, the Governor should decide that in his wisdom the project should be vetoed, he would still have the authority to do it; is that correct?

Mr. BRADEMAs. That is not correct; no.

Mr. HARDY. That is what I would like to get explained.

Mr. BRADEMAs. The program would then go ahead.

Mr. HARDY. The program would go ahead? Then, this does, in effect, nullify the Governor's veto as provided for in the original bill?

Mr. BRADEMAs. That is correct.

Mr. HARDY. I thank the gentleman. I am sorry to learn that that is the situation.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this conference report.

I want to say at the outset that the conferees on both the House side and the Senate side on a bipartisan basis made an intensive effort to try to improve this legislation. As in any conference, you must give some and you must take some, and we both did the best we could without counting how many points first one side won or the other side won, but really trying as conferees should try to improve the legislation and to reconcile the differences that existed between the two Houses.

Mr. Speaker, the House has authorized this committee to institute an intensive study of the war on poverty. We are now doing so. A staff is being recruited, and is being trained so that an intelligent study of this program can be carried on at the congressional level.

I want to thank the Members of the House who have already cooperated with the committee most thoroughly in bringing to the committee's attention the items and areas which they thought needed particular study.

Mr. Speaker, in any piece of legislation such as this, one of the most vital areas of conference involves money. We know that this authorization committee of the House can only furnish guidelines, that the main work is to be done by the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and by the conferees of those committees. I think, though, we have provided intelligent and wise outlines for this particular program. I hope when this bill comes to the floor next year it will receive even wider support than it has received this year.

I would like to point out to the House the vote by which this bill was passed this year was much larger than last year. I think the war on poverty is well launched. We must not waiver in this battle in which the stakes are so great. This country cannot afford to have one person out of every six locked in the bonds of poverty if we are to win the minds of the people on this fragile planet on which we live. It is incumbent upon us to demonstrate that under the American system men can be allowed to reach and be inspired and motivated to reach their highest development, for by that method, rather than by guns and by bombs and by persuasion, are we going to win this war.

The war on poverty is much more than a domestic program, it is a great international program, a program by which, using the American people as an example, we are demonstrating for all the world to see that the American ideal, our system of freedom, is the system that all should aspire to. We are launched on this program and Congress and this committee are determined to carry it forward.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 25 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES].

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota, the ranking minority member of the subcommittee [Mr. QUIE].

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 298]

Adair	Fogarty	Miller
Adams	Fraser	Morton
Addabbo	Frelinghuysen	Moss
Anderson,	Fulton, Tenn.	Murphy, N.Y.
Tenn.	Fuqua	O'Neal, Ga.
Andrews,	Gallagher	O'Neill, Mass.
George W.	Glaimo	Pirnie
Ashley	Gilbert	Poage
Blatnik	Hanna	Pool
Boland	Hansen, Idaho	Reinecke
Bolton	Harsha	Resnick
Bonner	Hébert	Roosevelt
Brown, Calif.	Horton	Roudebush
Cahill	Jones, Mo.	Ryan
Clark	Kirwan	Sisk
Cooley	Leggett	Thomas
Corman	Lindsay	Thompson, Tex.
Daddario	Long, Md.	Toll
Derwinski	McClory	Tupper
Diggs	Macdonald	Willis
Fallon	MacGregor	Wilson,
Farnsley	Martin, Ala.	Charles H.
Feighan	Martin, Mass.	Wright
Fisher	May	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 358 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

(Mr. QUIE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask the gentleman from Minnesota whether or not the key issue facing us this afternoon is that in conference we have completely eliminated the power of the States and of the Governors—and I emphasize the word "power." In this poverty act, we have eliminated completely the veto, the diluted veto, that came out of the House. At this stage we are presented with a bill that goes further than the House bill did in diluting State powers than when we debated it in this Chamber a few weeks back with reference to the powers of the States.

Mr. QUIE. The gentleman from New York is absolutely correct. They have removed even what little bit of power we left remaining with the Governors of the States in the House bill.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, there were some general and rather euphemistic statements made by Mr. POWELL about recognizing the right of the Federal Government to be involved in this process, in consultation with the States. This is a nice way of saying that the Federal Government runs the program

and makes the decisions and they must offer an opportunity for the States and the Governor to be heard, if the Governor gets mad enough, but then they have complete power to go ahead and the Governors of the States can do nothing about it; it is that correct?

Mr. QUIE. That is absolutely correct.

I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. Speaker, as we look at this bill which is now pending before us, it totals \$1,785,000,000. The amount requested by the administration was \$1.5 billion. So, Mr. Speaker, we can see that the conferees have agreed to an amount which is greater than that for which the administration asked.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. POWELL. Is it not true that this body passed a veto power for the Governors which was meaningless?

Mr. QUIE. No, I would not say it was meaningless, but it had been greatly diluted.

Mr. POWELL. If the gentleman will yield further, is it not true that the language was that the Director had the power to override the Governor's veto?

Mr. QUIE. Only if the project is consistent with the provisions and the furtherance of the provisions of this act.

Mr. POWELL. That is correct. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. QUIE. Now, Mr. Speaker, we see that the conferees by giving this approval to more money than that for which the administration asked, one might think that this program was perfect and it was going along great guns. By listening to the observations of the majority one would think they had no qualms or reservations about it and that we ought to put up this money because it is going to do a great job for the poor.

But, Mr. Speaker, I should point out to the House the inconsistency of this action. Before the conference report is even adopted, before this poverty program is extended, the House has already granted authority to a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor to investigate the poverty program and appropriated \$100,000 for this purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I have never heard of such a thing before. I am glad we are investigating the program, however, because this program is in trouble. There are all kinds of abuses existing in the program. One can pick up the newspapers and magazines practically every day and read about the abuses which exist in the poverty program, where the benefits of the program are not going to the poor and where the poor are not adequately involved in the program; where people are receiving unreasonably high salaries, and yet we come in here today denying the right of a Governor to even express the veto of a project.

The conference reported bill has taken this authority away from him. The OEO comes into each country or municipality and says "set up a commu-

nity action program the way we have it planned, do what we say or we will go around you and set up a program of our own using a private group.

Let us keep the Governor's veto. Let us keep at least the watered-down version in the House bill.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUIE. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. I want to congratulate the gentleman on his remarks because many of us on both sides of the aisle who are for the program want this program guarded, supervised, and checked on the State and local level so it will work well. The Federal Government cannot know the local conditions in each State, and should not have the power to enforce policies over the veto of the Governor, the highest administrative officer chosen by the people of the respective States.

Our good Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania has said that 37 Governors of the various States of the United States have been in touch with him stating they agree with Governor Scranton in his opposition to the provision of this legislation eliminating the veto power of the State Governors over poverty programs and policies in their respective States.

Governor Scranton states that 21 of these 37 Governors are Democratic Governors, representing Democratic administrations in 21 States in the United States. This is not a partisan situation, but a bipartisan position that we should have the States participating, and not just having the States looking on as bystanders, without power except advice.

Mr. QUIE. I thank the gentleman.

Let me point out what the conference has done as a substitute for the House language. All the Governor can do now is to go see Director Sargent Shriver, and the bill does not give the Governor full authority to see the Director. The Director is going to tell the Governors when and how the Governors can come to see him, and after they come to him the Governors can have a secret meeting with him in which they can discuss the situation. The Director issues regulations pertaining to informal, nonpublic hearings with the Director. The Governor would have to come to see the Director eating humble pie.

The importance of the Governor's veto is not the fact he vetoes projects, but that he has the power in his hands. Only then can Governors really coordinate programs, make sure that the people have the voice and the power to stop some of the abuses that have been going on. But this has been denied the governments in the operation of our Federal system. They have the power to write and operate the programs the way they see fit.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BELL], member of the conference committee.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to reiterate again the statements that were made by the gentleman from Minnesota relative to the Governors' veto. I think it is all important that this be reinstated.

I think many of you know in the past week when we had the Anti-Poverty Act before the House we discussed the Governors' veto power at that time, in which it was pointed out that Governor Brown of California, a member of the majority party, was very concerned about the Governors' veto power being denied or limited. He felt that any limitation on the Governors' veto would make more difficult the administration of the operations of the Poverty Act in his State.

In view of the fact that the chairman of the full committee stated that title 2, section 13, the special program for the chronically unemployed, is not a leaf-raking program, I want to relate to you, if I may, exactly what this program aims to do:

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

SEC. 13. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection (d) as follows:

"(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under this section for special programs (1) which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addition to other services provided, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community or area served by the program, including without limitation activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment."

My colleagues, it seems fairly apparent that this is in effect a leaf-raking operation. Right now we have programs in operation, such as the manpower development and the retraining program, and the vocational and educational training programs, which do precisely what this program aims to do. We spend \$32 billion in aid a year, a large part of which is to help the unemployed. It seems to me, this amendment is purely and strictly a leaf-raking project that is actually not going to improve the status of the unemployed at all. In fact, it might make it worse because many may find this an easier route than getting a really effective job that would help them in their training and in their ability to earn a living.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PERKINS. I first wish to compliment the distinguished gentleman from

California for all of his contributions in supporting these programs in the past. However, I must commend the conferees for the effective manner in which they have resolved the differences in the two bills, resulting in a strengthening of the provisions of the community action section 205. Contrary to the observation made by the gentleman from California, there are many, particularly elderly citizens, who, in spite of our efforts under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the adult basic education program, and the jobless parent program, are not being reached. The addition of subsection (d) to section 205 will give the Director flexibility in making grants for community action programs to meet the urgent needs of the chronically unemployed poor who have slim employment prospects and are unable, because of age or other circumstances, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under these other programs which I have mentioned.

Particularly do I like the way the conferees have retained language which will enable such projects to involve the participation of these extremely needy and elderly persons to work on community projects for the beautification of the program areas, which will contribute to the management, conservation, recreation, or development of the natural resources of the project area.

I believe the section contains appropriate safeguards to assure that the public interest and policies of the act will be served in making the grants under this new authority.

Let me turn again to the people who will be served by our strengthening of the community action authority. The poverty program, through its Project Head Start, through the Neighborhood Youth Corps, through the jobless parent program, and through community action programs and projects has generated great interest among all people, particularly in those communities where rates of unemployment are high and economic activity is at a low ebb. Many of the people in greatest need in these areas, particularly the elderly, have had high hopes only to find that education and training programs are not of such a nature to enable them to participate. This improvement to the legislation will enable the antipoverty program to fulfill more completely its objective.

Let me again commend the conferees for their enlightened resolution of the issues involved in this legislation and urge my colleagues to promptly adopt the conference report.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I refuse to yield further, but I must point out again to my colleague and friend that we have programs just like this in the manpower development and retraining program, and in other programs, for the purpose of actually providing on-the-job training and in educating the hard-core unemployed on a basic educational basis—that is, learning reading, writing, and arithmetic. All that needs to be done, if it has to be done, is to expand this program. But no, we have put one program on top of another program so this is simply nothing more or less than a

leaf-raking plan, a bone thrown to somebody who could otherwise be more effective somewhere else.

I also want to say to my colleagues I had the experience of being in Watts previous to the riots, on hearings regarding the poverty program. It was one week before the riots. We had a session of hearings there of the ad hoc subcommittee on poverty. I was amazed at the confusion that came out as a result of those hearings. People were confused about this bill. They were confused about what was going on and how they were going to get the money, and how it was going to be appropriated and who was supposed to be in charge of it, and so on and so forth—the same kind of confusion that you have everywhere concerning this act. I will not say that it in any way caused the riots, but I certainly think it has been a contributing factor.

Mr. Speaker, I say that this bill should be recommitment.

I do not believe that the conference report has improved on the bill one iota.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, I voted for the program when it first came up with some misgiving. I generally support the ends of the program. I feel most of the Members of the House do. I have some grave misgivings as to the means that are employed.

I think it is time that the Congress should concern itself about some of those means, particularly with respect to the Governors' veto. As I understand it, the Governors' veto was substantially watered down by the original bill. It has now been virtually eliminated. I know of no way in which the cooperation and consultation of local and State officials can be insured except through the operation of substantial power over the program such as is embodied in the Governors' veto.

Unless this veto power is reinstituted, I shall find myself in the position of having to vote against the conference report.

My original support of the legislation was based primarily upon a very sound and well-executed policy in the Rochester area, which program has been of some pride to the community. Nevertheless, and irrespective of local pride I think we have an obligation to consider the direction that legislation of this sort is taking the Nation. It is my concern over means, as expressed in the change that has been wrought through the conference report, rather than a change in my attitude toward the goal of eliminating poverty, that has led to my opposition at this time.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Due to a legislative oversight, I was not a member of the conference. Therefore, I am not in a position to discuss and debate what transpired regarding the elimination of the House version of the Governors' veto. So that Members will understand the parliamentary situation, when the hour's time is finished, or when the debate has been concluded, I shall offer a motion to recommit the confer-

ence report on H.R. 8283 to the committee of conference.

What that means is that my motion to recommit will be voted upon, and the motion would instruct the managers on the part of the House to insist on the language of section 10 of the House bill.

Section 10 of the House bill is the provision that would give Governors of our various States the right to veto the program. But even that would not be final. After a Governor has decided to veto a program, the Director, Mr. Shriver, could override that veto.

In my judgment, even though this is a very watered down version, if the Governor of a State, in his judgment, decides that a program is not good for his State and he vetoes it, there will be enough publicity that will arouse the general public, and perhaps public opinion will prevail.

Furthermore, I have great respect for Mr. Shriver, but it is difficult for him to feel the pulse of all the programs that he is administering. Mr. Shriver is one of the first to admit that the program needs help.

The program is in trouble in many respects. As the gentleman from Minnesota pointed out, the chairman of our committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] is the first to agree that the program is in trouble. It was the gentleman from New York who went before the House Administration Committee, with the sanction of the minority, asking for \$100,000 to confirm that the program was in trouble. We have investigators out in the field now confirming that the program is not operating as it should operate.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to my distinguished chairman.

Mr. POWELL. I say to the distinguished minority member of the committee that we did not ask for money because the program is in trouble. We asked for money, and 30 percent of it I voluntarily gave to you [Mr. AYRES] to strengthen the program.

Mr. AYRES. As the gentleman from New York has said on many occasions in this Chamber, he is truly a Baptist minister.

Mr. Speaker, if the vote is cast to recommit the bill with instruction to restore the veto power, then our conferees can go back to the Senate and attempt to abide by the wishes of the House. There still would be a vote on the conference report.

The vote which will be cast on the motion to recommit will be merely to instruct the conferees to restore the wishes of the House.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that when this came up before more than 30 Governors contacted me asking that the language be made even stronger, and in view of the fact that now 37 Governors have contacted the Governor in charge of trying to get the veto restored, Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania, I believe the least we can do is to give this little bit of local control to our States. I repeat, the governor's veto is not even final.

The Governor is the top elected official in his State. He is the man whom the

people hold responsible for the operation of the affairs of the State.

I believe it is most unfair and unjust for the Congress of the United States to say to a Governor, "We do not care what you think, we are not going to give you even a little bit of authority."

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. It is my recollection that the chairman of the full committee once referred to the poverty program as "a giant fiesta of political patronage." Does the gentleman believe that anything has been done as a result of the conference which has improved this act and made it any less of a giant fiesta of political patronage?

Mr. AYRES. I repeat, due to a legislative oversight I was not a member of the conference.

The SPEAKER. The time yielded by the gentleman has expired.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes additional.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I hold in my hand an article datelined Associated Press, Miami, Fla. The title is: "POWELL's Storm Plea Irks Bahamas."

I wonder if perhaps this is not the reason why the distinguished gentleman from New York wanted additional funds, so that we could help our neighbors in Bimini in the Bahamas.

This very inflammatory article ends:

"Wherever people are in trouble in the world, let's not play politics," he said. "It's not my concern. It's not my land. But they are human beings."

Mr. Speaker, under the circumstances I ask unanimous consent that the entire article may be included in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The article is as follows:

POWELL'S STORM PLEA IRKS BAHAMAS

MIAMI, FLA.—Representative ADAM C. POWELL, Democrat of New York, left Bimini in the Bahamas yesterday amid charges that he interfered in the internal affairs of the Bahamas government.

"Isn't that ridiculous," said POWELL at a news conference here after being flown from Bimini by a U.S. Coast Guard plane.

Bahamas officials charged that POWELL requested U.S. aid for Bimini residents hit by hurricane Betsy.

"The poor people there are in serious, serious trouble. The water is contaminated. There's no fresh water. The poor people don't have food," POWELL said in Miami.

POWELL rode out hurricane Betsy in Bimini. After the storm passed the small Bahamian island, POWELL reported asked the crew of a U.S. Coast Guard helicopter, which had stopped at the island, to "send food, water, and public health services for 1,700 people * * * and personnel to repair the electrical system."

Acting Premier Eugene Dupuch said in a telephone interview with the Miami Herald yesterday that Bimini needed no aid. Dupuch said his government "took offense" at POWELL's requests.

"We are certainly not blaming the Government of the United States for them," Dupuch said. "We are simply not paying any attention to them."

He denied reports that POWELL had been asked to leave the Bahamas. POWELL said he went to Bimini during the Labor Day weekend for rest.

He was accompanied by his secretary, Corrine Huff, 24, Miss Ohio in the 1960 Miss Universe contest.

POWELL's request for U.S. aid caught the Bahamas by surprise.

H. C. Wilkine, resident commissioner in Bimini, said his island had ample food, water, and medical supplies and electrical service was being quickly restored.

POWELL said the Government of the Bahamas "seemed to be ignoring" Bimini residents, so he sent his request for aid.

"Wherever people are in trouble in the world, let's not play politics," he said. "It's not my concern. It's not my land. But they are human beings."

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to my chairman.

Mr. POWELL. The only way to eliminate the giant fiesta of political patronage is to eliminate the power of the politicians to control this program. Furthermore, may I point out that not a penny in the war-on-poverty program comes from the State treasuries.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GRIFFIN. In view of all the concern about the power of politicians, was there not some provision in this legislation dealing with coverage of employees under the Hatch Act, which is affected by the conference report?

Mr. AYRES. Yes, there is; but that has not been brought out in detail.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. I was amazed to hear the statement by the gentleman from New York that the money comes from the Federal Government and not from the States. The tax money comes from only one source, the people—and the people in these States are involved.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the chairman.

Mr. POWELL. On the other hand, the poor do not pay any taxes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. If the gentleman will look at the income tax rates he will find that people who have incomes below \$3,000 a year do pay incomes taxes. They certainly pay excise taxes, and they pay payroll taxes.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I repeat, for the benefit of those who have come in since the debate started, the motion to recommit to instruct the conferees to restore the veto power as passed by the House will be offered.

I would hope that the House in its wisdom will back up what it previously voted for which was included in the bill in its entirety as it passed this House.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I might point out what the gentleman from Michigan brought up with respect to the Hatch Act. The bill that went through the House did not provide that the employees under the poverty program would be subject to the Hatch Act. The Senate put it in and required the employees to be subject to the Hatch Act. However, in conference the Senate language was not approved.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GRIFFIN. So, as the legislation now stands, politicians will be in charge of it; is that correct?

Mr. QUIE. Yes.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I wish only to add one comment. Mr. Speaker, some have expressed a concern about politicians controlling this antipoverty program. In view of that expressed concern, it seems a little odd that the conferees agreed to take out a provision which would have made employees in the program subject to the Hatch Act.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. AYRES. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PICKLE. I supported this program. I think it is worth all of the risk we put into it, but I do think that the gentleman raised a good point with his recommittal motion. I think we ought to keep a governing and participating hand in the States. If we do not do this, I think you are going to see the creation of thousands of sponsoring agencies all over the country rather than going through recognized committees in local communities. I hope the gentleman's motion prevails restoring the House language as it passed this body last month.

Mr. AYRES. I would like to say to the gentleman that your Governor is one of those who has most enthusiastically supported the restoration of the veto power.

Mr. PICKLE. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the conference report?

Mr. AYRES. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

MOTION TO RECOMMIT THE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 8283 TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE

Mr. AYRES moves to recommit the conference report on the bill (H.R. 8283) to the committee of conference with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to insist on the language of section 10 of the House bill, which retains the veto power of State Governors in the form approved by the House.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the yeas had it.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant-at-Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 209, nays 180, not voting 43, as follows:

[Roll No. 299]

YEAS—209

Abbott	Findley	Patman
Abernethy	Fino	Pelly
Anderson, Ill.	Fisher	Pickle
Andrews,	Flynt	Pike
Glenn	Ford, Gerald R.	Poff
Andrews,	Fountain	Purcell
N. Dak.	Fulton, Pa.	Quie
Arends	Garmatz	Quillen
Ashbrook	Gathings	Reid, Ill.
Ashmore	Gettys	Reid, N.Y.
Ayres	Glaime	Reifel
Baldwin	Goodell	Reinecke
Baring	Griffin	Rhodes, Ariz.
Bates	Gross	Rivers, S.C.
Batin	Grover	Roberts
Beckworth	Gubser	Robison
Belcher	Gurney	Rogers, Fla.
Bell	Hagan, Ga.	Rogers, Tex.
Bennett	Haley	Rostenkowski
Berry	Hall	Rumsfeld
Betts	Halleck	Satterfield
Bow	Halpern	Saylor
Bray	Hansen, Idaho	Schisler
Brook	Harsha	Schneebeli
Brooks	Harvey, Ind.	Schweiker
Broomfield	Harvey, Mich.	Scott
Broyhill, N.C.	Henderson	Secrest
Broyhill, Va.	Herrington	Selden
Buchanan	Horton	Shipley
Burleson	Hosmer	Shriver
Burton, Utah	Hull	Sikes
Byrnes, Wis.	Hutchinson	Skubitz
Cabell	Ichord	Slack
Callaway	Johnson, Pa.	Smith, Calif.
Carter	Jonas	Smith, N.Y.
Casey	Keith	Smith, Va.
Cederberg	King, N.Y.	Springer
Chamberlain	Kluczynski	Stafford
Chelf	Kornegay	Stanton
Clancy	Kunkel	Stephens
Clausen,	Laird	Stubblefield
Don H.	Landrum	Talcott
Clawson, Del.	Langen	Taylor
Cleveland	Latta	Teague, Calif.
Collier	Lennon	Teague, Tex.
Colmer	Lipscomb	Thomson, Wis.
Conable	Long, La.	Tuck
Conte	McCulloch	Tunney
Cooley	McDade	Tupper
Corbett	McEwen	Tuten
Craley	McMillan	Utt
Cramer	Mackay	Waggonner
Cunningham	Mahon	Walker, Miss.
Curtin	Marsh	Watkins
Curtis	Martin, Mass.	Watson
Dague	Martin, Nebr.	Watts
Davis, Ga.	Mathias	Weltner
Davis, Wis.	Matthews	Whalley
de la Garza	Michel	White, Tex.
Devine	Minshall	Whitener
Dickinson	Mize	Whitten
Dole	Moore	Widnall
Dorn	Morris	Williams
Dowdy	Morse	Willis
Duncan, Tenn.	Morton	Wilson, Bob
Dwyer	Mosher	Wyatt
Edwards, Ala.	Murray	Wydler
Ellsworth	Natcher	Yates
Erlenborn	Nelsen	Young
Evans, Colo.	O'Konski	Younger
Everett	Passman	

NAYS—180

Adams	Barrett	Brown, Calif.
Addabbo	Bingham	Burke
Albert	Blatnik	Burton, Calif.
Annunzio	Boggs	Byrne, Pa.
Ashley	Boland	Callan
Aspinall	Bolling	Cameron
Bandstra	Brademas	Carey

Celler	Helstoski	Olsen, Mont.
Clark	Hicks	Olson, Minn.
Clevenger	Holifield	O'Neill, Mass.
Cohelan	Holland	Ottlinger
Corman	Howard	Patten
Culver	Hungate	Pepper
Daniels	Huot	Perkins
Dawson	Irwin	Philbin
Delaney	Jacobs	Powell
Dent	Jarman	Price
Denton	Jennings	Pucinski
Dingell	Joelson	Race
Donohue	Johnson, Calif.	Randall
Dow	Johnson, Okla.	Redlin
Downing	Jones, Ala.	Reuss
Dulski	Karsten	Rhodes, Pa.
Duncan, Oreg.	Karth	Rivers, Alaska
Dyal	Kastenmeier	Rodino
Edmondson	Kee	Rogers, Colo.
Edwards, Calif.	Kelly	Ronan
Farbstein	Keogh	Roncalio
Farnum	King, Calif.	Rooney, N.Y.
Fascell	King, Utah	Rooney, Pa.
Feighan	Kirwan	Roush
Flood	Krebs	Roybal
Fogarty	Leggett	St Germain
Foley	Love	St. Onge
Ford,	McCarthy	Scheuer
William D.	McDowell	Schmidhauser
Fraser	McFall	Senner
Friedel	McGrath	Sickles
Gibbons	McVicker	Smith, Iowa
Gilbert	Macdonald	Staggers
Gilligan	Machen	Stalbaum
Gonzalez	Mackie	Steed
Grabowski	Madden	Stratton
Gray	Matsunaga	Sullivan
Green, Oreg.	Meeds	Sweeney
Green, Pa.	Mills	Tenzer
Greigg	Minish	Thompson, N.J.
Grider	Mink	Todd
Griffiths	Moeller	Trimble
Hagen, Calif.	Monagan	Udall
Hamilton	Moorhead	Ullman
Hanley	Morgan	Van Deerlin
Hanna	Morrison	Vanik
Hansen, Iowa	Multer	Vigorito
Hansen, Wash.	Murphy, Ill.	Vivian
Hardy	Murphy, N.Y.	Walker, N. Mex.
Harris	Nedzi	Wilson,
Hathaway	Nix	Charles H.
Hawkins	O'Brien	Wolf
Hays	O'Hara, Ill.	Zablocki
Hechler	O'Hara, Mich.	

NOT VOTING—43

Adair	Frelinghuysen	O'Neal, Ga.
Anderson,	Fulton, Tenn.	Pirnie
Tenn.	Fuqua	Poage
Andrews,	Gallagher	Pool
George W.	Hébert	Resnick
Bolton	Jones, Mo.	Roosevelt
Bonner	Lindsay	Rosenthal
Cahill	Long, Md.	Roudebush
Conyers	McClory	Ryan
Daddario	MacGregor	Sisk
Derwinski	Mailliard	Thomas
Diggs	Martin, Ala.	Thompson, Tex.
Evins, Tenn.	May	Toll
Fallon	Miller	White, Idaho
Farnsley	Moss	Wright

So the motion to recommit was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Hébert for, with Mr. Toll against.	Mr. Pool for, with Mr. Sisk against.
Mrs. May for, with Mr. Gallagher against.	Mrs. Bolton for, with Mr. Moss against.
Mr. O'Neal of Georgia for, with Mr. Roosevelt against.	Mr. Cahill for, with Mr. Miller against.
Mr. Fuqua for, with Mr. Rosenthal against.	Mr. Roudebush for, with Mr. White of Idaho against.
Mr. Pool for, with Mr. Sisk against.	Mr. Frelinghuysen for, with Mr. Conyers against.
Mrs. Bolton for, with Mr. Moss against.	Mr. Pirnie for, with Mr. Ashley against.
Mr. Cahill for, with Mr. Miller against.	Mr. Mailliard for, with Mr. Fallon against.
Mr. Roudebush for, with Mr. White of Idaho against.	Mr. MacGregor for, with Mr. Diggs against.
Mr. Frelinghuysen for, with Mr. Conyers against.	Mr. Adair for, with Mr. Resnick against.
Mr. Pirnie for, with Mr. Ashley against.	Mr. Evins of Tennessee for, with Mr. Ryan against.
Mr. Mailliard for, with Mr. Fallon against.	Mr. Martin of Alabama for, with Mr. Fulton of Tennessee against.
Mr. MacGregor for, with Mr. Diggs against.	Mr. Derwinski for, with Mr. Daddario against.
Mr. Adair for, with Mr. Resnick against.	

Mr. McClory for, with Mr. Anderson of Tennessee against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Wright with Mr. Long of Maryland.
Mr. Thompson of Texas with Mr. Bonner.
Mr. George W. Andrews with Mr. Thomas.

Mr. BROOKS and Mr. PATMAN changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. JARMAN changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES ACT OF 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9460) to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 9460, with Mr. YOUNG in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL] will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] will be recognized for 1 hour. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge passage of H.R. 9460, a bill providing for the establishment of a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. The legislative diet of this Congress and certainly of my Committee on Education and Labor is basically meat and potatoes. We spend most of our parliamentary hours chewing over the staple problems of everyday life—jobs, education, food, housing. The time has come to redress this imbalance by turning our attention to nourishing our culture as well as our economy.

We made a meager beginning last September by creating in Public Law 88-579 a National Council on the Arts authorized to study and advise and consult and recommend and essentially take no positive action.

Some 138 years after the President of the American Academy of Fine Arts first urged the President of the United States to adopt a plan for the permanent Federal encouragement of the fine arts and 10 years after President Eisenhower proposed that the Federal Government do more officially to recognize the importance of cultural activities, we cannot be

mous consent that the permanent RECORD be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

(Mr. LANGEN (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. LANGEN'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

SELLING TO THE REDS

(Mr. LIPSCOMB (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the administration's decision to send a high level trade mission to Rumania and Poland is a tragic mistake. This means that the United States is accommodating the Reds and cooperating with them exactly in the areas they most need assistance, and that is to help build up their industries and their overall economic capabilities. It is hard to see how those responsible for the decision could have avoided learning from history, and from what is happening at this very moment, that there is no such thing as business as usual with Communist nations.

Poland and Rumania are Communist dictatorships. They are inseparable parts of the Communist bloc which is tied together by economic, military, and ideological bonds. This should be obvious from their leaders' speeches, their votes in the U.N., their verbal attacks on the United States and other free world nations whenever it suits the Communist line.

As a matter of fact, just 2 days before the announcement of the U.S. trade mission to Rumania and Poland, the U.S.S.R. and Rumania, on September 11, 1965, issued a joint communique at the end of an 8-day visit by a Rumanian Communist delegation to the U.S.S.R. led by Nicolae Ceausescu, Rumanian party leader, announcing they had signed a special economic pact.

Ceausescu proclaimed that Rumania's ties with the Kremlin are good and that the visit will further their cooperation. According to news reports, Rumania and the U.S.S.R. "strongly condemned armed intervention by the United States in South Vietnam and aggression against North Vietnam and demanded their immediate ending." They also said, it was reported, that they were ready "to continue rendering North Vietnam all-round aid and support."

Is Rumania, which, according to the report, admits it is supporting North Vietnam aggression, the type of nation we should accommodate through selling specialized technical equipment and processes? How can the answer be anything but "No"? What is more, the administration may well intend to assist the Rumanians and Poland by underwriting credit purchases such as it did

in connection with the decision to issue a license to sell Rumania a petroleum-cracking unit and processes valued at \$22.5 million. The Export-Import Bank guaranteed credit amounting to \$20 million which helped swing that deal for Rumania.

The trade mission is to be made up of individuals prominent in the fields of metallurgy, electrical equipment, petrochemicals, synthetic fibers, machine tools, and agricultural equipment. Obviously all of these relate to industries vital to the bloc.

A primary goal of the Communist bloc is to advance the cause of communism worldwide. When you help the Communist nations build up their economies you build up their overall strength, including their military and political strength.

That is why it is so incredible that our Government not only is allowing these Communist nations to purchase factories and advanced equipment from the United States, but now has appointed a mission to go over there to help promote such deals. Those appointed could help their Nation most by not participating in this type of activity.

THE FEDERAL TEXTBOOKS

(Mr. MICHEL (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, last week I spoke at length about the Federal Government's increasing involvement in the field of education. I exposed the cloak of secrecy that surrounds the true objectives of the Office of Education.

The other day Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported they have uncovered a secret plan of the Federal Government to change our history textbooks. The Community Relations Service which, incidentally, was created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act only to provide assistance to communities and persons in settling racial disputes, is now planning a subtle campaign of pressure to be placed on publishers, school administrators, school boards, and parent and teacher groups to get the textbooks changed in order to give the Negro his rightful place in history books. This in itself is certainly a noble objective.

However, this is beside the point. The real issue is this—should the responsibility of writing, or rewriting, textbooks used by our children remain with qualified educators, free of Federal influence; or should it be handled completely by the Federal Government? Because that is where we are heading. If we let the Community Relations Service get away with this proposed project, we will have given Mr. Keppel a precedent for the Office of Education to accelerate their secret plans for federally written textbooks and a federally controlled curriculum.

It seems if the Federal Government cannot do it one way they will do it another, and I say this is nothing but a reprehensible attempt to use our concern for the civil rights of the Negro as a vehicle for taking another step in the direction of the control of education.

The excellent editorial by Messrs. Evans and Novak follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 14, 1965]

THE FEDERAL TEXTBOOKS

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Tentative plans are quietly being made inside the Federal Government for a long-range pressure campaign on local school boards and publishers to give the Negro better treatment in history textbooks.

Although no final decision has been made, the top brass of the Community Relations Service—created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to help mediate racial disputes—is leaning toward adoption of the plan. Indeed, it has already been spelled out in some detail in a confidential memorandum drafted by Ben Holman, head of the service's "media relations" office.

Although the goal of giving the Negro his rightful place in history books is commendable, there is considerable doubt whether the Community Relations Service is empowered by law to perform this function. The 1964 act is to "provide assistance to communities and persons" in settling racial disputes—and nothing more.

More fundamental, however, is the danger of the Federal Government getting into the business of editing the Nation's school books. The authoritarian implications of Washington officials censoring what Johnny reads in school disturbs even some officials at the Community Relations Service who look at the textbook project with some misgivings.

The Holman memorandum on textbook revision begins by stating the problem: "Negroes usually are ignored in textbook illustrations, and the Negro's role in history is either ignored or inaccurately presented."

Consequently, Holman concludes, the Community Relations Service should mount "a massive education and informational campaign" directed at "publishers, school administrators and boards, parents and teachers groups" to get the textbooks changed. Though this scarcely falls within the agency's statutory mission, it seems generally inoffensive.

But the Holman memo goes on to suggest the beginnings of Federal high pressure: "Once the educational and informational campaign is solidly under way we should conduct a systematic effort to contact all publishers and school boards to encourage their publication and adoption of textbooks conforming to established standards."

The term "established standards" has a particularly ominous ring. The intervention of many State legislatures (particularly throughout the Deep South) in textbook selection is ominous. But the idea of the Federal leviathan with its incomparable powers of coercion getting into the textbook business is enough to make publishers break out in a cold sweat. It smacks of a rewriting of history in Orwellian style.

Actually, the textbook project is only the most far-reaching of the Community Relations Service's digressions from its legislative purpose.

The Service was originally conceived in 1960 by then Senator Lyndon B. Johnson as a counterpart in racial relations to the Federal Mediation Service in labor relations. The proposal went into the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In operation, however, the Service has relegated mediation to a secondary role. Only a handful of mediators are in the field while a Washington-based staff dreams up projects such as the textbook scheme.

Holman also has in preparation elaborate programs of improving the treatment of the Negro in the press, establishing mobile exhibits for use at fairs and exhibitions and influencing Hollywood.

In a memorandum, Holman has suggested: "We ought to mount a specific project aimed at Hollywood film makers to produce

films for purely entertainment purposes that would help further the cause of better human relations * * * the current Negro revolution and the crescendo of the civil rights movement provide a wealth of material for fiction story plots. Plots centered on the problems of intergroup relations are as legion as those for Westerns."

This is Government propaganda—a domestic "Voice of America"—at its worst. No matter how deep the need, the Federal Government has no right to try to shape the thinking of Americans in such insidious ways. Besides, there is a surplus of work for practical conciliation in every city in the Nation for the Community Relations Service.

If textbooks need rewriting, the educators are the people to do it.

TIME FOR A PAUSE TO REFLECT

(Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, over the past several months in Washington there have been some voices of caution as the legislative gears have worked at a breathless pace to turn out one major and expensive Government handout program after another.

But these voices have been in vain. Almost as though they have fallen into a great void we have seen a Washington in which emotional fervor replaces responsible consideration, political expediency replaces dedication to the public good, gossip about personalities replaces serious discussion of the issues, and the carnival atmosphere among people in high places gives the country a great feeling of getting something for nothing.

It seems likely, though, that as time goes on we will see more concern for the irresponsible nature of what is going on. Perhaps it is already beginning. In this regard the column by Eric Sevareid appearing in the Washington Evening Star of September 14 is significant. I include the text of the column in my remarks.

TIME FOR A PAUSE TO REFLECT (By Eric Sevareid)

The American political capital is in dire need of the pause that reflects, even if it does not refresh. That is the immediate impression of this itinerant writer, now returned to the banks of the Potomac.

There is a breathlessness about people here, in and around Government, and I do not mean a sense of excitement; I mean that they are out of breath. This is not the dog-days syndrome we used to know in Washington, not the tag-end-of-summer letdown and lethargy. This time, people are intellectually exhausted, but don't know it. They are not allowed to feel it, because events and the President won't let them. Even God rested on the seventh day, and since it would be presumptuous to think that He got tired, one has to assume. He paused to reflect on what He had done.

For the first time this reporter begins to see the need for a No. 2 President. The No. 1 President can think up the new legislation, get it passed and announce his victories as each act of Congress crosses the final tape.

The No. 2 President would be assigned to think about the whole as well as about the parts. He would consider Medicare, the elementary and higher education bills, the war on poverty, the role of the new Cabinet

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, District of Columbia home rule, immigration, the various special appropriations for defense, the space race, the expanding Vietnam war. He would analyze all this and then tell us which programs may work, which may not, where the staffs are coming from and their quality, what the costs are likely to be and how they are to be met, and in general what the United States will look and feel like 5 and 10 years from now after this prodigious mass of laws and regulations and money has been fed into the main arteries of the American society.

We know a number of Congressmen who would be very grateful to learn what they have really done this year and at least one columnist who would kiss the boots of No. 2 in weeping relief.

One reason this returned traveler thinks that even bright people here are intellectually stunned and glassy-eyed is the simple fact that they don't talk around the dinner table about these Herculean acts of legislation. Not in any detail, not eagerly and earnestly. They just marvel at the size of the total heap.

Adlai Stevenson once recalled how it was in the New Deal days, to which this last year is often compared. He said people sat around Georgetown gardens with "our visions and our dreams * * * in those days we were interested in ideas. Now it's all so much personality talk, gossip and rumor—who's up and who's down."

It seems to me it's still that way; people are astonished at the accomplishments, but few are exhilarated; they would rather talk about who's up and who's down.

And about who's been naughty and who's been nice, among the survivors of the Kennedy White House. I'm afraid that John F. Kennedy is paying a high posthumous price for surrounding himself with aids with the intellectual's double vision, men who by nature not only see what is happening but who simultaneously see it in future print, the actions, the remarks, the expressions, the nuances. There was always an overtone of self-consciousness in the court over which that wonderful young President presided, a curious atmosphere combining the theater, cafe society, and Harvard Yard. They were able public servants but they were also instinctive dramatists.

It was a relief to be away from Washington during the height of the dreadful quarreling about the new Kennedy books and their authors. No one has come out of it well, not even President Kennedy himself; a race to cash in on a legend can only injure the legend as well as the racers.

Is it illusion to think that there was once a dignity, a sense of self-restraint about men's relationships at the inner headquarters of the American state? Possibly so—certainly these messy things have happened before in our history. But one thinks of Dean Acheson's delicately restrained memoirs, now being published, and his sense of half-guilt at even making notes of his private conversations with Justice Holmes. One thinks of General Marshall, who refused to publish any recollections that might affect any living man.

These men left high office declining to take with them any files save, I assume, those of an unofficial and personal nature. All the rest, they felt, were the property of the Government and the taxpayers they served.

Theodore Sorenson, so the press reports, left the White House with copies of Gen. Maxwell Taylor's confidential reports to Kennedy, with copies of Khrushchev-Kennedy correspondence that was never published, and used these files for his book. Perhaps this is legal, but is it proper? Somehow, the whole issue must be clarified and a standard set—something else this Capital might reflect upon if it is ever given a pause for reflection.

A RICH MAN'S WAR

(Mr. BERRY (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I voted to recommit the Economic Opportunity report because I believe the war on poverty is a rich man's war. One out of every 19 employees in the Office of Economic Opportunity makes over \$19,000 per year. In the Department of Defense, by comparison, the figure is 1 per 1,000. It is 1 per 500 in Agriculture.

Party wheelhorses are prominent in the lists of consultants who get \$100 per day and expenses to help in the poverty war and plans for fighting poverty are being made at plush resorts, where items such as \$63.20 for flowers and rental fees for tuxedos are being charged to Uncle Sam by the warriors in the war on want.

Everyone gets the money except the poor. They get warm words of hope and encouragement from the President, they get advice from Sargent Shriver, and honorable mention in the press, and are shortchanged by the "poverticians" who are waging the war on, not for, the poor.

I am opposed to the whole thing. It would be better and it would be safer, however, if the Governor of the State had veto over the projects that are proposed for the State.

(Mr. BERRY (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BERRY'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. MOORE (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. MOORE'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. MOORE (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. MOORE'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

EDUCATION: INVESTMENT IN HUMAN CAPITAL

(Mr. CURTIS (at the request of Mr. WYDLER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, this morning I testified before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee's Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, on the subject of tax credits for manpower training. As many of the

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Issued Sept. 23, 1965
For actions of Sept. 22, 1965
89th-1st; No. 175

CONTENTS

Appropriations.....10	Foreign trade.....4,7,12,17,24	Stockpiling.....13
Debt level.....9	Hardwoods.....7	Sugar.....2,14
Education.....22	National parks.....11	Tariffs.....24
Electrification.....8	Patents.....21	Trade fairs.....4,12
Exhibitions.....4,12	Peace Corps.....16	Trading stamps.....19
Fabrics.....7	Pesticides.....20	Veterans' affairs.....18
Feed grains.....17	Poverty.....1	Water conservation.....25
Flood control.....3	Research.....20	Watersheds.....5,15
Foreign affairs.....23	Rivers and harbors.....3	
Foreign aid.....10	Roads.....6	

HIGHLIGHTS: House received conference report on poverty bill. Rep. Findley criticized sugar program. Senate debated foreign aid appropriation bill.

HOUSE

1. **POVERTY.** Received the conference report on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act (H. Rept. 1061), which the House is to act upon today. pp. 23784-8, D953
2. **SUGAR.** Rep. Findley criticized the sugar program and particularly the sugar bill, H. R. 11135. pp. 23800-3, 23805-7
3. **RIVERS AND HARBORS; FLOOD CONTROL.** Passed with amendments S. 2300, the rivers-and-harbors and flood-control bill. pp. 23762-84
4. **EXHIBITIONS.** Passed without amendment H. R. 9247, to provide for U. S. participation in the HemisFair 1968 Exposition to be held at San Antonio, Tex. pp. 23788-93
Passed, 254-113, as reported H. R. 30, to provide for U. S. participation in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla. pp. 23788-9, 23793-800

5. WATERSHEDS. A subcommittee of the Agriculture Committee approved various watershed-project reports for full committee action. p. D953
6. ROADS. The Public Works Committee reported with amendment S. 2084, to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems (H. Rept. 1084). p. 23832
7. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Schmidhauser spoke on "Iowa's stake in the export trade." pp. 23821-4
The Ways and Means Committee reported without amendment H. R. 7723, to suspend the tariff on importation of certain tropical hardwoods (H. Rept. 1075). p. 23832
The Ways and Means Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 11029, amended, relating to tariff treatment of certain woven fabrics of vegetable fibers, except cotton. p. D954
8. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Ottinger inserted and commended an article, "Why Not Bury Powerlines?" pp. 23826-8
9. DEBT LEVEL. Rep. Curtis expressed concern about the debt level in our economy and inserted an article, "Liquidity and Debt." pp. 23815-19

SENATE

10. FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATION BILL. Began debate on this bill, H. R. 10871. pp. 23908-9
11. NATIONAL PARKS. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported without amendment H. R. 9417, to revise the boundary of Jewel Cave National Monument, S. Dak. (S. Rept. 766). p. 23836
12. TRADE FAIRS. The Foreign Relations Committee reported with amendment S. 2167, to provide for U. S. participation in the HemisFair 1968 exposition in San Antonio, Tex. (S. Rept. 767). p. 23836
13. STOCKPILING. A subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee voted to report to the full committee H. R. 6852 (amended), to authorize disposal of about 47 million pounds of abaca from the national stockpile without the 6-month waiting period; H. R. 10516, to authorize the disposal of vegetable tannin extracts from the national stockpile; H. R. 10714, to authorize the disposal of colemanite from the supplemental stockpile; and H. R. 10715, to authorize the disposal of chemical grade chronite from the supplemental stockpile. p. D951
14. SUGAR. The "Daily Digest" states that the Finance Committee announced that it would "hold hearings on Tuesday and Wednesday, September 28 and 29, on H. R. 11135, to extend the Sugar Act, if this bill has passed the House by that date." p. D951
15. WATERSHEDS. Received from the Budget Bureau plans for works of improvement on the following watersheds: Zeigler Creek, Nebr.; Elko, Nev.; Swan Quarter, N. C.; Frogville Creek, Okla.; and Chocolate, Little Chocolate, and Lynn Bayou, Tex.; to Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Bayou Boeuf, Mauch Chunk Creek, Pa.; Middle Creek, Pa.; to Public Works Committee. pp. 23835-36

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

SEPTEMBER 22, 1965.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. POWELL, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 8283]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: *That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965."*

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

JOB CORPS—DISPLACEMENT OF WORKERS

SEC. 2. Section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after "Sec. 103." the following new sentence: "The Director of the Office shall prescribe regulations to prevent programs under this part from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services."

JOB CORPS—PAYMENT TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS PROHIBITED

SEC. 3. Subsection (e) of section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the period and adding after the word "terminated" the following: "Provided, however, That the Director shall make no payments to any individual or to any organization

solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for enrollment in the Corps."

JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES

SEC. 4. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States."

JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS

SEC. 5. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: "(d) Each enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of Cuba described in section 104(a) of this Act) must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic'. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection."

JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION ACT

SEC. 6. Section 106(c)(2)(A) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended retroactive to January 1, 1965, to read as follows:

"(A) The term 'performance of duty' in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps."

JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

SEC. 7. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting the word "male" before the word "enrollees" in the first sentence.

WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—CUBAN REFUGEES

SEC. 8. Section 114(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States."

WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 9. *The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out ", or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".*

WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 10. *Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out "or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".*

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION

SEC. 11. *Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and", and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:*

"(5) which includes provision for reasonable access of the public to information including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director."

TYPES OF PROGRAMS

SEC. 12. *The last sentence of section 205(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after "including" the following: ", but not limited to,".*

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

SEC. 13. *Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection (d) as follows:*

"(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under this section for special programs (1) which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addition to other services provided, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community or area served by the program, including without limitation activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment."

GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 14. (a) The first sentence of section 208(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three", and by striking out ", or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,".

(b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations."

(c) Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: "The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved."

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 15. Section 209(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period the following: "including, but not limited to, consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs".

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

SEC. 16. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting "of part B" before "of title I" and (2) striking out "and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission" and inserting in lieu thereof "and such plan has not been disapproved by the Governor within thirty days of such submission, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part".

NOTICES

SEC. 17. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

"(d) When the Director receives an application from a private nonprofit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such community action agency and the Governor of the State in which the community is located of the receipt of such application. When the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that good cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency."

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS; FEDERAL SHARE

SEC. 18. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and each of the two succeeding fiscal years,".

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER TRAINING

SEC. 19. Part B of title II, of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended—

(1) by striking out "From the sums appropriated to carry out this title" in section 213(a) and inserting in lieu thereof "From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218"; and

(2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following new section 218:

"TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

"SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine."

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

SEC. 20. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the second sentence of section 220(a) of part C thereof.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY
IN RURAL AREAS

SEC. 21. Title III of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "Grants and" in the heading, and by striking out the dash after the word "make" in the first subsequent sentence and the subsequent number "(1)".

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO ASSIST
MANUFACTURING

SEC. 22. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following proviso: "Provided, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance".

ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
EMPLOYEES

SEC. 23. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

“MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

“SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.”

INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

SEC. 24. Section 331 (c) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by striking the words “January 31, 1965” and inserting in lieu thereof the words “June 30, 1966”.

AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

SEC. 25. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: “Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title.”, and (2) by striking out of the last sentence the following: “for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965,”.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION
VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF OTHER PROVISIONS
AND FEDERAL LAWS

SEC. 26. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designation “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.”

(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read as follows:

“(d)(1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

“(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c) the monthly

pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949."

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 27. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking "fourteen" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "twenty".

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

SEC. 28. Part A of title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

"SEC. 610. It is the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under this Act."

AFFIDAVITS

SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof and substituting a new section 616, as follows:

"TRANSFER OF FUNDS

"SEC. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appropriations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to carry out programs or activities under any such title may be transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of carrying out programs or activities under any other such title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the amounts otherwise available under any title by more than 10 per centum."

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 30. (a)(1) The first sentence of section 131 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$700,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(b)(1) The first sentence of section 221 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to

be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$850,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(c)(1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(d)(1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(e)(1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(f) Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

"SEC. 617. The Director shall adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure that benefits of this Act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas."

AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUNTEERS

SEC. 31. (a) Paragraph (2)(A) of section 205(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C. 425(b)(2)(A)) is amended by striking out "or" before "(iii)" and by inserting before the proviso and after "Peace Corps Act" the following: ", or (iv) not in excess of

three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under section 603 of the *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964*".

(b) *The amendments made by this section shall not apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.*

And the Senate agree to the same.

ADAM C. POWELL,
JOHN BRADEMAS,
HUGH L. CAREY,
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
SAM M. GIBBONS,
WILLIAM D. FORD,

Managers on the Part of the House.

PAT McNAMARA,
WAYNE MORSE,
RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
GAYLORD NELSON,
J. K. JAVITS,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The Senate amendment struck out all of the House bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute text. The House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, with an amendment which is a substitute for both the House bill and the Senate amendment.

The differences between the House bill and the substitute agreed upon in conference are described in this statement, except for incidental minor, technical, and clarifying changes. References to the "Act" are to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

The present act provides that no assistance can be made available for work-training programs or community action programs until the Governor of the State in which they are to be carried on has been given notice of the plan for the assistance and has not disapproved it within 30 days.

The House bill amended this provision so that, in the event of the disapproval of a plan by a Governor, the Director could reconsider it, and if he found it fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this act, could override the Governor's disapproval.

Pursuant to the instructions of the House, your managers have insisted on the inclusion of the House provision in the conference report. The conferees expect that the procedures established by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under section 209(a) will include provision for informal hearings held by the Director at the request of the Governor of a State or other interested parties.

JOB CORPS—DISPLACEMENT OF EMPLOYED WORKERS

The Senate amendment contained a provision, which had no counterpart in the House bill, which prohibited the Director from authorizing a Job Corps program which would result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services. The conferees have agreed upon a compromise under which the Director is required to prescribe regulations to prevent Job Corps programs from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services.

JOB CORPS—PAYMENTS TO RECRUITERS

The Senate amendment prohibited the Director from making payments to any individual or organization for the service of referring candidates for enrollment in the Job Corps or names of such candidates. The House bill contained no similar provision. The conference report contains a substitute which provides that the Director shall make no payments to any individual or organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for the Corps.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE BY CUBAN REFUGEES

Both the House bill and the Senate amendment contained a provision permitting Cuban refugees to serve in the Job Corps and in work-training programs carried on under part B of title I. The Senate amendment also provided that the requirement that Job Corps enrollees take an oath of allegiance to the United States shall not apply in the case of Cuban refugees. The conference substitute includes this provision of the Senate amendment.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—ACCESS OF PUBLIC TO INFORMATION

The Senate amendment provided that community action programs must include provisions for feasible access of the public to information, including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference agreement adopts the Senate provision, except that the word "feasible" is changed to "reasonable".

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—TYPES OF PROGRAMS

The present act contains examples of programs which fall within the purposes of community action programs. The Senate amendment added to the list the fields of family planning, consumer credit education, and consumer debt counseling programs. It also gave emphasis to the fact that the list is merely to give examples by providing that the programs falling within the purpose of the part include, but are not limited to, the listed fields. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference substitute omits the listing of additional examples of types of permissible programs. It adopts, however, the Senate provision insuring that the listed fields are not the only ones in which programs may be carried. The managers on the part of the House wish it to be understood that the omission of the Senate provision in no way indicates that it is their intention or the intention of the Senate conferees to discourage the continuation and expansion of these programs. Programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

The Senate amendment authorized the Director to make grants for special programs directed at the needs of those chronically unemployed poor persons who have poor employment prospects, and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to obtain appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs. These programs, in

addition to other services, would enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community served by the program, including activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands. The programs must be conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under the act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment. It was also provided that \$150,000,000 of the funds appropriated for carrying out title II of the act for the fiscal year 1966 could be used for this purpose. The House bill contained no similar provision. The provisions for these special programs are retained in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, the provision for earmarking a portion of the funds appropriated for title II for this purpose was not retained.

GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—SELF-HELP HOUSING REHABILITATION

The Senate amendment contained a provision requiring the Director to give special consideration to programs which would, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation. This provision is not included in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

The Senate amendment required that the procedures established by the Director to facilitate participation of the States in community action programs must include continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs. The House bill did not contain any comparable provision. The conference substitute adopts this provision, except that required consultation need not be "continuing."

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PRIVATE NONPROFIT AGENCIES

The House bill provided that when the Director receives an application for a community action program to be carried out in a community in which a community action agency is carrying on a program consisting of several component programs, he must give notice to that agency. The Senate amendment added a requirement that the Director also give notice to the Governor of the State. The Senate amendment also provided that when the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that special cause has been shown, he may make a grant directly to, or contract directly with, such agency.

The conference substitute includes both of these Senate provisions, except that the requirement that "special" cause must be shown before the Director may contract directly has been altered to require "good" cause to be shown.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The Senate amendment contained provisions, which had no counterpart in the House bill, relating to the application of the Hatch Political Activities Act to persons employed by agencies administering or carrying on community action programs and to persons serving in the Vista volunteers.

The managers on the part of the House wish to make it clear that their insistence on the exclusion of these provisions was based upon the difficulty of applying the existing statutory restrictions to organizations and agencies for which they were not designed. They in no way intend to depart from the principle that these programs must be conducted on a nonpolitical basis, free of any activity designed to further the election or defeat of any candidate for public office.

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

The House bill struck out part C of title II of the act providing for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity, a center to encourage voluntary assistance for deserving and needy children. The Senate amendment retained part C but deleted the provision under which the center was directed to collect the names of persons who voluntarily desire to assist such children financially, and to obtain information concerning deserving and needy children from social welfare agencies.

The conference report adopts the Senate provision.

INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

The Senate amendment extended until June 30, 1966, the program provided for by the act for making indemnity payments to dairy farmers who have been directed to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use at the time of such use. The conference substitute adopts the Senate provision.

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

The Senate amendment added a provision to the act stating the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor should be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under the act. The conference report retains this provision of the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment also provided for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity of a Task Force on Programs for the Elderly Poor. The conference substitute does not include this provision.

TRANSFER OF FUNDS BETWEEN TITLES

The Senate amendment added a section to the act permitting up to 10 percent of the amount appropriated or allocated for any title to be transferred for use in carrying out other titles, but the amount available for use for any title could not be increased by more than 10 percent. The conference substitute includes this provision.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL
AREAS

The Senate amendment required the Director to adopt such administrative measures as are necessary to assure that benefits of the act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas. The substitute agreed upon in conference contains a modification of the Senate provision under which the Director is required to adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure such equitable distribution.

AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$825,000,000 to carry out title I of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$535,000,000 for such purpose. The amount fixed in conference is \$700,000,000.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$680,000,000 to carry out title II of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$880,000,000 for such purpose. The conference substitute authorizes the appropriation for such purpose for such year of \$850,000,000.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$70,000,000 to carry out title III. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$55,000,000 for such purpose. The conference substitute adopts the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$300,000,000 to carry out title V. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$150,000,000 for such purpose. The conference report contains the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$20,000,000 to carry out title VI. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$30,000,000 for such purpose. The substitute agreed upon in conference adopts the Senate figure.

ADAM C. POWELL,
JOHN BRADEMAS
HUGH L. CAREY,
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
SAM M. GIBBONS,
WILLIAM D. FORD,

Managers on the Part of the House.



From Roy Appleton, Jr., general manager of the Denton Record-Chronicle, came this response:

As a member of the Texas delegation that appeared recently before the House Public Works Committee at its hearing in regard to the development of the Trinity River Basin, I was most impressed by the work that has been done on this project by you and the other members of the Texas congressional delegation. As was pointed out by you and others at the hearing, this project has the wholehearted support of all Texans, and the time for action is now.

From Mr. W. Lamar Hamilton, of the Palestine Herald-Press, came this statement:

The interest you showed in our reception and dinner of August 11, was most appreciated, and the statement you presented on August 12, to the House Public Works Committee was a masterpiece of factual information.

And from Mr. W. W. Lynch, president of the Texas Power & Light Co., came this statement:

I have heard many expressions of appreciation and I want to add mine with respect to your testimony before the House in regard to the Trinity River development program. You made a very important contribution.

These statements give ample evidence of the broad nature of support for the Trinity River development project, both in Texas and among those who represent Texas in the National Congress.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to again commend the distinguished Senator from Texas for his very diligent and effective efforts in behalf of this project. I am sure that, without his assistance, it may never have been authorized by this Congress.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, the Trinity River Basin project, by any standard, is a huge undertaking. It is enormous in size, cost, vision, ambition, benefit, and merit. When completed, it will have cost \$1 billion and will be a fitting complement to the many other greatly meritorious and costly, multimillion-dollar projects which in our time have become a measure of our Nation's greatness. I refer to the Arkansas River, Puget Sound, the Missouri River, the Intracoastal Canal, the Mississippi River, the Cross Florida Canal, New York Harbor, and many others of which we can be and are justly proud.

I suppose, Mr. Chairman, if there is anything more tempting to a Member of Congress than voting for a public works project in his own district, it is the temptation to vote against a public works project in the other Member's district. Yet, yielding to either temptation would be irrational and destructive of the Nation's well-being if our judgments were not based strictly on the question of the merits of each individual public works project. It is with this in mind that I wish to examine the Trinity River Basin project.

This great river basin encompasses some 17,845 square miles of land and stretches some 360 miles from above Fort Worth, past Dallas, Corsicana, Palestine, and Liberty on down to the gulf coast near Houston. The basin is more than 100 miles wide above Fort Worth and furnishes livelihood and residence

to 3 percent of the total population of our country. It has more people than are to be found in any one of 32 States of the United States.

The potential of the Trinity River Basin has long been recognized by the people of this great area as well as the people of the Nation. There are presently seven Corps of Engineers projects in various stages of planning and construction—four completed, two under construction, and one in planning stage; several local flood-protection projects are in existence, and quite a few others have been authorized. State, local, and private funds in the amount of \$500 million have been spent or will be spent—\$269 million spent, and \$256 million pledged to be spent by reliable State, local, and private sources. Mr. Chairman, if there is anything that would distinguish this great project from the other great projects throughout our country, it would be the investment of such large sums of State, local, and private funds.

The Trinity River Basin project is a great and worthwhile project. Like all meritorious public works projects, it is an investment in the future of our great Nation; and, more important, it is an expression of the confidence we have in ourselves and the future of our country.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to direct the attention of the House to two very necessary provisions in S. 2300 for the development of Calumet Harbor and River, Ill., and Ind., as authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved October 23, 1962.

The Calumet River is a connecting channel between Lake Michigan proper and the extensive harbor facilities of Lake Calumet. It provides the only link between the St. Lawrence Seaway and the Cal-Sag Channel connection with the vast inland waterway system that serves the State of Illinois, the Midwest, and the whole center section of this country. It required deepening subsequent to the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, and it still remains to be deepened. The public and private facilities located along the Calumet River, which represents an expenditure of tens of millions of dollars cannot be rendered fully capable of meeting their potential until the dredging of the channel to full seaway depth is completed.

In order to permit dredging to full project depth of 27 feet, the New York, Chicago & St. Louis—Nickel Plate—Railroad bridge and the Elgin, Joliet & Eastern Railroad bridge must be strengthened to withstand the channel deepening. Therefore, I am pleased that S. 2300 modifies the River and Harbor Act of 1962 in order to authorize the Chief of Engineers to provide this necessary protection for both bridges.

This development is overdue in that the full potential to the Chicago metropolitan area of the St. Lawrence Seaway and its connecting waterway with the Mississippi River will not be fully utilized until the navigation problems on the Calumet River have been completely solved.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, it has been my honor to serve in the Congress

for 17 years. I have never served on any committee or set through any hearings or heard any deliberations presided over in a more superb manner than by my friends, the Honorable BOB JONES, of Alabama, and the Honorable JOHN BLATNIK, of Minnesota. These gentlemen presided with patience, understanding, and devotion to the welfare of our country beyond the call of duty. It was an inspiration to serve on the subcommittee with these great Americans. This bill before the House today is a result of their tact, diplomacy, fairness, and dedication to the general welfare.

Mr. Chairman, our beloved and able chairman, the gentleman from Maryland, GEORGE FALLON, was always in the background, guiding, and counseling all of us. He is one of the greatest committee chairmen in the history of the Congress.

This bill and the projects it creates will be a monument to the genius of Mr. FALLON, Mr. BLATNIK, Mr. JONES, the senior members of the Public Works Committee, and an able, dedicated, and conscientious staff.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further amendments, the bill is considered as read.

The question is on the committee substitute to the Senate bill.

The committee substitute was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (S. 2300) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 588, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment?

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a separate vote on the amendment offered by Mr. CLARK on page 41, lines 4 through 12, inclusively.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the amendment on which a separate vote is demanded.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CLARK: Substitute the following language for the language on page 41, lines 4 through 12, inclusively:

"The Secretary of the Army is hereby authorized and directed to make a survey for flood control and allied purposes of the St. John River, Maine, separate and apart from the Passamaquoddy Tidal Power Project, which survey shall include a detailed study of alternative methods of providing power, including thermal power development using nuclear energy, and to submit a report thereon to the Congress not later than March 30, 1966."

The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken and the Speaker announced that the "noes" appeared to have it.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were yeas 207, nays 185, answered "present" 1, not voting 39, as follows:

[Roll No. 315]

YEAS—207

Abbott	Erlenborn	Moorhead
Adair	Fendley	Morgan
Addabbo	Fisher	Morse
Andrews,	Flood	Murray
Glenn	Fogarty	Natcher
Andrews,	Fountain	Nedzi
N. Dak.	Fulton, Pa.	Nelsen
Arends	Fuqua	O'Neill, Mass.
Ashbrook	Gaimo	Pelly
Ashmore	Goodell	Perkins
Baldwin	Grabowski	Philbin
Bates	Gray	Pike
Battin	Griffin	Pirnie
Belcher	Griffiths	Poff
Bell	Gross	Quie
Berry	Grover	Quillen
Betts	Gubser	Randall
Boland	Gurney	Reid, Ill.
Bray	Haley	Reid, N.Y.
Brock	Hall	Reifel
Broomfield	Halleck	Reinecke
Broyhill, N.C.	Hanley	Rhodes, Ariz.
Broyhill, Va.	Hansen, Idaho	Rhodes, Pa.
Buchanan	Hardy	Rivers, Alaska
Burke	Harsha	Robison
Burleson	Harvey, Ind.	Rogers, Tex.
Byrnes, Wis.	Harvey, Mich.	Rooney, Pa.
Cahill	Hays	Roudebush
Callaway	Henderson	Rumsfeld
Carey	Horton	Satterfield
Casey	Huot	St. Germain
Cederberg	Hutchinson	St. Onge
Chamberlain	Ichord	Saylor
Chelf	Irwin	Schneebeli
Clancy	Jarman	Schweiker
Clark	Jennings	Secret
Clausen,	Johnson, Pa.	Selden
Don H.	Jonas	Shibley
Clawson, Del	Jones, Mo.	Shriver
Cleveland	Keith	Sikes
Collier	Kelly	Skubitz
Conable	Keogh	Slack
Conte	King, N.Y.	Smith, Calif.
Cooley	Kornegay	Smith, N.Y.
Corbett	Kunkel	Smith, Va.
Craley	Laird	Stanton
Cramer	Langen	Steed
Cunningham	Latta	Stratton
Curtin	Lennon	Talcott
Curtis	Lipscomb	Taylor
Daddario	Love	Teague, Calif.
Dague	McClory	Thomson, Wis.
Davis, Wis.	McCulloch	Tuck
de la Garza	McDade	Utt
Delaney	McMillan	Vivian
Dent	MacGregor	Walker, Miss.
Denton	Mahon	Watkins
Derwinski	Mailliard	Watson
Devine	Marsh	Watts
Dickinson	Martin, Ala.	Whalley
Dole	Martin, Mass.	White, Tex.
Donohue	Martin, Nebr.	Whitener
Dorn	Mathias	Whitten
Dowdy	Matthews	Widnall
Downing	May	Williams
Du'ski	Michel	Wilson, Bob
Duncan, Tenn.	Minshall	Wolf
Dwyer	Mize	Wyatt
Edwards, Ala.	Monagan	Wydler
Ellsworth	Moore	Younger

NAYS—185

Abernethy	Callan	Farbstein
Adams	Cameron	Fascell
Albert	Carter	Feighan
Anderson,	Celler	Flynt
Tenn.	Clevenger	Foley
Annunzio	Cohelan	Ford,
Ashley	Conyers	William D.
Aspinall	Corman	Fraser
Bandstra	Culver	Fricdel
Barrett	Daniels	Fulton, Tenn.
Beckworth	Davis, Ga.	Gallagher
Bennett	Dawson	Garmatz
Bingham	Dingell	Gathings
Blatnik	Dow	Gettys
Boggs	Duncan, Oreg.	Gibbons
Bolling	Dyal	Gilbert
Brademas	Edmondson	Gilligan
Brooks	Edwards, Calif.	Gonzalez
Brown, Calif.	Evans, Colo.	Green, Oreg.
Burton, Calif.	Everett	Green, Pa.
Byrne, Pa.	Evins, Tenn.	Greigg
Cabell	Fallon	Grider

Hagan, Ga.	Madden	Rostenkowski
Hagen, Calif.	Matsunaga	Roush
Halpern	Meeds	Roybal
Hamilton	Mills	Ryan
Hanna	Minish	Scheuer
Hansen, Iowa	Mink	Schisler
Hansen, Wash.	Moeller	Schmidhauser
Hathaway	Morris	Scott
Hawkins	Morrison	Sickles
Hébert	Moss	Sisk
Hechler	Multer	Smith, Iowa
Helstoski	Murphy, Ill.	Stafford
Howard	Murphy, N.Y.	Stalbaum
Hull	Nix	Stubblefield
Hungate	O'Hara, Mich.	Sullivan
Jacobs	O'Konski	Sweeney
Joelson	Olsen, Mont.	Teague, Tex.
Johnson, Calif.	Olson, Minn.	Tenzer
Jones, Ala.	O'Neal, Ga.	Thompson, N.J.
Karsten	Ottlinger	Todd
Karth	Patman	Trimble
Kastenmeier	Patten	Tunney
Kee	Pepper	Tupper
King, Calif.	Pickle	Tuten
King, Utah	Poage	Udall
Kirwan	Pool	Ullman
Kluczynski	Powell	Van Deerlin
Krebs	Price	Vanik
Landrum	Pucinski	Vigorito
Legett	Purcell	Waggonner
Long, La.	Race	Walker, N. Mex.
Long, Md.	Redlin	Weltner
McCarthy	Reuss	White, Idaho
McDowell	Rivers, S.C.	Willis
McFall	Roberts	Wilson,
McGrath	Rodino	Charles H.
McVicker	Rogers, Colo.	Wright
Macdonald	Rogers, Fla.	Yates
Machen	Ronan	Young
Mackay	Rooney, N.Y.	Zablocki
Mackie	Rosenthal	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Roncalio

NOT VOTING—39

Anderson, Ill.	Ford, Gerald R.	O'Brien
Andrews,	Frelinghuysen	O'Hara, Ill.
George W.	Harris	Passman
Ayres	Herlong	Resnick
Baring	Hicks	Roosevelt
Bolton	Hollifield	Senner
Bonner	Holland	Springer
Bow	Hosmer	Staggers
Burton, Utah	Johnson, Okla.	Stephens
Colmer	Lindsay	Thomas
Diggs	McEwen	Thompson, Tex.
Farnsley	Miller	Toll
Farnum	Morton	
Fino	Mosher	

So the amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Roncalio for, with Mr. Hicks against.
 Mr. Hosmer for, with Mr. Hollifield against.
 Mr. Colmer for, with Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma against.
 Mr. O'Brien for, with Mr. Senner against.
 Mr. McEwen for, with Mr. Toll against.
 Mr. Anderson of Illinois for, with Mr. Miller against.
 Mr. Morton for, with Mr. Farnum against.
 Mr. Bow for, with Mr. Resnick against.
 Mr. Bonner for, with Mr. Farnsley against.
 Mr. Burton of Utah for, with Mr. Diggs against.
 Mr. Frelinghuysen for, with Mr. Roosevelt against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Holland with Mr. Lindsay.
 Mr. Stephens with Mr. Springer.
 Mr. O'Hara of Illinois with Mr. Fino.
 Mr. Passman with Mr. Mosher.
 Mr. Thomas with Mrs. Bolton.
 Mr. Thompson of Texas with Mr. Ayres.
 Mr. Staggers with Mr. Baring.
 Mr. Herlong with Mr. George W. Andrews.

Messrs. ABERNETHY, POOL, O'KONSKI, and MOELLER changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

Messrs. COOLEY, HANLEY, and BROOMFIELD changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, I have

a live pair with the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Hicks]. If he were present, he would have voted "nay." I voted "yea." I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the committee substitute for the Senate bill.

The committee substitute was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. POWELL submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 1061)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: "In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: 'That this Act may be cited as the 'Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.'

"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

"Job Corps—Displacement of workers

"Sec. 2. Section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after 'Sec. 103.' the following new sentence: 'The Director of the Office shall prescribe regulations to prevent programs under this part from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services.'

"Job Corps—Payments to certain individuals or organizations prohibited

"Sec. 3. Subsection (e) of section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the period and adding after the word 'terminated' the following: ': Provided, however, That the Director shall make no payments to any individual or to any organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for enrollment in the Corps.'

"Job Corps—Cuban refugees

"Sec. 4. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: 'For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d)(5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States.'

"Job Corps—Enrollee affidavits"

"SEC. 5. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: '(d) Each enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of Cuba described in section 104(a) of this Act) must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic". The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection.'

"Job Corps—Application of Federal Employees' Compensation Act"

"SEC. 6. Section 106(c) (2) (A) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended retroactive to January 1, 1965, to read as follows:

"(A) The term "performance of duty" in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps.'

"Job Corps—Enrollee work activities"

"SEC. 7. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting the word 'male' before the word 'enrollees' in the first sentence.

"Work training programs—Cuban refugees"

"SEC. 8. Section 114(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: 'For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d) (5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States.'

"Work training programs—Limitations on Federal assistance"

"SEC. 9. The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three', and by striking out ', or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,'.

"Work-study programs—Limitations on Federal assistance"

"SEC. 10. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three', and by striking out 'or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,'.

*"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS"**"Community action programs—Public information"*

"SEC. 11. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'and' at the end of paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof '; and', and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(5) which includes provision for reasonable access of the public to information including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director.'

"Types of programs"

"SEC. 12. The last sentence of section 205 (a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after 'including' the following: ', but not limited to,'.

"Special programs for the chronically unemployed poor"

"SEC. 13. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection (d) as follows:

"(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under this section for special programs (1) which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addition to other services provided, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community or area served by the program, including without limitation activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment.'

"General community action programs—Limitations on Federal assistance"

"SEC. 14. (a) The first sentence of section 208(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three', and by striking out ', or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,'.

"(b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations.'

"(c) Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: 'The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved.'

"Participation of State agencies"

"SEC. 15. Section 209(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period the following: 'including, but not limited to, consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs'.

"Disapproval of plans"

"SEC. 16. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting 'of part B' before 'of title I' and (2) striking out 'and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission' and inserting in lieu thereof 'and such plan has not been disapproved by the Governor within thirty days of such submission, or, if so disapproved, has been

reconsidered by the Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part'.

"Notices"

"SEC. 17. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

"(d) When the Director receives an application from a private nonprofit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such community action agency and the Governor of the State in which the community is located of the receipt of such application. When the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that good cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency.'

"Adult basic education programs—Payments; Federal share"

"SEC. 18. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966,' and inserting in lieu thereof 'and each of the two succeeding fiscal years,'.

"Adult basic education programs—Teacher training"

"SEC. 19. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended—

"(1) by striking out 'From the sums appropriated to carry out this title' in section 213(a) and inserting in lieu thereof 'From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218'; and

"(2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following new section 218:

"Teacher training projects"

"SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine.'

"Voluntary assistance program for needy children"

"SEC. 20. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the second sentence of section 220(a) of part C thereof.

"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS"

"SEC. 21. Title III of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'Grants and' in the heading, and by striking out the dash after the word 'make' in the first subsequent sentence and the subsequent number '(1)'.

"Cooperative association—Prohibition of loans to assist manufacturing"

"SEC. 22. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following proviso: 'Provided, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including

dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance'.

"Assistance for migrant and seasonally employed agricultural employees"

"SEC. 23. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows:

"Migrants and seasonally employed agricultural employees"

"SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children."

"Indemnity payments to dairy farmers"

"SEC. 24. Section 331(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by striking the words 'January 31, 1965' and inserting in lieu thereof the words 'June 30, 1966'."

"AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM"

"SEC. 25. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: 'Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title,' and (2) by striking out of the last sentence the following: 'for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.'"

"AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION"

"Vista volunteers—assignment; application of other provisions and Federal laws"

"SEC. 26. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designation '(C)' and inserting in lieu thereof 'in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.'"

"(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read as follows:

"(d) (1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits."

"(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary of GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949."

"National advisory council"

"SEC. 27. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking 'fourteen' in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof 'twenty'."

"Programs for the elderly poor"

"SEC. 28. Part A of title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"Programs for the elderly poor"

"SEC. 610. It is the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under this Act."

"Affidavits"

"SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof and substituting a new section 616, as follows:

"Transfer of funds"

"SEC. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appropriations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to carry out programs or activities under any such title may be transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of carrying out programs or activities under any other such title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the amounts otherwise available under any title by more than 10 per centum."

"Authorization of appropriations"

"SEC. 30. (a) (1) The first sentence of section 131 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$700,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'"

"(b) (1) The first sentence of section 221 of such Act is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$850,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'"

"(c) (1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'"

"(d) (1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'"

"(e) (1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is amended by striking out 'two' and inserting in lieu thereof 'three'."

"(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving

fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.'"

"(f) Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"Distribution of benefits between rural and urban areas"

"SEC. 617. The Director shall adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure that benefits of this Act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas."

"AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUNTEERS"

"SEC. 31. (a) Paragraph (2) (A) of section 205(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C. 425(b) (2) (A)) is amended by striking out 'or' before '(iii)' and by inserting before the proviso and after 'Peace Corps Act' the following: ', or (iv) not in excess of three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.'"

"(b) The amendments made by this section shall not apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this Act without the consent of the then obligee institution."

And the Senate agree to the same.

ADAM C. POWELL,
JOHN BRADEMAS,
HUGH L. CAREY,
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
SAM M. GIBBONS,
WILLIAM D. FORD,

Managers on the Part of the House.

PAT McNAMARA,
WAYNE MORSE,
RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
GAYLORD NELSON,
J. K. JAVITS,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The Senate amendment struck out all of the House bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute text. The House recedes from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, with an amendment which is a substitute for both the House bill and the Senate amendment.

The differences between the House bill and the substitute agreed upon in conference are described in this statement, except for incidental minor, technical, and clarifying changes. References to the "act" are to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

The present act provides that no assistance can be made available for work-training programs or community action programs until the Governor of the State in which they are to be carried on has been given notice of the plan for the assistance and has not disapproved it within 30 days.

The House bill amended this provision so that, in the event of the disapproval of a plan by a Governor, the Director could reconsider it, and if he found it fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this act, could override the Governor's disapproval.

Pursuant to the instructions of the House, your managers have insisted on the inclusion of the House provision in the conference report. The conferees expect that the procedures established by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under section 209(a) will include provision for informal hearings held by the Director at the request of the Governor of a State or other interested parties.

JOB CORPS—DISPLACEMENT OF EMPLOYED WORKERS

The Senate amendment contained a provision, which had no counterpart in the House bill, which prohibited the Director from authorizing a Job Corps program which would result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services. The conferees have agreed upon a compromise under which the Director is required to prescribe regulations to prevent Job Corps programs from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services.

JOB CORPS—PAYMENTS TO RECRUITERS

The Senate amendment prohibited the Director from making payments to any individual or organization for the service of referring candidates for enrollment in the Job Corps or names of such candidates. The House bill contained no similar provision. The conference report contains a substitute which provides that the Director shall make no payments to any individual or organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for the Corps.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE BY CUBAN REFUGEES

Both the House bill and the Senate amendment contained a provision permitting Cuban refugees to serve in the Job Corps and in work-training programs carried on under part B of title I. The Senate amendment also provided that the requirement that Job Corps enrollees take an oath of allegiance to the United States shall not apply in the case of Cuban refugees. The conference substitute includes this provision of the Senate amendment.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—ACCESS OF PUBLIC TO INFORMATION

The Senate amendment provided that community action programs must include provisions for feasible access of the public to information, including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference agreement adopts the Senate provision, except that the word "feasible" is changed to "reasonable".

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—TYPES OF PROGRAMS

The present act contains examples of programs which fall within the purposes of community action programs. The Senate amendment added to the list the fields of family planning, consumer credit education, and consumer debt counseling programs. It also gave emphasis to the fact that the list is merely to give examples by providing that the programs falling within the purpose of the part include, but are not limited to, the listed fields. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference substitute omits the listing of additional examples of types of permissible programs. It adopts, however, the Senate provision insuring that the listed fields are not the only ones in which programs may be carried. The managers on the part of the House wish it to be understood that the omission of the Senate provision in no way indicates that it is their intention or the intention of the Senate conferees to discourage the continuation and expansion of these programs. Programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

The Senate amendment authorized the Director to make grants for special programs directed at the needs of those chronically unemployed poor persons who have poor employment prospects, and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to obtain appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs. These programs, in addition to other services, would enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community served by the program, including activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands. The programs must be conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under the act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment. It was also provided that \$150,000,000 of the funds appropriated for carrying out title II of the act for the fiscal year 1966 could be used for this purpose. The House bill contained no similar provision. The provisions for these special programs are retained in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, the provision for earmarking a portion of the funds appropriated for title II for this purpose was not retained.

GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—SELF-HELP HOUSING REHABILITATION

The Senate amendment contained a provision requiring the Director to give special consideration to programs which would, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation. This provision is not included in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

The Senate amendment required that the procedures established by the Director to facilitate participation of the States in community action programs must include continuing consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs. The House bill did not contain any comparable provision. The conference substitute adopts this provision, except that required consultation need not be "continuing."

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PRIVATE NONPROFIT AGENCIES

The House bill provided that when the Director receives an application for a community action program to be carried out in a community in which a community action agency is carrying on a program consisting of several component programs, he must give notice to that agency. The Senate amendment added a requirement that the Director also give notice to the Governor of the State. The Senate amendment also provided that when the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that special cause has been shown, he may make a grant directly to, or contract directly with, such agency.

The conference substitute includes both of these Senate provisions, except that the requirement that "special" cause must be shown before the Director may contract directly has been altered to require "good" cause to be shown.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The Senate amendment contained provisions, which had no counterpart in the House bill, relating to the application of the Hatch Political Activities Act to persons employed by agencies administering or carrying on

community action programs and to persons serving in the Vista volunteers.

The managers on the part of the House wish to make it clear that their insistence on the exclusion of these provisions was based upon the difficulty of applying the existing statutory restrictions to organizations and agencies for which they were not designed. They in no way intend to depart from the principle that these programs must be conducted on a nonpolitical basis, free of any activity designed to further the election or defeat of any candidate for public office.

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

The House bill struck out part C of title II of the act providing for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity, a center to encourage voluntary assistance for deserving and needy children. The Senate amendment retained part C but deleted the provision under which the center was directed to collect the names of persons who voluntarily desire to assist such children financially, and to obtain information concerning deserving and needy children from social welfare agencies.

The conference report adopts the Senate provision.

INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

The Senate amendment extended until June 30, 1966, the program provided for by the act for making indemnity payments to dairy farmers who have been directed to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use at the time of such use. The conference substitute adopts the Senate provision.

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

The Senate amendment added a provision to the act stating the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor should be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under the act. The conference report retains this provision of the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment also provided for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity of a Task Force on Programs for the Elderly Poor. The conference substitute does not include this provision.

TRANSFER OF FUNDS BETWEEN TITLES

The Senate amendment added a section to the act permitting up to 10 percent of the amount appropriated or allocated for any title to be transferred for use in carrying out other titles, but the amount available for use for any title could not be increased by more than 10 percent. The conference substitute includes this provision.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

The Senate amendment required the Director to adopt such administrative measures as are necessary to assure that benefits of the act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas. The substitute agreed upon in conference contains a modification of the Senate provision under which the Director is required to adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure such equitable distribution.

AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$825,000,000 to carry out title I of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$535,000,000 for such purpose. The amount fixed in conference is \$700,000,000.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$680,000,000 to carry out title II of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$880,000,000 for such purpose. The conference substitute authorizes the ap-

appropriation for such purpose for such year of \$850,000,000.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$70,000,000 to carry out title III. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$55,000,000 for such purpose. The conference substitute adopts the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$300,000,000 to carry out title V. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$150,000,000 for such purpose. The conference report contains the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$20,000,000 to carry out title VI. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$30,000,000 for such purpose. The substitute agreed upon in conference adopts the Senate figure.

ADAM C. POWELL,
JOHN BRADEMAs,
HUGH L. CAREY,
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
SAM M. GIBBONS,
WILLIAM D. FORD,

Managers on the Part of the House.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 5842. An act to amend the Lead-Zinc Small Producers Stabilization Act of October 3, 1961.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the House amendment to the bill S. 2127, an act to amend title 38, United States Code, in order to provide special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones, and for other purposes, with amendment in which concurrence of the House is requested.

HEMISFAIR 1968

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 583 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 9247) to provide for participation of the United States in the HemisFair 1968 Exposition to be held at San Antonio, Tex., in 1968, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto a final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] and pend-

ing that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. YOUNG asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 583 makes in order the consideration of H.R. 9247 which provides for the participation of the United States in the HemisFair 1968 exposition to be held at San Antonio, Tex.

Mr. Speaker, the rule provides for 1 hour of general debate. It is an open rule.

Mr. Speaker, the bill if adopted will provide for \$250,000 for survey money to examine into how the United States can participate in this project and how the participation of the United States can best be effectuated.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. SMITH of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. YOUNG] has explained the rule in accordance with my understanding, in that House Resolution 583 will provide for 1 hour of general debate under an open rule for the consideration of H.R. 9247, which is a bill to provide for the participation of the United States in the HemisFair 1968 exposition to be held in San Antonio, Tex.

Mr. Speaker, I think it might be well to read into the RECORD a part or a portion of the legislation as set forth in the report which seems to be very concise and very complete to me, to the extent that H.R. 9247 grants congressional recognition to the international exposition, HemisFair 1968, which is planned to be held at San Antonio, Tex. in 1968, and which is designed to "enhance the existing brotherhood between New World nations, reaffirm common ties, increase understanding, and fortify world peace."

Second. The bill authorizes and requests the President, by proclamation or in such other manner as he may deem proper, to invite the several States of the Union and foreign countries to take part in the exposition; and it directs the President to report to the Congress, during the first regular session of Congress after the date of the enactment of this legislation.

Third. It directs the Secretary of Commerce to establish a planning staff to conduct a study to determine the manner in which, and the extent to which, the United States shall be a participant in and an exhibitor at the HemisFair 1968, and grants him certain powers required to accomplish this assignment.

Mr. Speaker, the appropriation authorized for this study is \$250,000.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time, but I will say to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. YOUNG] that I do not have any requests for time.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

INTER-AMERICAN CULTURAL AND TRADE CENTER (INTERAMA)

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules I call up House Resolution 582 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 30) to provide for participation of the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Florida, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the substitute amendment recommended by the Committee on Foreign Affairs now in the bill and such substitute for the purpose of amendment shall be considered under the five-minute rule as an original bill. At the conclusion of such consideration the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any of the amendments adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the able gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH]; and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, there was no objection to this rule in the Committee on Rules. It provides for an open rule with 1 hour of general debate on H.R. 30 which comes to the House of Representatives from the distinguished Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, the bill (H.R. 30) would provide for the participation of the Government of the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center located at Miami, Fla.—the nature, extent, and cost of such participation to be as recommended by the department or agency of the Government of the United States designated by the President in a report to the Congress by February 15 next to the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that there was no opposition in the committee and I know of no controversy about the rule I urge the adoption of the rule and I yield to the able gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. SMITH of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
(NOT TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued Sept. 24, 1965
For actions of Sept. 23, 1965
89th-1st; No. 176

CONTENTS

Air pollution.....16	Flood control.....3,24	River Basin.....21
Appropriations.....1,27	Food shortage.....2	Rivers and harbors.....3
Conservation.....22	Foreign aid.....1	Spending.....10
Contracts.....4	Labor standards.....4	Stockpile.....9
Cost-of-living.....15	Legal aid.....17	Tariffs.....25
Credit.....26	Legislative program..11,20	Trade expansion.....19
Elmer Thomas.....6	Loans.....13,23	Trade fairs.....7,11
Exhibitions.....7,11	Lumber.....14	Water problems.....5
Farm bill.....18	Poverty.....8,11,12	

HIGHLIGHTS: House adopted conference report on poverty bill. House passed bill to expand various FHA loan authorizations. Senate passed foreign-aid appropriation bill. Sen. McGovern spoke on world food problems.

SENATE

1. FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATION BILL. Passed, 59-22, with amendments this bill, H. R. 10871. Senate conferees were appointed. pp. 23917-8, 23926-49, 23957-87
2. FOOD SHORTAGE. Sen. McGovern spoke on the world food problem, stating that it is important now and will become the number 1 problem of the future. Sen. Dodd commended the speech, giving supplemental information. pp. 23918-24
3. RIVERS-HARBORS; FLOOD CONTROL. Conferees were appointed on the rivers-and-harbors and flood-control bill, S. 2300. House conferees have not yet been appointed. pp. 23949-57
4. CONTRACTS; LABOR STANDARDS. A subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee approved H. R. 10238, to provide labor standards for certain persons employed by Federal contractors to furnish services to Federal agencies. p. D958

5. WATER PROBLEMS. S. Con. Res. 55, to express the sense of Congress regarding certain water problems confronting the U. S. and Canada, was transferred from the Foreign Relations Committee to the Public Works Committee. p. 24009
6. ELMER THOMAS. Sen. Monroney paid tribute to former Sen. Elmer Thomas, who was Chairman of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee. p. 24009
7. EXHIBITIONS. Sen. Lausche criticized S. 2167, providing for U. S. participation in the HemisFair to be held in San Antonio, Tex., in 1968. pp. 24008-9
8. POVERTY. Sen. Murphy inserted an article criticizing the Job Corps budget. p. 24001
Sen. Williams, Del., criticized an expenditure item of the Job Corps. p. 24003
9. STOCKPILE. The Armed Services Committee reported without amendment H. R. 10516, to authorize disposal of vegetable tannin extracts in the national stockpile (H. Rept. 778), and with amendment H. R. 6852, to authorize disposal of abaca (H. Rept. 779). p. 23987
10. SPENDING. Sen. Dirksen inserted a table showing 50 new authorizations and the amounts of resulting costs which he estimates. p. 23962
11. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Sen. Mansfield announced that the poverty bill will be considered today, the Senate will then adjourn until Tues., and the HemisFair bill will then be taken up. pp. 23964, 24009

HOUSE

12. POVERTY. Adopted the conference report on H. R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act. pp. 24021-22
13. LOANS. Passed with amendment S. 1766, the FHA loan expansion bill, after substituting the language of H. R. 10232 which was passed earlier, by a vote of 325 to 10, ^{with} an amendment by Rep. Dingell to require that proposed projects comply with State standards of pollution control (pp. 24051-69). See digest 161 for provisions of this bill.
14. LUMBER. The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee reported without amendment H. R. 10198, to amend the requirements relating to lumber under the Shipping Act, 1916 (H. Rept. 1088). pp. 24116-17
15. COST-OF-LIVING. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported without amendment H. J. Res. 569, requiring a cost-of-living survey to be made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics before the cost-of-living allowance for Federal employees in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands be reduced (H. Rept. 1091). p. 24117
16. AIR POLLUTION. Agreed to a resolution for the consideration of S. 306, to amend the Clean Air Act and to provide for the establishment of a Federal Air Pollution Control Laboratory. pp. 24045-48
17. LEGAL AID. A subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee approved for full committee action S. 1758, amended, to provide for the right of persons to be

vision tanker vessels may be traded out for use as dry cargo carriers and liquid bulk carriers. However, tankers so traded out cannot be used for employment as carriers of crude oil, diesel oil, gasoline, kerosene, and naphtha. It is intended that tanker vessels traded out can be converted so as to carry all dry cargoes, inclusive of conversion into container ships. Tanker vessels would also be permitted to be converted to carry liquid bulk cargoes such as liquefied gases (including anhydrous ammonia, methane, butane, butadiene, and propane, etc.), liquid sulphur and phosphoric acid and other organic and inorganic chemical products.

Section 2 of the House bill provided a new subsection (j) to section 510 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, which reads as follows:

"(j) Any vessel heretofore or hereafter acquired under this section, or otherwise acquired by the Secretary of Commerce under any other authority shall be placed in the National Defense Reserve Fleet established under authority of section 11 of the Merchant Ship Sales Act of 1946 (50 U.S.C. App. 1744) and shall not be traded out or sold from such reserve fleet, except as provided for in subsections (g) and (i) of this section. This limitation shall not affect the rights of the Secretary of Commerce to dispose of a vessel as provided in section 1105(d) of this Act (46 U.S.C. 1275(d)) and section 508(l)."

No comparable provision appeared in the Senate version of the bill.

The substitute agreed to in conference follows the House bill except that the last sentence was changed to read as follows:

"This limitation shall not affect the rights of the Secretary of Commerce to dispose of a vessel as provided for under any other section of this title, or under titles VII and XI of this Act."

It was the position of the managers for the House that this amendment was necessary to close a loophole in the law under which the Maritime Administrator proposed to sell certain ships in contravention of the intent of the Congress when it established the reserve fleet under the Merchant Ship Sales Act, although in a technical and legal sense such authority may have existed.

The managers on the part of the House believe that the conference substitute achieves the proper objectives of both the House bill and the Senate bill effectively and equitably.

EDWARD A. GARMATZ,
THOMAS L. ASHLEY,
THOMAS N. DOWNING,
WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD,
THOMAS M. PELLY,

Managers on the Part of the House

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 319]

Anderson, Ill.	Craley	Harris
Andrews,	Dawson	Harsha
George W.	Diggs	Herlong
Ashley	Dowdy	Hicks
Bolton	Edmondson	Hollifield
Bonner	Farnsley	Holland
Buchanan	Farnum	Hosmer
Burton, Utah	Fino	Howard
Clayson,	Frelinghuysen	Johnson, Okla.
Don H.	Gialmo	Landrum
Cleveland	Green, Oreg.	Lindsay
Colmer	Halleck	McEwen

Mackie
Minshall
Moeller
Morton
Murray
O'Brien

O'Hara, Ill.
Passman
Resnick
Scott
Senner
Smith, N.Y.

Springer
Thomas
Thompson, Tex.
Toll
Wright

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 378 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CORRECTION OF ROLLCALL

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 316, the vote on H.R. 30, a bill to provide for participation by the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., I am recorded as having voted "nay." I was present and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, and I ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of Sept. 22, 1965.)

Mr. POWELL (interrupting the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the statement of the managers on the part of the House be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I bring before the House today the second conference report on H.R. 8283, extending the war on poverty legislation.

The House had voted to recommit the conference report with instructions to retain the House language under title II, section 209(c), which stated that any community action program and Job Corps program in a State would go into effect if a Governor had not vetoed the proposals within 30 days, and if so disapproved can be reconsidered by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and "found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of this part."

In the second Senate-House conference, the Senate receded and agreed to accept the House language in place of the Senate language on the Governor's vote

which had been included in the first conference report. The Senate amendment had required the Director to provide for an informal hearing at the Director's office to entertain any Governor's objections to any application from his State.

The substitution of the House amendment for the Senate amendment of the Governor's veto was the only change delineated in the conference report at the second House-Senate conference on September 22, thus carrying out the precise instructions of the House to this committee.

I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE], who has done a very fine job on the committee of conference.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding. I merely wish to report to the House that in the conference the Senate accepted the exact House language that was in the House bill with regards to the Governor's veto. While it was not adequate in the bill for me, that was all that the House passed, and therefore we could not put in any more or any stronger Governor's veto provision.

I can say that the House gained all that it could possibly ask for in the conference that was held yesterday.

The remainder of the conference report was debated at the time when it originally came before the House. During that debate, the minority pointed out that even with the Senate language which was accepted the bill was not acceptable to us. There are basic faults in this legislation and I will enumerate them briefly. First, it does not provide for adequate State administration of the program. In previous debate I pointed out examples where this type of administration has enabled other programs to work well and receive strong acceptance in State and communities. An example of this was the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. Secondly, there is no guarantee of adequate participation on the part of the poor and it is possible to circumvent local government officials and the agencies which have traditionally been helping the poor. Unless the glaring forthcomings of this legislation are remedied I believe that the antipoverty program will continue to be the most controversial and least productive of any Federal venture to date.

(Mr. QUIE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge adoption of the conference report on H.R. 8283, which amends the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 so as to expand the war on poverty.

I would like to point out that one amendment to the existing law is of particular importance to rural areas in America. This amendment, approved by the conference committee, adds to title VI of the 1964 law a section reading as follows:

The Director—

Meaning the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity—

shall adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure that benefits of this Act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas.

As a Representative from a predominately rural area, I have become aware in the last several months that a special effort is needed by the Office of Economic Opportunity to assist rural communities in developing antipoverty programs.

By their very nature, rural areas present problems in administration and organization. There are problems with respect to geographical distance, communication of information and, in some cases, a lack of trained specialists to aid those interested in the war on poverty.

But these are problems that must be overcome, not ignored, if the war on poverty is to have a successful influence in diminishing rural poverty.

This amendment gives the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity wide latitude in developing the administrative procedures necessary to assure equitable treatment for rural residents. But it does instruct him to act.

I am hopeful that, once this amendment becomes law, the Office of Economic Opportunity will begin as quickly as possible to take steps aimed at overcoming administrative problems in rural areas.

And I think the Congress, as it reviews the antipoverty effort in the future, should keep this amendment in mind and make sure that it does not become simply a dead letter on the statute books.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank all the conferees, the Speaker, and all other Members.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members of the House may have 5 days to revise and extend their remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TO AMEND THE BANK HOLDING COMPANY ACT OF 1956

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7371) to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 7371, with Mr. O'HARA of Michigan in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] will be recognized for 2 hours, and the

gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] will be recognized for 2 hours.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

I realize that 4 hours is a long time to debate the bill. It would be satisfactory to those of us on our side, I believe, to reduce the time, with the understanding that we shall not try to restrict time on amendments. I believe the time allowed on the amendments is more important than time for general debate on the bill. That is my personal feeling. I shall be glad to talk to the gentleman who represents the minority, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL], on the question of reducing time allowed on the bill.

Mr. Chairman, when Congress passed the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, it did so with the conviction that such legislation was necessary to preserve the traditional American system of locally owned and operated independent banks, competing to serve the needs of their communities, and to avoid the dangers of concentrating control of bank credit in a few large institutions.

The regulation of bank holdings companies under the 1956 act has been a great step forward in the economic development of the United States. No longer could a bank holding company monopolize a town, county or regional area by controlling both banking and nonbanking enterprises, for the act prohibits ownership of both banking and nonbanking interests.

It has been suggested by Members of this body that H.R. 7371 is class or punitive legislation aimed at the Du Pont estate. Such a thought could not be further from the truth. What this bill does is correct a glaring weakness in the Bank Holding Company Act that, if left untouched, could wreak havoc on the basic principles of the act. If the loophole is allowed to exist, individuals or corporations wishing to monopolize banking and nonbanking industries could set up testamentary trusts, partnerships, or use some form of religious, charitable, or educational institution to accomplish their purposes. We have been extremely fortunate in that only one organization has hit upon this scheme as a method of advancing its interests. I challenge any Member of this body to guarantee that the failure to close this loophole in the Bank Holding Company Act will not result in other companies taking advantage of this legislative oversight. It has already been brought to my attention that several organizations are waiting in the wings to see if the loophole is closed. If it is not, they plan to form unregistered bank holding companies and, thereby, flaunt the objectives of the Bank Holding Company Act. I am certain that no Member of this body endorses such tactics.

A REVIEW OF ALL BANK HOLDING COMPANY EXEMPTIONS PROMISED

Mr. Chairman, the Banking and Currency Committee is not unsympathetic to removal of all bank holding company exemptions. Shortly another bill will be

before this body which will remove a second objectionable exemption to the act. The report on that legislation carries the following paragraph:

Your committee, after considering H.R. 7372 and H.R. 7371, feels strongly that Congress should review all exemptions granted to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956.

I can assure the Members of this body that such a study will be made. However, the exemptions to the act were not granted on a "blanket basis." They were granted one by one. It would, therefore, be unfortunate, if not poor legislative policy, to remove them with one stroke of the pen. Until we have studied all of the exemptions, we cannot in good faith and conscience endorse such a move.

COMPANIES TO BE COVERED IF EXEMPTION IS REPEALED

It has been suggested by some Members of this body that the Committee is not certain what groups, companies, and other organizations would be covered if the exemption to the Bank Holding Company Act were removed. In explaining the reason that we have been unable to obtain the names of all which would be covered, let me say that this is one of the bases for the legislation—the fact that we do not know who owns many of our banks. I want to make it clear that companies which are not covered by the Bank Holding Company Act are not governed by, nor are they required to make any reports to any Federal banking agency. Thus, since these groups are not required to make known their ownership, it is impossible to determine who would be covered by this legislation. However, by passing this legislation, these companies would have to register and we would no longer be in the dark as to who was operating under preferential treatment. The argument that we are not certain who would be covered by the legislation is a valid one and it is one of the reasons why we should pass H.R. 7371. We would then not be forced to operate in the dark.

Mr. Chairman, in order to show how the Bank Holding Company Act has prevented banking concentration, I would like to briefly discuss the major requirements of the Bank Holding Company Act.

FRE REGISTRATION REQUIRED

The act requires any company owning 25 percent or more of the voting stock of two or more banks to register with the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; prohibits the formation of such a company without the Board's approval; prohibits any such company from acquiring any additional bank, or as much as 5 percent of the voting stock of any bank, without such approval; prohibits banks that are a subsidiary of a holding company from lending to or investing in the parent company or other subsidiaries; and prohibits bank holding companies, subject to certain limited exceptions, from engaging in nonbanking businesses.

The Bank Holding Company Act is an excellent piece of groundbreaking legislation. But the Bank Holding Company Act in its original form was not designed

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CONTENTS

Adjournment.....5,12	HemisFair.....4	Public Law 480.....17
Air pollution.....6,16	Highways.....26	Research.....16,18
Animal research.....18	Information.....22	Rivers and harbors.....8
Appropriations.....7,24	Labeling.....20	Stockpile.....3
CCC.....9,17	Labor standards.....21	Sugar.....10
Continuing	Legislative program.....11	Trade fair.....4
appropriations.....7	Loans.....1,14	Water loans.....1,14
Credit.....19	Marketing orders.....23	Water pollution.....6,25
Electrification.....13	Monopolies.....20	Wheat.....9
Farm program.....9,15	Personnel.....27	
Flood control.....8,13	Poverty.....2	

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate concurred in House amendments to Aiken-Poage water-loans bill.
Senate agreed to conference report on poverty bill.

SENATE

1. WATER; LOANS. Concurred in the House amendments to S. 1766, the Aiken-Poage water-loans bill. This bill will now be sent to the President. The bill authorizes the Department to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply, water systems, and waste-disposal systems serving rural areas and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with construction of such community facilities. It also increases the authorization for insured real estate loans from \$200,000,000 to \$450,000,000. pp. 24223-4
2. POVERTY. By a 46-22 vote, agreed to the conference report on H. R. 8283, to make various amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act. This bill will now be sent to the President. pp. 24194-6, 24198-216, 24220-23, 24225-7
3. STOCKPILE. Passed without amendment H. R. 10516, to authorize disposal of vegetable tannin extracts from the national stockpile; and as reported H. R. 6852, to authorize disposal of abaca from the stockpile. pp. 24233-4

4. HEMISFAIR. H. R. 9247, to provide for participation in the HemisFair of 1968, was made the unfinished business. pp. 24235-6
5. ADJOURNED until Tues., Sept. 28. p. 24252

HOUSE

6. AIR POLLUTION. Passed with amendments S. 306, to amend the Clean Air Act to require standards for controlling the emission of pollutants from gasoline-powered or diesel-powered vehicles, and to establish a Federal Air Pollution Control Laboratory. pp. 24144-67
Rep. Scheuer stated that there is an increasing need to keep informed of the major developments occurring daily in the field of air and water pollution. pp. 24176-77
7. CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS. Agreed to make in order next week the consideration of a joint resolution making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1966. pp. 24167-68
8. RIVERS-HARBORS; FLOOD CONTROL. Conferees were appointed on the rivers-and harbors and flood-control bill, S. 2300. Senate conferees have already been appointed. p. 24169
9. FARM PROGRAM. Rep. Andrews, N. Dak., stated that continuing rain poses a great loss in N. Dak.'s spring wheat crop and urged USDA to "hold back marketing of CCC wheat in order to maintain the better cash market position that will in a small way compensate...for the fewer bushels they will harvest." pp. 24170-1
The "Daily Digest" states that "Conferees continued in executive session to resolve the differences between the Senate- and House-passed versions of H. R. 9811, " the farm bill, "and will meet again tomorrow." p. D963
10. SUGAR. Rep. Findley stated that "the cost of the Sugar Act proposal...is staggering," but an aspect "far more distressing than the cost to consumers is the influence of lobbyists," and inserted from the Congressional Quarterly brief sketches of the foreign sugar lobbyists. pp. 24174-75
11. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Rep. Albert announced that next week's program will include the federal pay bill, the highway beautification bill, and the sugar bill. p. 24169
12. ADJOURNED until Mon., Sept. 27. p. 24192

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

13. ELECTRIFICATION; FLOOD CONTROL. Speech in the House by Rep. Dent during debate on the public works bill in which he suggested a careful examination of the proposed power development on the St. John River. pp. A5411-2
14. LOANS. Speeches in the House by Reps. Cooley, Latta, Cramer and Dingell, during debate on the FHA water-loans bill. pp. A5422, A5423, A5429
15. FARM PROGRAM. Extension of remarks of Rep. Morrison commending Secretary Freeman as "one of our greatest agriculture leaders in all of our history" and inserting the Secretary's La. speech, "The Coming Decade In Agriculture." pp. A5423-5

against income tax to employers for the expenses of providing training programs for employees and prospective employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DYAL:

H. Con. Res. 515. Concurrent resolution requesting the President to refer the matter of the diversion of surplus arctic water to the International Joint Commission; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 11269. A bill for the relief of Mrs.

Dorothy E. Kelley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee:

H.R. 11270. A bill for the relief of Carmen Taal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRIDER:

H.R. 11271. A bill for the relief of certain individuals employed by the Department of Defense at the Granite City Defense Depot, Granite City, Ill.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 11272. A bill for the relief of Clement Lalezari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 11273. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ivan Dimich and his wife, Dr. Aleksandra Baj-sanki Dimich; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING of California:

H.R. 11274. A bill for the relief of Selma Ibayashi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING of Utah:

H.R. 11275. A bill to provide for the free entry of one photomicroscope for the use of the Utah State Training School, American Fork, Utah; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KREBS:

H.R. 11276. A bill for the relief of Ning Sheng Huang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 11277. A bill for the relief of Maria Fernandes Carvalho; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Senate

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1965

(Legislative day of Monday, September 20, 1965)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, from whom all holy desires and all good counsels do proceed, rise mercifully with the morning upon our darkened hearts. In this tragic and despairing world we are conscious of our woeful inadequacy to sit in the seats of judgment, to balance the scales of justice and to respond with equity to the myriad causes of human need. Wilt Thou crown our deliberations with Thy wisdom and with spacious thinking as we view human problems in terms of the whole globe. Light our eyes, we pray, with sympathy for all mankind as we face the questions which confront us and almost confound us. Quicken within us, we beseech Thee, every noble impulse and sanctify for Thy glory and for human good our best endeavors.

We lift our prayer in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on September 22, 1965, the President had approved and signed the following acts:

- S. 192. An act for the relief of Maria Liberty Burnett;
- S. 586. An act for the relief of Maria Tsilis;
- S. 653. An act for the relief of George Paluras (Georgios Palouras);
- S. 703. An act for the relief of Kimie Okamoto Addington;
- S. 861. An act for the relief of Alva Arlington Garnes; and
- S. 1919. An act for the relief of Laura MacArthur Goditiaboiss-Deacon.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Chair laid before the Senate the unfinished business, the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. McNAMARA obtained the floor.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McNAMARA. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMMITTEES TO FILE REPORTS DURING AD- JOURNMENT OF THE SENATE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for all committees to file reports, including minority, individual, and separate views, during the adjournment of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further reports of committees, the nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of U. Alexis Johnson, of California, to be a Deputy Under Secretary of State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John S. Foster, Jr., of California, to be Director of Research and Engineering.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, while I do not have the pleasure of knowing Mr. Johnson personally, I am very glad, on this occasion, to salute the appointment of John S. Foster, Jr., to be Director of Defense Research and Engineering. Over the last several years he has demonstrated a supreme capacity to be of service to the American people and to the needs of their defense.

I observe on this occasion, that as a fellow California citizen, I am delighted

to see him and Mr. Johnson given these new areas of responsibility.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert A. Brooks, of Massachusetts, to be Assistant Secretary of the Army.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

U.S. NAVY

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations for promotion in the U.S. Navy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Bass in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMEND- MENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I should like to make a brief statement regarding the conference report.

First, I wish to thank my colleagues who served with me on the conference, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY].

The major difference between the two versions of the bill is the authorization by title, resulting in a total authorization of \$1.895 billion in the House bill, and \$1.650 billion in the Senate bill.

The conferees arrived at a compromise figure of \$1.785 billion, which represents an increase of \$135 million over the authorization in the Senate bill, and a decrease of \$110 million from the authorization in the House bill.

The primary difference may be found in title I, where the conferees increased the authorization \$165 million.

The reason for this increase was to provide more money for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which has had great success both in the number of youths participating, and the benefits resulting from their participation.

The conferees received telegrams from many State officials urging that the authorization for this program be increased.

The Senate conferees have receded from the Senate position in section 209(c) in regard to the Governor's veto power.

As the Senate will recall, during Senate consideration of the bill the Governor's veto was dropped from the bill and the Senate rejected seven or eight amendments to reinstate some form of it.

The Senate position was adopted in conference, in lieu of the House language which permitted the Governor's veto but which permitted the Director of OEO to reconsider such actions and override them.

However, the House subsequently voted to recommit the conference report to conference, with instructions to its conferees to insist on the House position.

On returning to conference, the Senate conferees were reluctant to reconsider and recede on this point.

However, in view of the House action, the Senate conferees agreed to recede and to accept the House language.

The Senate conferees receded from the Senate position which provided for Hatch Act coverage to VISTA volunteers and persons employed by agencies administering or carrying on community action programs, and whose salaries are paid in principal part from funds appropriated under the act.

The exclusion of these provisions was based upon the difficulty of applying the existing statutory restrictions to organizations and agencies for which they were not designed.

In no way did the conferees intend any retreat from the principle that these programs must be conducted in a completely impartial manner, free of any partisan political activity or any activity designed to further the election or defeat of any candidate for public office.

In addition, a letter was received from John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, opposing this Senate amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Macy's letter be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the remaining differences resolved by the House and Senate conferees were relatively minor in nature.

An explanation of the action taken on these amendments is contained in the statement of the managers on the part of the House.

I ask unanimous consent that the portion of the House conferees' statement in explanation of the conferees' action be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, in conclusion, this bill, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, provides an authorization of funds for fiscal year 1966, and a 1-year extension of the Federal share of financing at 90 percent for programs under title I, parts B and C, and title II of the act.

The legislation was enacted on August 20, 1964, and not funded until October 8, 1964. Involved in its many programs are new concepts to assist in the war on poverty. The progress made thus far deserves our continuing support.

I believe we arrived at an excellent bill in conference, and I urge Senate approval of the conference report.

EXHIBIT 1

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., September 1, 1965.

HON. PAT McNAMARA,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR McNAMARA: The Civil Service Commission respectfully submits the following views regarding section 18 of H.R. 8283, added by the Senate, making the Hatch Political Activities Act applicable to employees of private nongovernmental agencies which administer or conduct community action programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended. The amendment adopted by the Senate would revise section 211 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 by inserting a new subsection (a) as follows:

"(a) Any person who is employed by any agency administering or conducting a community action program receiving assistance under this part and whose salary is paid in principal part from funds appropriated pursuant to this part, shall be deemed to be an officer or employee of a State or local agency for the purposes and within the meaning of the act entitled 'An act to prevent pernicious political activities,' approved August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147) as amended."

The Commission believes that it would be unwise to extend the general political activity restrictions of the Hatch Act to such a sizable group of persons in the private sector of community life.

Before action is taken on the bill the conference managers should appreciate the full scope and impact of this provision which would constitute a major departure from long-standing precedent in legislation of this type, as established by the Hatch Act. Whereas the Hatch Act covers those who occupy positions of public trust as employees of executive agencies of the Federal Government or of State or local governments, the amendment as adopted by the Senate would prohibit certain employees of private organizations from taking any active part in partisan political affairs. The Senate amendment can be read so as to include, potentially, employees of such organizations as legal aid societies, religious and charitable organizations, and other groups which we believe do not normally have any substantial political involvement.

The primary justification for the restrictive provisions of the Hatch Act is found in the fact that those whose political freedom is curtailed are governmental employees who are expected by the general public to refrain from active political partisanship.

Under the 1940 amendments of the Hatch Act, such restrictions are applied to employees of State and local governmental agencies whose principal employment is in connection with activities financed by Federal loans or grants. There again the Congress directed the prohibitions to officers and employees of governmental agencies only.

Of course, the Commission concurs in the view that partisan politics should be kept out of community action programs financed by Federal grants. In this regard it should be noted that existing law goes far to proscribe partisan political activity in community action programs. Section 12 of the Hatch Act prohibits partisan political activity on the part of any officer or employee of a public agency who is principally employed in connection with such an activity financed by Federal loans or grants. The same section of the Hatch Act would also prohibit such an officer or employee from using his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or promoting the solicitation of money for political purposes. It is the Commission's position that the Hatch Act will deter most of those engaged in community action programs who otherwise might be inclined to become active in partisan political campaigns.

The Commission believes that the Congress should seriously consider the effect of a legislative prohibition against political activity on the part of private employees. We urge that the amendment be rejected.

By direction of the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. MACY, JR.,
Chairman.

EXHIBIT 2

JOB CORPS—DISPLACEMENT OF EMPLOYED WORKERS

The Senate amendment contained a provision, which had no counterpart in the House bill, which prohibited the Director from authorizing a Job Corps program which would result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services. The conferees have agreed upon a compromise under which the Director is required to prescribe regulations to prevent Job Corps programs from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services.

JOB CORPS—PAYMENTS TO RECRUITERS

The Senate amendment prohibited the Director from making payments to any individual or organization for the service of referring candidates for enrollment in the Job Corps or names of such candidates. The House bill contained no similar provision. The conference report contains a substitute which provides that the Director shall make no payments to any individual or organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for the Corps.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—ACCESS OF PUBLIC TO INFORMATION

The Senate amendment provided that community action programs must include provisions for feasible access of the public to information, including but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference agreement adopts the Senate provision, except that the word "feasible" is changed to "reasonable."

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—TYPES OF PROGRAMS

The present act contains examples of programs which fall within the purposes of community action programs. The Senate amendment added to the list the fields of family planning, consumer credit education, and consumer debt counseling programs. It also gave emphasis to the fact that the list is merely to give examples by providing that the programs falling within the purpose of the part include, but are not limited to, the listed fields. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference substitute omits the listing of additional examples of types of permissible programs. It adopts, however, the Senate provision insuring that the listed fields are not the only ones in which programs may be carried. The managers on the part of the House wish it to be understood that the omission of the Senate provision in no way indicates that it is their intention or the intention of the Senate conferees to discourage the continuation and expansion of programs in these fields. Programs in these fields are now being carried on, and are to be encouraged.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

The Senate amendment authorized the Director to make grants for special programs directed at the needs of those chronically unemployed poor persons who have poor employment prospects, and are unable, because of age or otherwise to obtain appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs. These programs, in addition to other services, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community served by the program, including activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands. The program must be conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under the act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment. It was also provided that \$150 million of the funds appropriated for carrying out title II of the act for the fiscal year 1966 could be used for this purpose. The House bill contained no similar provision. The provisions for these special programs are retained in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, the provision for earmarking a portion of the funds appropriated for title II for this purpose was not retained.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—SELF-HELP HOUSING REHABILITATION

The Senate amendment contained a provision requiring the Director to give special consideration to programs which would, through self-help, rehabilitate substandard housing and provide instruction in basic skills associated with such rehabilitation. This provision is not included in the substitute agreed upon in conference. However, programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

Participation of State agencies

The Senate amendment provided for continuing consultation with approximate State agencies in the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs. The conference substitute includes this provision except for the word "continuing."

Disapproval of plans

The present act provides that no assistance can be made available for work-training programs or community action programs until the Governor of the State in which they are to be carried on has been given notice of the

plan for the assistance and has not disapproved it within 30 days.

The House bill amended this provision so that, in the event of the disapproval of a plan by a Governor, the Director could reconsider it, and if he found it fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this act, could override the Governor's disapproval.

Pursuant to the instructions of the House, the House conferees have insisted on the inclusion of the House provision in the conference report. The conferees expect that the procedures established by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under section 209(a) will include provision for informal hearings held by the Director at the request of the Governor of a State or other interested parties.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PRIVATE NONPROFIT AGENCIES

The House bill provided that when the Director receives an application for a community action program to be carried out in a community in which a community action agency is carrying on a program consisting of several component programs, he must give notice to that agency. The Senate amendment added a requirement that the Director also give notice to the Governor of the State. The Senate amendment also provided that when the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that special cause has been shown, he may make a grant directly to, or contract directly with, such agency.

The conference substitute includes both of these Senate provisions, except that the requirement that "special" cause must be shown before the Director may contract directly has been altered to require "good" cause to be shown.

Voluntary assistance program for needy children

The House bill struck out part C of title II of the act providing for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity a center to encourage voluntary assistance for deserving and needy children. The Senate amendment retained part C, but deleted the provision under which the center was directed to collect the names of persons who voluntarily desire to assist such children financially, and to obtain information concerning deserving and needy children from social welfare agencies.

The conference report adopts the Senate provision.

Indemnity payments to dairy farmers

The Senate amendment extended until June 30, 1966, the program provided for by the act for making indemnity payments to dairy farmers who have been directed to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contained residues of chemicals registered and approved for use at the time of such use. The conference substitute adopts the Senate provision.

Programs for the elderly poor

The Senate amendment added a provision to the act stating the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor should be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under the act. The conference report retains this provision of the Senate amendment.

The Senate amendment also provided for the establishment in the Office of Economic Opportunity of a Task Force on Programs for the Elderly Poor. The conference substitute does not include this provision.

National Advisory Council

The Senate amendment provided for a National Advisory Council of 21 members with the Director an ex-officio member to review and to make recommendations of the programs under the act. The House bill in-

creased the members from 14 to 20 but made no other changes in the provisions of the act. The House bill provision was accepted by the conferees.

Transfer of funds between titles

The Senate amendment added a section to the act permitting up to 10 percent of the amount appropriated or allocated for any title to be transferred for use in carrying out other titles, but the amount available for use for any title could not be increased by more than 10 percent. The conference substitute includes this provision.

Equitable distribution of benefits between urban and rural areas

The Senate amendment required the Director to adopt such administrative measures as are necessary to assure that benefits of the act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas. The substitute agreed upon in conference contains a modification of the Senate provision under which the Director is required to adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure such equitable distribution.

Authorization of appropriations

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$825 million to carry out title I of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$535 million for such purpose. The amount fixed in conference is \$700 million.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for fiscal year 1966 of \$680 million to carry out title II of the act. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$880 million for such purpose. The conference substitute authorizes the appropriation for such purpose for such year of \$850 million.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$70 million to carry out title III. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$55 million for such purpose. The conference substitute adopts the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$300 million to carry out title V. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$150 million for such purpose. The conference report contains the Senate figure.

The House bill authorized the appropriation for the fiscal year 1966 of \$20 million to carry out title VI. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation for such year of \$30 million for such purpose. The substitute agreed upon in conference adopts the Senate figure.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] without losing the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INDIA-PAKISTAN: ANOTHER UNITED NATIONS SUCCESS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it has been a long, dry 1965 for the United Nations. The U.N. has been unable to contribute significantly to peace in Vietnam. The U.N. Assembly has been unable even to cast a substantive vote.

But now, thanks to the great skill of the Johnson administration, the forbearing cooperation of the Soviet Union, and the quiet but vigorous efforts of the United Kingdom and others, the

United Nations has achieved what appears to be a 10-strike for peace in successfully winning a cease-fire between India and Pakistan.

The war between these two major non-Communist countries of Asia was not only developing into the tragedy of violence and death that characterizes all war, but also threatened to collapse the major bastions of freedom in Asia, with Red China picking up the pieces.

A few days ago, it seemed impossible for the U.N. or any other force to call India or Pakistan back from this religious war.

President Johnson should be especially singled out for commendation. It must have been tempting to step into this controversy as the peacemaker—as, indeed, he was urged to do by the belligerents. His credentials for this peace-directing role as the President of the principal source of economic aid for both countries, and the major supplier of arms for Pakistan, were mighty impressive.

But the President had the wisdom to restrain the Nation from the glory and the danger of such a role. He wisely recognized the part that the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom could and should play, and he especially perceived how very important this role could be and should be for the United Nations.

The success of the United Nations in serving as the agency that has brought a cease-fire in this war will serve mankind far better than a U.S. unilaterally enforced peace, even if we could have achieved it. This gives confidence to the United Nations and in the United Nations.

As the Washington Post put it in its headline yesterday, "U.N. Makes Peace in Its Finest Hour," the U.N. achievement can be a real harbinger of strength—along with the U.N. success in Korea, the Suez, Cyprus, the Congo, and elsewhere.

Americans should be proud that this Nation, under the leadership of President Johnson, made this U.N. success possible.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article published in the Washington Post, and written by Louis Fleming, to which I have referred, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.N. MAKES PEACE IN ITS FINEST HOUR
(By Louis B. Fleming)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., September 22.—There was a glow of satisfaction and the return of a long-lost sense of confidence at the United Nations today following the early-morning agreement on a cease-fire between India and Pakistan.

The United Nations had made peace—and so had Arthur J. Goldberg. Corridors buzzed about both.

Only a handful of hearty diplomats had been on hand in the Council chamber at 3 a.m. to hear Pakistan Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto read the cease-fire agreement.

Only eight reporters had stood in the corridor an hour later to hear U.S. Ambassador Goldberg say: "This is a great moment in the history of the United Nations."

CLOSE SHAVE FOR PEACE

And only a few persons knew how close to disaster the path to peace had come in the tense hours between 1:45 a.m. Monday, when the Council demanded a cease-fire, and 3 a.m. Wednesday, when Bhutto agreed.

There was almost universal agreement among diplomats that this was the Security Council's finest hour. The threat of this war, with the backstage role of Communist China, had an importance that most thought greater than earlier Council peace actions.

Most of the delegates agreed that much of the credit belonged to Goldberg, even though he had risked a mutiny by some of the members, and even though the final agreement was threatened by a walkout of some of the same angry members early today.

Goldberg himself was convinced that the agreement early Monday morning was the fruit of continuous negotiations he had demanded as Council president.

SIX THREATENED TO QUIT

At the crucial moment in these negotiations Monday, the six nonpermanent members of the Council handed Goldberg a letter threatening to walk out and challenging his extended talks alone with France, the Soviet Union and Britain while they cooled their heels outside. Fortunately, he had just won agreement from the Big Four on a resolution almost identical to one he had negotiated earlier in the day with the six.

Their mutiny was abandoned and the Council adopted the resolution.

Council members themselves were kept in a state of suspense by Pakistan until Bhutto read the agreement of his government at the exact hour set for the ceasefire in the Council's Monday resolution.

At 2:36 a.m. Goldberg invited Bhutto to address the Council. At this point, no one on the Council yet knew what the Pakistani would do.

BITTER CHARGES

For 20 minutes, the Foreign Minister gave a traditional Kashmir dispute speech, ringing oratory, bitter charges against India, protests of absolute innocence on the part of Pakistan, a threat to fight for 1,000 years if necessary to defend the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir.

But he kept looking at the clock. Just at 3 a.m., the hour of the cease-fire deadline, he halted his speech, pulled out a piece of paper, and carefully read the following message from Pakistani President Ayub Khan: "Pakistan considers Security Council Resolution 211 of September 20 as unsatisfactory. However, in the interest of international peace and in order to enable the Security Council to evolve a self-executing procedure which will lead to an honorable settlement of the root cause of the present conflict; namely, the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, I have issued the following order to the Pakistan armed forces * * *."

Pakistan would stop shooting in 5 minutes, he informed the Council.

Council members recessed to draft their acceptance. The final cease-fire deadline was postponed for 15 hours to give both armies time for implementation.

Elation over the peace agreement was tempered with a realization that, as Goldberg said, the cease-fire was just the beginning. Pakistan obviously was dead serious when it said it would quit the United Nations if the Council allows the question of Kashmir to drift as it has for 16 years.

But it was impossible to exaggerate the achievement in terms of revived prestige for the organization. It was a credit to Secretary General U Thant, whose 9-day peace mission to India and Pakistan laid the foundation for the cease-fire agreement.

And, for the Council, it was a moment particularly significant for the unity of the

big four that succeeded in isolating the conflict from the opportunism of Peking.

(The U.N. General Assembly's steering committee recommended—without taking a formal vote—that the Assembly again take up the issue of a seat for Red China, Associated Press reported. U.S. Ambassador Charles Y. Vost said the United States had no objection to full-scale Assembly debate, but added that in the light of recent events he believed the debate "would serve no useful purposes." The steering committee also overrode Communist objections and recommended that the Assembly again take up the Tibet issue.)

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] for so graciously yielding to me.

Mr. CLARK. I commend the Senator from Wisconsin for the comments he has just made. I invite his attention to what I hope is the beginning of a real peace offensive, as the result of our success in bringing about a cease-fire between India and Pakistan.

This peace offensive got underway 2 weeks ago at the Washington World Conference on "World Peace Through World Law," which was addressed by the President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the United States, and by Ambassador Arthur Goldberg who, by the way, is reported in the press this morning as having delivered an excellent speech at the United Nations in connection with the cease-fire between India and Pakistan in which he also indicated his intention to support the views of President Johnson that we should now get going on a peace offensive which would include a number of measures on disarmament.

Mr. President, I hope to have something to say about that later in the day. I commend my friend the Senator from Wisconsin for his activity in this regard.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Let me say to the Senator from Pennsylvania that I agree with him wholeheartedly in his remarks. I also invite attention once again to the brilliant speech made at that conference by the Senator from Pennsylvania, on arms control and disarmament. I thought so highly of it that I inserted it in the RECORD. I thought it was a great contribution to the peace offensive to which he has referred.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 23, 1965, was dispensed with.

AUTHORIZATION TO RECEIVE MESSAGES AND SIGN BILLS DURING ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive messages, and that the Vice President be authorized to sign bills and resolutions during the adjournment of the Senate, which is anticipated until next Tuesday, September 28, 1965.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MUSKIE in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request by Mr. CLARK, and by unanimous consent, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

FOREIGN STEEL FLOWS INTO UNITED STATES AT NEW HIGH RATE, 16 TONS A MINUTE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, as everyone knows, coal—coke—is essential to the production of steel.

Recently the American Iron and Steel Institute put out a statement showing that foreign steel now flows into the United States at the new high rate of 16 tons a minute.

Nevertheless, according to the Nathan Report, West Germany, the Netherlands, France, and in this case the United Kingdom, have almost prohibitive quantitative restrictions, quotas, licensing arrangements, and so forth, on the imports of coal.

According to this report, these non-tariff barriers cost the United States up to \$500 million a year on coal alone.

I believe it just and proper that we ask for more economic cooperation from our friends and allies of the free world. We are all in this one together.

I ask unanimous consent that the article in question be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN STEEL FLOWS INTO UNITED STATES AT NEW HIGH RATE, 16 TONS A MINUTE

Foreign steel mill products entered the United States at the rate of 16 tons per minute during the first 4 months of 1965. That record was set despite the January-February dock strike on the east and gulf coasts.

In comparison, imports averaged a little less than 11 tons per minute during the same 4 months of 1964 and about 12 tons per minute for the full year. A decade ago, the rate was less than 2 tons per minute.

Within the general increase in steel mill product imports which, at current rates, could bring the 1965 total to almost 8 million tons, significant changes are in progress.

Prior to 1959—the year in which this country became a net importer of steel for the first time in half a century—sheets and strip comprised a negligible item in the total import picture. For example, in 1955, sheets and strip brought in from foreign countries came to a little more than 54,000 tons, or 5.5 percent of the 973,000-ton total. The United States was then, as it is now, the world's largest producer of sheets and strip.

In the steel strike year of 1959 when many domestic steel consumers had to turn abroad for supplies to keep their factories running, sheet and strip imports jumped to over 8 percent of total imports, or 386,000 tons. During 1964 the tonnage of sheets and strip brought into this country from foreign sources increased to almost 1.2 million tons which was 18 percent of total imports.

Through the first 4 months of this year, sheets and strip accounted for 28 percent of all imported mill products—766,000 out of 2,732,000 net tons.

JAPANESE MAKE BIG GAIN

Among the foreign sources of imported steel mill products, Japan has shown the most remarkable gain. During 1955, the 96,000 tons of imports originating in that country accounted for a little less than 10 percent of the total. By 1959, the tonnage had increased to 626,000 net tons (14 percent) and Japanese products have accounted for a larger percentage of total imports in each year since then. In 1964, imports of 2,446,000 tons from Japan represented 38 percent of the total.

Through the first quarter of this year, imports from Japan accounted for nearly 44 percent of all steel mill products entering the United States, and that country is by far the largest single source of sheets and strip.

All sections of the country are affected by the inroads of foreign steel into the domestic economy, as shown below.

Particularly noteworthy among the data shown is the high rank of Japan as a source of steel mill products at the end of such long shipping routes as the Atlantic and gulf coasts and even in customs districts along the "north coast" created by the St. Lawrence Seaway.

In that latter connection, the Michigan customs district (with Detroit primary) ranked third in tonnage of foreign steel received last year—exceeded only by Los Angeles and Galveston districts. New York and New Orleans were the next largest, followed by Chicago.

Together, the great industrial centers in the vicinity of Detroit and Chicago were the targets of more than a million tons of foreign steel last year. Buffalo received 306,000 tons.

OUR UNFAVORABLE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, everyone is becoming interested in the problem of our continuing unfavorable balance of payments, and its relationship to liquidity in the promotion of world trade.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Kansas City Star, entitled, "Secretary Scores Points for Monetary Reform," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECRETARY SCORES POINTS FOR MONETARY REFORM

Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury and traveler, returned from Europe with a fever and a reasonably optimistic report on the prospects for reform in the international monetary system. Armed with proof that the United States is successfully grappling with its own balance-of-payments problem, and bolstered by the momentum of the U.S. initiative, Fowler has obtained agreement from the major nations to get the show on the road. Presumably this will be done at conversations which will begin in October. We are sorry about the fever but we must say that the Secretary turned in a fine piece of work.

In the simplest of terms, the immediate problem—and by immediate, we do not mean tomorrow or the day after, but within the decade to come—stems in part from the U.S. success in bringing its payments balance into line in the second quarter of the year. But the dollars that constituted the American deficit for so many years were the chief fountain of international liquidity. That simply means that dollars dispatched overseas for various purposes were used to finance world development. Not just dollars, of course; but mostly dollars.

It is obvious that the United States does not intend to—and cannot afford to—let its payments balance get so badly out of line for such a prolonged period. Thus there will be fewer dollars to go around. Moreover, with the expansion of the various national economies and with the rapid growth of the population, there is a need for more funds to assure orderly growth. The question is thus proposed: Where are the funds to come from?

This is the crux of the issue at the moment when Fowler can report that the so-called group of 10—the United States, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Sweden—will begin negotiations next month. These will be preliminary in nature. And Fowler has been extremely careful in assuring the underdeveloped nations that the intention is not to create a rich man's club to take charge of reform. Rather, all the members of the International Monetary Fund will be considered and in due time will be consulted. This must be so even though only a few nations—in all probability the group of 10 itself—will provide the bulk of the funds to be used in any monetary reform. That is the way it must be. Nevertheless, the industrial nations have a large stake in the development of the new and poor nations, and the interest of those nations must be considered.

It thus is a matter of extreme delicacy, involving the intricacies of international finance and the pride of nations. Fowler, as we see it, has so far handled the matter masterfully. And the talks that begin next month could be the opening of a genuine monetary reform that would give new stability to the entire free world.

EUGENE ZUCKERT, SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, some of us plan to pay our respects and tribute to one of the great public servants of our time, Secretary of the Air Force, Eugene M. Zuckert, who is retiring next week.

We planned to do so next Monday, but inasmuch as I understand the Senate will not be in session on that day, I should like all Senators to know that immediately after the morning hour on Wednesday, September 29, it is our intention to pay tribute to Mr. Zuckert.

I thank my friend the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], for his typical courtesy in yielding to me.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is most welcome.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMEND- MENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I address myself to the conference report on the Economic Opportunity Act amendments of 1965.

The Senate version of this act added in section 205(a), "family planning," which is illustrative of the programs which the Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract for with local public or private nonprofit agencies. This addition to the major programs initially authorized by the act was in-

cluded in the legislation in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, on my motion.

There was very little discussion within the committee presumably because the members agreed that programs of family planning were, indeed, essential to an adequate attack on poverty in this country.

When the bill reached the floor of the Senate again, there was no discussion on this insertion in the act.

I happened to be unavoidably out of Washington during the course of debate, but the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH], at my request, placed in the RECORD a speech in support of the amendment which I had prepared for delivery.

When the bill went to conference with the House, the provision explicitly authorizing family planning, as one type of program which was to be encouraged, was deleted. I have attempted to find out why it was deleted, and I have been quite unsuccessful.

In the Senate report, the statement is made that the bill would add consumer credit education, consumer debt counseling, and family planning to the list of the types of components eligible for inclusion in community action programs.

The Senate report states:

The committee is aware that services of these types are already being provided in some community action programs. The amendment, however, would underscore the interest of the Congress in these fields of activities and, subject to the principle that programs should be locally planned to meet local needs, would serve to emphasize the importance of inaugurating components involving consumer protection and family planning.

Of course, the Senate never makes a conference report. It relies on the report made by the managers of the House to their body for a statement of the views of the conferees. The only paragraph which might shed some light on why family planning was eliminated by the conferees appears on page 11 of the report of the House managers, and reads as follows:

The present act contains examples of programs which fall within the purposes of community action programs. The Senate amendment added to the list the fields of family planning, consumer credit education, and consumer debt counseling programs. It also gave emphasis to the fact that the list is merely to give examples by providing that the programs falling within the purpose of the part include, but are not limited to, the listed fields. The House bill contained no comparable provision. The conference substitute omits the listing of additional examples of types of permissible programs. It adopts, however, the Senate provision insuring that the listed fields are not the only ones in which programs may be carried. The managers on the part of the House wish it to be understood that the omission of the Senate provision in no way indicates that it is their intention or the intention of the Senate conferees to discourage the continuation and expansion of these programs. Programs in these fields are now being carried on and are to be encouraged.

That is a very nice, fair, and helpful statement, but one wonders why these

phrases, and particularly family planning, were deleted from the bill. There is no explanation, and one can only guess.

My guess would be that there were some members among the House conferees who felt that the subject of family planning had only recently become respectable. This occurred 2 or 3 years ago, as a result of the activities of an eminent Catholic physician, Dr. John Rock, the tolerant position taken by Cardinal Cushing, of Boston, and the speeches made on the floor of this body by the distinguished Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], myself, and a number of other Senators. But perhaps it was thought by one or more of the House conferees that family planning is still so controversial a subject that to include it in the poverty legislation as a permissible, and, indeed, an encouraged program might disturb the calm contentment of some of their constituents who still believe that where ignorance is, for them personally, bliss, it is folly to permit individuals to be wise.

If the matter could be swept under the rug in this fashion, a subject whose mere mention offends the sensibilities of some individuals unwilling to face up to the economic and social consequences of the problem of unwanted children, the House conferees may have thought we had better get rid of that subject without any floor discussion.

I regret that the decision of the conferees to attempt to soft-pedal the Senate action, which candidly faced up to one of the most serious problems confronting our country, makes it desirable to explain why this provision in the Senate version of the bill appeared to me and to the members of the Senate committee, and indeed to the Senate itself, to be a wise one.

The present policy of the Federal Government has been to encourage the research and development of family planning techniques in a number of Federal agencies, and to give assistance to individuals, countries, and groups interested in attaining adequate information on the subject, whether at home or abroad.

Thus, the foreign aid program several years ago was bolstered by a provision introduced in the legislation, at the urging of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. FULBRIGHT], which authorized technical assistance and research to be made available to countries overseas which were interested in curtailing their birth rate in the interest of their overall economic growth, and were also anxious to dispel that ignorance which is all too often the principal cause of large families of unwanted children.

The Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Udall, has launched a program making family planning information and services available to Indians, Eskimos, Polynesians, and others who are natives of the Pacific islands which the United States holds in trust and which are under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.

One wonders why, if these people are entitled to the right to know with respect

to the subject of family planning, it should not be equally wise to encourage the administrators of the war against poverty to make the same information available in the interests of millions of Americans who do not presently have the pertinent information.

The Children's Bureau in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is providing research and demonstration grants in the field of family planning and supporting the training of personnel for various disciplines involved in family planning programs.

In an address before the Fall Conference on Public Family Planning Clinics in New York City, the very able chief of the Children's Bureau, Mrs. Katherine Oettinger, recently outlined activities of the Federal Government, the States, and private organizations in the field of family planning.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the address of Mrs. Oettinger may be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. CLARK. I call particular attention to the final comments in that address in which Mrs. Oettinger points out the obvious fact that healthy mothers and babies are a paramount part of our national concern, and that we are greatly concerned that we now rank 10th among the leading nations of the world in reducing the infant mortality rate.

President Johnson, who in his state of the Union message spoke up most courageously in support of spreading information about family planning, has also called for a drastic reduction in the infant mortality rate by the end of this decade.

Mrs. Oettinger raises the question whether it is a mere coincidence that in all but one of the nine nations which rank ahead of us in reducing infant mortality, the birth rate is lower than that of the United States. She concludes that:

Many of us here are working together at a new rapid pace as dimensions of our problem become clearer in reaching the goal of providing better health for the mothers and children of this Nation. If family planning is a useful tool in achieving this goal, then it should be available on a universal basis as a right—

The word "right" being underlined—to parents without coercion, but with a genuine and sympathetic attention to the needs of each human being.

The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, also in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is currently spending a rather paltry sum, \$500,000 a year, in supporting research on population problems, including surveys designed to determine the number of children parents desire.

I commend all the various and widespread efforts by the Federal Government to educate the people of the United States in the techniques which are necessary to enable them to decide of their

own free will how many children they wish.

It should also be mentioned that the Office of Economic Opportunity on occasion has approved local programs of family planning as part of the war on poverty where the local community is completely unanimous in supporting the request for the grant.

Thus, in Corpus Christi and Austin, Tex., in Oakland, Calif., in St. Louis, Mo., in Buffalo, N.Y., and in Nashville, Tenn., programs are presently going forward. By now it may be that other communities have also received the approval for such grants.

But one must ask why these programs are not spreading to the larger cities where the need in social and economic terms is at least as great as, if not greater, than in the generally smaller sized cities—St. Louis excepted—the names of which I have just read. Why not Brooklyn? Why not Harlem? Why not Philadelphia? Why not Pittsburgh? Why not Watts in Los Angeles? These are the places where family planning services are desperately needed.

Does anybody think there is no right to know the facts of life in those communities? I suggest that the Office of Economic Opportunity should be less timid and more aggressive in its family planning activities.

Specifically I believe, first, that OEO funds should be permitted to be used to advertise the availability of a family planning program founded by an OEO grant.

Second, positive encouragement from Washington should be given to local community action programs to help persuade them to include family planning services in these programs in the war against poverty.

Third, I believe the OEO should modify its present administrative rules to encourage, instead of discourage, doctors in the program to advocate family planning. In particular, doctors should be permitted to suggest methods which in their view are most suited for particular patients, so long as these methods do not conflict with the religious beliefs of the patient.

Fourth, I suggest that the Office of Economic Opportunity should reconsider the policy which precludes giving information and devices to unmarried women, who, unfortunately in a moral sense, but clearly factually, are an important part of the childbearing impoverished class which increases materially the cost of the poverty program and aid to dependent children. The real question, in my opinion, is the right to know the facts of life. Americans are entitled to decide for themselves the number of children they desire to have. Unfortunately, under present conditions, in many poverty stricken areas, they have no such right today.

I suggest that we take a look at the evidence which establishes the importance of family planning as a weapon in the war on poverty. The correlation between poverty and high fertility is amply established. The following facts cannot be controverted:

First, the poor are more likely than any other group to have large families.

One out of every three families with six or more children has an annual income of less than \$3,000, and that is the rough and ready standard by which those who are living in poverty are determined, \$3,000 being the ceiling below which the poverty classes fall.

One out of every seven families with four or five children has an annual income of less than \$3,000. Only 1 of every 10 families with 2 or 3 children has an income of less than \$3,000 a year.

Consider it in another way. The median income of parents having large families is substantially lower than the median income of other families. Thus, the annual income of two-children families is \$6,900; of four-children families, \$6,500; of six children families, \$5,000. Thus the income goes down as the size of the family increases.

Since large families exist most frequently among those who can least afford to maintain them, they tend to become a burden on the State. A population increase which could be largely sustained by those who produce it would bring problems enough; but a population increase whose major incidence is among those who cannot individually afford it could spell disaster. One-third of the poor are children—approximately 10 million children.

High fertility among the poor is the prime cause of multigenerational poverty. As anyone who has studied the history of the present condition in Appalachia well knows, when a family which lacks resources to sustain a single child has to try to rear six children, their upbringing is almost certain to be totally inadequate to the task of fitting them for a productive role in society. They are the people who remain destitute to the nth generation. They are the families, in Appalachia and elsewhere, where grandfather, father, and grandson are all on relief, and the minor children in the family are receiving aid to dependent children.

Aid to dependent children has increased, and is increasing, instead of diminishing. In the last 10 years its burden has grown by 104 percent; and the 4 million people on its roll outnumber the combined total of everybody else on relief—the old, the blind, the disabled, and the other subjects of the public bounty.

High fertility deepens the poverty of the poor, and spreads and intensifies hopeless poverty. In its trend and in its wake come, all too frequently, as was so well demonstrated at Watts just the other day, violent crime, juvenile delinquency, child abuse and neglect, malnutrition, slum housing, and social alienation.

There is not the slightest reason to believe that most of the poor are more anxious than other people to have large families. Many of them do not want all their children. The only difference in this respect between the poor and the middle class is that the poor cannot always exercise their choice, because they

are not sufficiently aware that there is a choice. There can be no doubt that poor families are as eager as rich families and middle-class families to have adequate instruction in family planning. Therefore, I say that any war on poverty which either ignores the matter of fertility or tends to soft pedal it is reducing automatically the impacts of its investment; and the investment, of course, comes from the Federal Government and, therefore, from all the people of the United States.

Surely all would agree that programs aimed at reducing poverty cannot achieve their objective unless the impoverished families are helped to have only the number of children they may desire. I am keenly aware of the criticism which has been made of the views of those tens of millions of Americans who happen to agree with me that we are animated by questions of racial or religious bigotry; that we want to maintain the supremacy of the white Protestant ethic, by which the family size is relatively small; and that we are afraid of being overwhelmed by minority groups.

I am aware of the other argument which is made, that we desire to limit the freedom and liberty of others, but not of ourselves. I reject those arguments. I base my case on the right to know.

It is fairly clear that every American family having an income of \$10,000 or more a year has access to all the family planning information it wants, and most of them get it. I want to see the right to know spread to those millions of unfortunate Americans who have been denied access to the basic information. This program must be voluntary. Nobody should have family restrictions forced on him. Nobody's religious beliefs should be adversely affected in any way. But in my judgment, every American, regardless of his or her economic, social, racial, religious, or political status, has the right to the basic facts of life which will enable people to plan their families the way they want to plan them. Accordingly, I regret that that provision of the Senate bill was eliminated in conference. These items must, however, be put in balance. This is a good bill. It is a far better bill than the bill we passed a year or two ago. It provides for many useful programs. It provides adequate financing for those programs. I regret that the conferees have modified, if they did not entirely eliminate, the provision in the Senate bill which would have removed the right of Governors to veto the poverty programs. But even with the right to veto still in the bill, this is a first-class program for every State which has a 20th century government. The way to remedy the situation in States which still have 18th and 19th century governments is perhaps at the ballot box.

I regret also that a provision in the Senate bill which would have encouraged the training of individuals in the poverty community to enable them, through training and self-help, to rehabilitate their housing, was dropped by the conferees. I hope that, through adequate

coordination by the Director of the OEO program and his staff with the new Secretary of Housing and Urban Affairs, operating under the Housing Act of 1965, administrative regulations will be adopted which will permit, without in the slightest way displacing present workers, poverty-stricken families to attain skills which will enable them to obtain Federal assistance to rehabilitate the housing which they rent or own.

Mr. President, I shall vote to support the conference report. My sole effort today has been to bring out from under the rug the problem and a method of dealing with it which I believe merits the fullest public discussion.

EXHIBIT 1

THIS MOST PROFOUND CHALLENGE

(By Mrs. Katherine Brownell Oettinger, Chief, Children's Bureau)

I am indeed happy to be here with you tonight for it seems to me that this meeting is a symbol of our national response to one of the most crucial questions confronting the future of this Nation and of the world.

The rapidity of this response can be measured by the rising chorus of our national dialog as all segments of our society seek to make a contribution to the most appropriate national solution of the problem confronting us—the population explosion and its allied problems of health and welfare.

What has been produced, in the short span of 3 years, has been a series of policy expressions from powerful national groups and individuals which represent a convergence of conviction like beams of light melded together in a prismatic reflection.

Let us consider some of these expressions:

Late last year, the trustees of the American Medical Association urged it to update its stand to "conform to changes in society" and to cooperate with nonprofessional birth control groups which had "adequate medical direction" in dispensing information about family planning.

The AMA trustees asserted: "An intelligent recognition of the problems that relate to human reproduction, including the need for population control, is more than a matter of responsible parenthood; it is a matter of responsible medical practice."

Similarly, last year the American Public Health Association not only reaffirmed its 1959 position "that public and private programs concerned with population growth and family size should be integral parts of the health program but urged that Federal, State, and local governments in the United States include family planning as an integral part of their health programs, make sufficient funds and personnel available for this purpose, and insure such freedom of choice of methods that persons of all faiths have equal opportunities to exercise their choice in accordance with their conscientious beliefs."

In 1962, the National Association of Social Workers called upon social workers everywhere to give attention to the need for family planning services.

In 1964, the American Public Welfare Association's Board of Directors stressed the "importance of family planning to assist families to attain the highest potential and stated that welfare clients should be referred for this kind of assistance if they requested it. "Family planning," the APWA said, "is an individual decision * * * and a fundamental human right."

This spring, the chorus from practitioners in various disciplines was swelled by the scientific findings of the National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, as it reported on the growth of the U.S. population.

"The freedom to limit family size to the number of children wanted when they are wanted is, in our view, a basic human right * * *. Most Americans of higher income and better education exercise this right as a matter of course, but * * * many of the poor and uneducated are, in effect, deprived of the right. No family should be fated through poverty or ignorance to have children they do not want and cannot properly care for. Responsible parenthood requires that couples of all social strata have the ability and means to limit births when they wish to do so, in accordance with their personal convictions. In short, this basic freedom for the individual family should be made effective throughout American society."

The continuing thread running through this dialog has been respect for the conscience of individuals from all faiths to determine freely if they wish to space their families by methods morally acceptable to them.

In his state of the Union message last January, President Johnson said, "I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in the world population and the growing scarcity in world resources."

This summer, he was even more specific in asking us to "face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying populations and seek the answers to this most profound challenge to the future of the world."

Former President Eisenhower mounted a further thrust by vigorously reversing his previous position and stating unequivocally, "I cannot help believe that the prevention of human degradation and starvation is * * * a moral—as well as a material—obligation resting upon every enlightened government."

If we now ignore the plight of those unborn generations which, because of our unpreparedness to take corrective action in controlling population growth, will be denied any expectations beyond abject poverty and suffering, then history will rightly condemn us."

Let us look at the current role of the Federal Government in meeting this "most profound challenge to the future of the world."

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall has launched a program making contraceptive advice and services available, where desired, to American Indians, Eskimos and natives of the islands the United States hold in trust in the Pacific.

This action prompted the New England Journal of Medicine to comment editorially: "Now the Secretary of the Interior Udall has announced this program perhaps the time is nearing when natives of Massachusetts will share in the new freedom."

The Office of Economic Opportunity now will approve Federal funding for family planning services under its community action programs if the community wishes to undertake that activity. This program is just getting underway, so there is no way yet to know how many communities will place an emphasis on family planning.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is the appropriate Federal agency to carry forward all three elements of research, training, and service which must be achieved if we are to illuminate the nature of population changes, to provide new and better methods of controlling fertility and investigate the social and psychological aspects of family planning.

For example, its National Institute of Child Health and Human Development supports basic research in reproductive biology which will lead to better understanding of those factors leading to the creation and development of healthy, new individuals. It is currently spending about \$500,000 a year to support research directly related to population problems.

Most recently, it awarded a grant to Princeton University to survey birth control practices. This study will provide a base for other studies of the influence of birth control practices on the health of women and children. While earlier fertility studies were conducted in 1955 and 1960, the results of the 1955 survey could vary considerably from the current study since oral contraceptives only entered the market in 1960. One of the most interesting aspects of the study is that it should give us reliable national data on the size of the family desired by parents.

The Children's Bureau, as a part of its program related research, is undertaking research and demonstration grants on various phases of family planning. To get at the complexities surrounding the question of motivation for family planning, the Bureau has awarded a grant to the Community and Family Study Center in Chicago to find answers to these two basic questions.

1. Why do some low-income families totally reject family planning or accept it only on a limited or temporary basis?

2. How do prevailing community attitudes and the individual's own psychology work to promote or impede the adoption of birth control measures?

Another grant now underway with the support of Bureau funds has gone to the Hudson Institute in New York, to project what U.S. birth rates might be in 1975 as a basis for developing alternative planning requirements for future maternal and child health services throughout the country.

Still a third grant has gone to the Tulane University School of Medicine, New Orleans, to continue its study of fertility and attitudes relevant to fertility and family planning among a group of 1,000 mothers living in the New Orleans metropolitan area.

President Johnson has pointed out that "In all sectors of health care, the need for trained personnel continues to outstrip the supply."

In the field of training to meet the Nation's health needs, many parts of the Department are supporting grants, institutes, fellowships and other means of augmenting our supply of trained personnel.

The Children's Bureau has long recognized that there must be a steady and continuing process of upgrading the professional skills of the medical, parimedical, and social work personnel offering services in the three grants programs it administers. In the maternal and child health and crippled children's programs, for example, practically all the States are using some of their Federal funds to provide special training opportunities to physicians, nurses, nutritionists, medical social workers, and other professional personnel.

As you know, maternal and child health programs in schools of public health now have family planning in their programs but much more concentration on this aspect of public health is needed in many teaching hospitals.

The Children's Bureau is supporting training programs specifically geared to the roles which various disciplines must play in the most effective planning and carrying forward of family planning programs. It also is interested in the work which the Ford Foundation is financing to establish a university center for population planning in Michigan which includes public health, sociological, obstetric, and gynecological components.

In October, we plan to offer a 4-week course to about a dozen American registered professional nurses to study family planning at the graduate school of nursing of the New York Medical College.

This course, to be given concurrently with the training program for nurses from other countries which is sponsored by the Agency for International Development and the Children's Bureau, will enable both groups of nurses to participate in classroom and clinical

ical experience, including study of the use of specific contraceptive devices.

In a few State maternal and child health programs, inservice training is going forward to supply a pool of physicians able to give consultation on up-to-date methods of application of contraceptive techniques from the medical points of view. On the paramount uses of this pool of technicians is as consultants to counties who want to upgrade their programs. In a very efficient way, this method gives all physicians in a given community the opportunity to take advantage of the most advanced medical knowledge in this area. If this form of inservice training were extended on a national basis, the potential benefit could be immeasurable.

The Children's Bureau is in a key position in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in its involvement in helping to support service programs of family planning. Our basic concern has been, and always will be, to improve the social and physical health of mothers and children throughout the country. Our obligation under the Social Security Act is to assist the States in promoting these health services.

A marked change in attitudes toward family planning and an improvement from the findings of research about various methods that can be offered in very recent years has made it possible for States, many of which already provided such services as an integral part of their maternal and child health programs, to expand these activities and for other States to initiate family-planning programs.

This expansion would not have been possible without the unstinting efforts of voluntary organizations interested in family planning in giving demonstrations, which have always maintained high standards, a valid scientific approach, and excellent interpretations, about the true meaning of family planning as a part of responsible parenthood.

Research foundations have poured millions into studies focused on family planning and pharmaceutical firms have made an immense contribution by developing resource material and inservice training teaching tools which not only enrich the individual efforts to inform parents about spacing their children but can be used by professional personnel as valuable tools in both public and voluntary programs of family planning.

It is against this background that public health has truly become involved in family programs as the numbers of families seeking this service and vast urban and rural areas to be covered outstripped available voluntary efforts. Moreover, the conviction has grown that education and instruction in effective family planning should be an essential component of both the health and welfare agencies responsible for the payment of health services for the dependent families. For it is the families of the poor who too long have suffered spiritual dejection and demoralization after bearing successive babies without hope of these children being able to achieve their full potential or breaking the cycle of poverty.

Federal matching funds are available for medical services connected with family planning under the public assistance titles of the Social Security Act. Such services may include inpatient and outpatient hospital services, physicians' services, clinical services, prescriptions for drugs and devices, and other preventative and rehabilitative services associated with a comprehensive program for family planning.

Further impetus for expanded activities came with the enactment, in 1963, of maternal and child health amendments which authorize a new project program of maternity care for women in low-income families. These projects were intended primarily to give the States a chance for intensified attention to reducing the incidence of mental

retardation caused by premature births and complications associated with childbearing, especially among concentrations of economically, educationally, and socially deprived low-income groups.

The method is to increase the number of prenatal clinics in neighborhoods where they will be more accessible to pregnant women, and to provide hospital care of good quality for women with complications of pregnancy. The amendments also called for an expansion of services to attend to any health complications of infants cared for under this program.

Most of the States and localities which have chosen to take advantage of the maternity and infant care program have included family planning as a part of their comprehensive care efforts. During fiscal year 1965, 27 States spent some \$1,835,000 for family planning services in relation to maternal health programs.

From State plans submitted to the Bureau for the current fiscal year, it is apparent that in some States they are planning to double the amounts they are spending for family planning services in their comprehensive programs of maternity and infant care. Project directors report a great deal of enthusiasm on the part of the staff concerned in these projects, and have particularly noted the high quality of trained obstetrical personnel who are relating their knowledge and skills, for the first time, to community problems as being necessarily schematic in the proper execution of their role in a planned approach to maternal health.

The Children's Bureau has just added a staff member to obtain further factual information about family planning services provided by State and local health departments. Hopefully, her findings will enrich future program planning in this field. Additionally, beginning with the current fiscal year, we are asking the States to give us basic information about the numbers of persons receiving family planning services which will indicate the scope of the program and where additional new approaches may be needed in some areas if it appears that these programs are not now meeting the needs of all persons requesting service.

Our experience so far in the maternity and infant care programs gives us hopeful indications that the institution of family planning services more than doubles attendance at postpartum clinics and, in some programs at least, seems to have a favorable influence in attracting women to prenatal clinics early, as word gets around that the services are available.

One graphic example of this has been the experience at Augusta, Ga., where in a rural area, between 85 and 90 percent of the women served in a maternity and infant care program return for the critical postpartum examination, and 90 percent of those who do return ask for family planning advice.

We are aware that we are still at the beginning of a learning experience; but early evidence indicates we will come to know much more about the physical aspects of family planning; the usefulness of the devices themselves; peoples' attitudes toward their use; the continuity of interest in this subject.

It should be quite clear, too, that our definition of family planning is not limited to the spacing of children but also includes a concept of service to those couples who seek to correct their infertility in order to have a family.

As a part of this definition, it is a goal—but certainly not a reality—to have services available in communities, not just as a part of the postpartum clinic service, but as a part of regular maternal services which women could use at other times than during the maternity cycle. There is a beginning in this direction—but only a beginning.

Most importantly, we need to know how

to communicate with families so that they internally accept family planning as a part of their family pattern. I would like to emphasize, too, that when we speak of family planning, we are talking about both parents—the base of family life. Our efforts will be both futile and misdirected if we fail to involve the husband and father in family planning. To the extent that this is possible, it now is being done in the maternal care programs but greater progress needs to be made in this direction.

I can think of no more concrete example of the need for the involvement of both parents than a letter which came to the Children's Bureau a few years ago written by a mountaineer. It read, in part, as follows:

"DEAR SIR: I am writing to ask your advice. I want some personal advice and not just some little papers or pamphlets." He went on to say that when his wife had given birth to their first and second children she had gotten up in a day or two and begun helping him in the fields. Then he related what happened to her in each successive pregnancy—her third, fourth, and fifth; her sixth ended in a miscarriage. By the end of the first page she had had nine pregnancies. In her 10th, she had a convulsion, then followed her 11th, 12th, and 13th. And now she was pregnant for the 14th time. She didn't want to do anything except lay around all the time. He didn't know whether she was getting lazy or not. He had heard when women had grown children they liked to sit down and let their children wait on them. The letter ended with the question, "Can it be that my faithful wife don't want to help me anymore?"

We are forced to recognize that men who father children with the very best of intentions of giving them adequate care can be overwhelmed at the economic burden which each successive child brings to the end that family adequacy flounders and the burdens under which the family struggles finally make the family itself a casualty. Even if they take "moonlight" jobs, many of these men cannot make ends meet. In administering the companion obligation for child welfare services which is an integral part of the Children's Bureau's total approach to maternal and child welfare, this situation continues to exist. Despite the principle so long advanced in child welfare that no child shall be separated from his family for economic reasons only, often wind up in public institutions, seriously dislocated from the society of which they must some day be a part.

Daily, social welfare workers are confronted with situations in families where they are forced to search for palliatives rather than solutions to real problems. For example, as a society we must take far more forceful steps than we have, if we are to reduce the growing problem of babies abandoned in our great cities by mothers who do not have the means to care for them. For example, in the first 9 months of 1964 in New York City alone there were 443 well babies left in hospitals by mothers who simply walked out because they had no way of caring for their new babies.

When emergency placement measures are undertaken to clear the hospital beds they occupy so that others can be served, these young infants too frequently spend their growing years in so-called temporary shelters.

The enormous impact of this problem is reflected in our child welfare services program in many ways. In a recent year, 36 percent of all children receiving services by public child welfare agencies were neglected by their parents. The second largest group in the caseload—17 percent—needed care because of illness, desertion or other loss of their parents.

In both Children's Bureau maternal and child welfare programs we are acutely aware

that among the most vulnerable women are the young unmarried mothers. We have a special obligation to see to it that they get every special help they need, for we have proof that their children are frequently more susceptible to physical impairments, as well as the indisputable social implications which attend these fatherless home situations.

All these factors point for more attention to the crucial period surrounding the conception, birth and aftercare of the infant. The seriousness of this problem is vividly pointed up by Dr. Allan C. Barnes, obstetrician-in-chief at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore: "In hospital practice the removal of a brain tumor calls for a surgeon with two assistants, a scrub nurse and two circulating nurses, an anesthetist and an assistant. The patient's prognosis is about 18 months and the hospital investment is tremendous. The birth of a new baby at 4 a.m., more often is attended by one physician, no scrub nurse, one circulating nurse and inadequate or haphazard anesthesia coverage. The combined predictable life span of the two patients is over a hundred years, but the hospital investment is minimal."

If the baby is born into a low-income family, he may stay in the hospital 48 hours or less and the unique opportunity to discover congenital malformations and recognize high risk infants during the first days of life may be lost.

There is a discernible gap between what we expect of each new generation and what we have been doing to help meet rising expectation. It is an exciting prospect to think of the opportunities that now lie before us to remove or ameliorate those health and welfare barriers which now make the future so bleak for many children.

Healthy mothers and babies are a paramount part of our national concern for the future well being of all our citizens. We are, of course, greatly concerned that we now rank 10th among leading nations of the world in reducing the infant mortality rate. President Johnson has called for a drastic reduction in this rate by the end of this decade.

Could it be mere coincidence that in all but one of the nine Nations which now rank ahead of us in reducing infant mortality, the birth rate is lower than that of the United States? Sweden, which reports the lowest infant mortality rate, had a birth rate per 1,000 population in 1961 of 13.9 compared with 23.7 for the United States. Only New Zealand, which ranks directly ahead of us in the standing, had a higher birth rate—27.1.

Many of us here are working together at a new rapid pace as dimensions of our problem become clearer in reaching the goal of providing better health for the mothers and children of this Nation. If family planning is a useful tool in achieving this goal, then it should be available on a universal basis as a right to parents, without coercion, but with a genuine and sympathetic attention to the needs of each human being.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield the floor. I had told the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] that if he were not in the Chamber when I concluded, I would suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, when the war on poverty legislation came before the Senate last year I was one of those who heard the testimony, as a member of the Select Committee on Poverty. I studied the proposed legislation carefully and came to the conclusion that, although there were some things in it I thought unsound, by and large there was much good in the measure. I supported the antipoverty legislation on the Senate floor last year and I voted for the appropriations.

This year, when the Congress was asked to continue and expand the authorizations for the war on poverty, I was a good deal more skeptical. The press for months has been carrying disturbing reports of political chicanery, social unrest, administrative bungling, needless waste, and many other disheartening aspects of what I had hoped would be a strong effort to get at the real roots of poverty.

But despite the disappointing record of OEO—all the more disappointing because it reveals so much lost opportunity for helping the poor—I again cast my vote in favor of continuing the war on poverty. And, although I thought the requested authorizations were in some cases higher than they should reasonably have been, I even voted to defeat an amendment here on the floor which would have held next year's authorizations to this year's level.

Yes, Mr. President, I have approached the war on poverty with an open mind. I believe that it deserves a chance to succeed, so long as those operating the program are making a sincere effort to achieve the lofty goals embodied in the legislation.

In considering and approving this legislation this year, Mr. President, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare adopted two amendments which I consider to be of very substantial importance in attempting to insure the proper operation of this multibillion-dollar program.

One, proposed by Senator MURPHY and myself, brought under the prohibitions on political activity of the Hatch Act the VISTA volunteers and those persons in the employ of local nonpublic community action organizations whose principal salary is paid from Federal funds.

The other, proposed by myself, completely revamped and restructured the National Advisory Council established by the original legislation to insure that it could provide an effective overview and critique of this sprawling poverty empire.

Later, on the floor, the Senate accepted my amendment to give statutory authority to the task force on problems of the elderly poor, which Mr. Shriver established on June 14 under his general administrative authority. My amendment would also have required an annual report to Congress by this task force.

The conference committee, however, deleted this amendment from the bill. Presumably there will still be a low-level study within OEO, but the study group will not have the prestige that goes with statutory authority, and there is no as-

urance that its findings will ever be made public to Congress and the American people.

My amendment would not have created any new body, Mr. President. It would not have required any additional Government personnel. It would not have cost any more money. All it would have done was focus public attention on the problems of our older citizens by upgrading what is presently an obscure study group, and by giving that group a tangible goal—a report to be submitted to the critical eyes of Congress and the public.

Now, Mr. President, this low-level group is free to fool around, out of the public eye, with little or no incentive to do the kind of job that needs to be done in this important field. If rejection of this amendment were one isolated incident, Mr. President, I might be able to accept it with less anguish. But, as I have pointed out time and again on this floor, this administration, while attempting to pose as the champion of America's senior citizens, in reality is unsympathetic to the very real problems of the elderly poor. Rejection of this amendment—which would have cost nothing and to which no one could seriously have raised an objection—is just another event in a recurring pattern—a pattern of neglect of those who, in their more vigorous years, did so much to build the America we live in today.

For let us never forget, Mr. President, the plight of some 13 million of our elderly poor who live under the dark shadow of poverty. Of all those in America who are poor, no group has less opportunity to climb up to a decent level of income than do the elderly poor.

Even with the recent, inadequate increase in monthly benefits, the average retired couple on social security receives only about \$110 a month, or \$1,320 a year, in benefits. Millions must still exist on a preposterous minimum—\$44 a month for a single recipient, \$66 a month for a retired couple. Unless they are lucky enough to find some employment or have outside sources of income, they must make this pittance suffice for food, housing, transportation, and recreation. If a person elects to participate in the new voluntary medical insurance program, \$3 a month goes for that. Is it any wonder, Mr. President, that 37 percent of the Nation's welfare recipients are older citizens receiving social security payments?

Senators will remember that when the social security amendments were before this body, I fought to provide a meaningful increase in monthly benefits, and to broaden the coverage to help more of the elderly poor. I asked that minimum benefits be upped to \$70 a month, with corresponding increases across the board. At that time, I recall, everyone wanted to help the elderly poor, but thought that my amendments would be too costly to the Treasury. I say now to those Members, "Here is an amendment which would, in a small way, help to focus public attention and concern on the problems of the elderly poor—and it would not have cost the Treasury a dime." I am saddened and dismayed, Mr. President, that the Senate conferees backed

down so quickly. The Congress must face the ugly facts on poverty among our older citizens, which a conscientious study could not fail to uncover. We need to be reminded of elderly widows who have to plan ahead for months to be able to put just one roast in the oven, or of older couples trying to decide what to give up so they can buy a pound of fresh coffee, or of retired workers shivering in the cold New England winter for want of a warm, sturdy overcoat.

Since the Senate and House conferees have failed to approve even this extremely modest step to help the elderly poor, we can only hope that this obscure study group within the Office of Economic Opportunity—a group whose priority is so low in the eyes of Mr. Shriver that it took him 10 months even to appoint its members—will labor as conscientiously as they can and make a formal report to Congress even though they are not required to do so.

I recall the words of the poet, "Grow old along with me, the best is yet to be." In view of what the conference committee did, these words contain a trace of mockery.

Although I sincerely regret the action of the conferees in rejecting my amendment on the task force on problems of the elderly poor, that action was not as shocking as the cavalier manner in which two vitally important Senate amendments were scrapped: the amendment sponsored by the junior Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] and myself applying the Hatch Act to anti-poverty community action field workers and staff members; and the amendment I offered to revise the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity to insure that it could effectively conduct its function of reviewing the war on poverty and making recommendations for its improvement.

By throwing out the Murphy-Prouty amendment prohibiting political activities in community action programs, the conferees left open the door to wholesale manipulation of the community action programs for partisan political ends.

By throwing the National Advisory Council amendment into the ashcan, the conferees have given new life to a somewhat phony institution, chaired by the very man whose administration it is supposed to review, groveling under his thumb, bereft of staff assistance except the pittance he may allow, free from any accountability to Congress for its operations, and serving only as a high-powered, high-paid transmission belt for the euphoric propaganda perpetually pumped forth by the laboring Munchausens of the poverty headquarters.

The deletion of these two amendments, Mr. President, was accomplished with all the passion, drama, and suspense of the two Liston-Patterson fights. The chairman of the House conferees announced that he wanted no part of either amendment in any way, shape, or form, and the majority members of the Senate conferees quickly acceded to his point of view.

Let me read for the edification of the Senate, Mr. President, the very incisive, perceptive statement, said by the chair-

man of the House conference delegation to be the position of the President on the proposed revision of the National Advisory Council. It says in its entirety:

Oppose Senate amendment. The proposed council is not an appropriate tool for the purpose apparently intended.

There it is, in all its hard hitting, irrefutable logic. What the administration should have said—to be perfectly honest—was, "We do not want any prestigious body with independent views and means to be able to look closely into the seamier aspects of the war on poverty. We favor continuing with the present yea-sayers, which should do us a great captive aggregation of drumbeaters and deal of good in selling our plans to the voting public."

I am surprised and dismayed, Mr. President, at the role the Civil Service Commission has been prevailed upon to play in this shoddy performance. During my 15 years on Capitol Hill, I have not known a case where this independent Commission, justly hailed as the agency for maintaining the political neutrality of our public servants, has appeared among the administration's army of arm twisters. Yet on the day the poverty conferees were scheduled to meet for the first time, each member of the conference committee received a letter from the Commission chairman, Mr. John Macy, Jr., advising him that the Commission is firmly opposed, on policy grounds, to including the proposed persons under the Hatch Act prohibitions. Note, Mr. President, that the chairman did not tell us that the proposed legislation would be unworkable from an administrative standpoint, which would have been within his responsibilities, but that it was bad policy. I submit that it is the business of agencies created by Congress to advise Congress on the technical ramifications of legislative proposals, but I take a very dim view of such an agency taking it upon itself to advise Congress what is or is not wise policy. I think this matter bears some further looking into.

Senators will recall the rather heated debate that transpired in this body with regard to the Governor's veto. During that debate, the distinguished senior Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] a member of the Labor and Public Welfare and Conference Committees, had this to say:

Our friends across the aisle forget to mention what the Democratic Members, who are in the majority, adopted in committee. They should give us credit for what we did. We voted to have the Hatch Act apply.

I call attention to page 20, section 17, in which we apply the Hatch Act to take the Poverty Corps out of politics.

So, to try to make the poverty program work, we wrote the Hatch Act into it.

I appeal to the Senators across the aisle and remind them that we of the Democratic majority took their amendments applying the Hatch Act to the program, as well as provisions for continuing consultation with the appropriate agencies, to make this program work harmoniously. We took out, however, the arbitrary, absolute veto power. We greatly improved the bill, with the minorities' recommendations, because we wished to make it work.

I say in good faith that we should leave

all three provisions in. If we are to give the Governor the veto power, other amendments should come out, too.

Now, in a nutshell, the Senator from Texas told us that because the committee had agreed to bring these potential ward heelers within the prohibitions of the Hatch Act, it was no longer necessary to lodge a veto power with the Governors. Well, now the Conference Committee has stricken the Hatch Act provisions from the bill. If the principal proponent of deleting the veto power says the Hatch Act provisions made that power unnecessary, and then we strike the Hatch Act language, does this not lead to the conclusion that an effective Governor's veto is really necessary?

Now, the Senator from Texas will say, "The House has now forced us to put the Governors' veto back in the bill, so now we do not need the Hatch Act provisions."

Mr. President, let me point out at this juncture that it is such a limited veto as to be almost meaningless. I shall elaborate on that later.

But this line of reasoning ignores the basic fallacy in the argument advanced by the Senator from Texas: though the veto and the Hatch Act may well be politically related, they are not functionally or administratively related.

What is the purpose of the Governor's veto in the existing law? It is simply to give the elected Governor of a State some say about what kinds of Neighborhood Youth Corps and community action programs the Federal Government may finance in his State. The veto operates prior to the beginning of a project. Once the project escapes the Governor's veto, the Governor has no further authority under the act to modify or cancel the project. The veto applies only to the plan; once the plan is approved, the Governor may not veto its execution by the organizations participating in it.

Now, Mr. President, when would the Hatch Act provisions apply? They would apply after the proposed project has been put into operation, and individuals begin to receive pay from Federal funds for antipoverty operations.

Suppose, under the existing law, a community action program is proposed for one town in a State. After reviewing the plan, the Governor gives it his approval, or at least he does not express his disapproval, within the allowed 30-day period. The plan is put into operation with Federal money. Three months later, the Governor learns that the antipoverty fieldworkers under this community action program are devoting a great deal of their spare time to organizing the poor people into political clubs—perhaps clubs of the opposition party, or perhaps clubs pledged to support an opposition faction of the Governor's party, or perhaps clubs working to overthrow the incumbent town administration at the ballot box. What can the Governor do, Mr. President? Can he veto this sort of activity? He can not. Under this act he has no power to intercede once the plan for this project is approved. He may, of course, accept the challenge and wage political

war, with his political supporters vying with these federally paid antipoverty workers for the allegiance of the poor. But under the act there is nothing he can do once he has permitted the plan to go into operation.

All this assumes the existing veto power, as originally provided for in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Even with an absolute veto, the Governor has no power under this Act to prevent the subversion of ongoing community action programs for political purposes at the grassroots level.

Inclusion of the Hatch Act language in the bill would have struck to the heart of this problem. It would have made these local precinct organizers, the people who help the poor during the day at Federal expense and organize them for political activity on their own time, liable to sudden unemployment. I have always been a staunch foe of unemployment, Mr. President, but I confess that I am not unduly alarmed when I contemplate the removal from the Federal payroll of persons who are using the good will generated by their distribution of the taxpayer's money as capital for building a partisan political machine.

To sum up, Mr. President, the Governor's veto and the Hatch Act provisions are not related issues. The former applies only at the inception of the plan for a community action program; the latter apply only when the program has actually been put into operation and funds are flowing from the Federal Treasury into the pockets of antipoverty workers. It is illogical to say that restoration of a veto—especially the sham veto provided for by the House language—obviates the need for the Hatch Act language. These two provisions are directed at two different evils. Even a true veto would not make the Hatch Act provisions superfluous any more than the Hatch Act provisions would make the veto superfluous.

Far from being a true veto, the language in the bill before us provides that the so-called veto can be overridden, not by the President of the United States, not by the Congress of the United States, but by one appointed Federal bureaucrat not chosen by and not responsible to the American people.

Let me give just a few examples of the insidious subversion of community action programs by the politicians.

CHICAGO

I am reading from an article by Lois Wille in the Chicago Daily News of April 8, 1965, entitled "Political Feelers Start To Go Out for Plums in Poverty War Pie":

A few weeks ago one of Alderman Claude B. Holman's young fourth ward precinct captains conducted a peculiar survey. He began the way Holman's precinct captains begin all of their customary house calls: "How do you think the alderman is doing? Any suggestions? Any complaints?"

But then he added: "As you may know, the alderman is one of four aldermen involved in the war on poverty. * * * There will be 200 paid jobs from this area. * * * Are you interested?"

One of the people he visited, an employee of a private youth welfare agency, says the

precinct captain was very vague about what the jobs were. "But he had a form to write down names of people who said they were interested. And he suggested that if we wanted to apply, we should go directly to Alderman Holman's office."

Holman and Deton J. Brooks, Jr., director of Chicago's multimillion-dollar war on poverty, have steadfastly denied that political patronage will swallow up the hundreds of new poverty jobs. "Whatever rumors you may have heard are completely unfounded," Brooks says. "Only the most objective techniques that are available will be used to select staff."

That may be true. Aldermen may have nothing at all to do with filling the jobs. But some of them certainly give a strong impression that they have a hand in it.

This is what happened when a reporter telephoned Alderman Holman's office, explaining that the captain of the 32nd precinct said jobs were available:

"Question. He's your regular captain?"

"Answer. Yes."

"Question. Yes, we're taking names now. I'll have your captain call on you, and he'll give you a letter to bring here to the alderman's office, between 3 and 7 p.m. Can you come then?"

"Answer. I think so."

"Question. You come here with your letter and the alderman's secretary will give you a letter of approval from the alderman. That's what you take for your job interview."

"Now I'll need your name and address."

The letter system is flourishing all over the south side, according to William H. Robinson, former State representative and now a welfare consultant to the Church Federation of Greater Chicago.

Robinson, Republican committeeman for the second ward, says he is also referring people to Brooks' office at 1 North Wacker Drive for job interviews, but adds:

"The ones who come in with sponsoring letters from aldermen are given long interviews and appointments for tests. The ones I send are told, don't call us, we'll call you."

Job interviewing has just begun, and it is probably too early to tell how significant the sponsoring letters will be. But Robinson says: "The poverty program already has become a tool for powerful aldermen to use to control the poor. That's what concerns me. The aldermen and their captains can use it as they use public housing and public aid, just by dropping the hint—You want a poverty job? Just go see your alderman."

The jobs in question are hundreds of what Brooks calls subprofessional community representatives who will work out of the urban progress centers that will be the backbone of Chicago's war on poverty. "They'll be people living in the communities, because it seems to us they should be peers of theirs in the community," Brooks says. They'll help to create a communications structure * * *. We want representative people, through whom the voice of the community will filter."

Mr. President, these are precisely the people the Murphy-Prouty political activities amendment is aimed at. There is no way, that the Federal Government can prevent private citizens from becoming political organizers. But for 25 years and more the Congress has agreed to the principle that political organizers at the local level should not be at the same time on the public payroll. The Murphy-Prouty amendment will make these so-called community representatives choose between political legwork for their alderman and an antipoverty job. They cannot and should not be allowed to do both.

NEWARK, N.J.

Or consider this testimony from Newark, N.J. It is from Tom Hayden, who is on the staff of the Newark Community Union project, sponsored by a very liberal group called Students for a Democratic Society. He quotes one of the trustees of the Newark antipoverty group:

Local, county, and State elected and appointed officials would view with jaundiced eye the emergence of a new power force, with money, prestige, and jobs. However, when this natural fear is compounded because of the participation in leadership roles of recognized political opponents, then it must be anticipated that efforts to weaken or destroy the (United Community Corp.) will occur * * *. The purpose of the UCC is to wage war on poverty. The cooperation of the established power structure is a prerequisite for success. That the existing power structure would derive political dividends and enhancement is a fact of life, and we must accept this if we are serious about our determination to launch attacks on poverty. * * * Our chief and indispensable ingredient is money from Washington.

It is of course impossible to extinguish all political benefits from these programs, Mr. President, but the Murphy-Prouty amendment would at least exclude soft jobs as political henchmen from the list of benefits.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Or let us look right here in Washington. The liberal Washington Post, which supported the poverty legislation when it became law, had this to say in an editorial on April 27:

The war on poverty will have a profound effect on the politics of the cities where it is most successful. The battle is already loudly joined in New York City, where the new social programs got off to an early start. The same battle is now beginning in the other large cities, even in voteless Washington.

There are two contenders in each city for control of these community action organizations. One is a conservative city administration, representing the middle class consensus. The other contender is, of course, the neighborhood level political leadership of the slums, bitter and impatient, representing the poor.

The war on poverty to be successful will have to recreate the more useful features of the old political machines. Does the community organizer find that Mrs. X needs relief? He takes her to the public assistance division worker in the neighborhood development center. Is Mr. Y's son in trouble with the police? He is put in touch with the lawyer from the Legal Aid Society. Stripped of jargon, the description recalls very accurately the daily work of the old machines. The ghosts of the bosses would be vastly amused to see the reformers sweating now to rebuild what they spent 50 years tearing down.

Artificial though the machines may be, they carry political power. Their networks of community organizers are an invaluable communications system, very much like the old wardheelers.

Under the Murphy-Prouty amendment, Mr. President, these community organizers, paid from Federal funds, could not at the same time be wardheelers.

PHILADELPHIA

As one last example, Mr. President, I would like to read from a story that appeared in the Philadelphia Bulletin on April 25, 1965, by John McCullough:

Philadelphia's practicing politicians, Democrats and Republicans, are warily observing the preparations for the unprecedented town meetings and neighborhood elections to be held as part of the city's war on poverty. For the most part, it appeared yesterday, the politicians are watching one another.

Each party explained carefully that it wants the program to succeed and thus must make certain that the other side makes no effort to take political advantage of the federally supported plan that will bring hundreds of thousands of people together under new leaders.

Beyond this, as Republican City Chairman William J. Devlin acknowledged yesterday, both the GOP and the Democratic leadership wants to see who will be running this program at the neighborhood level. Devlin said he has directed GOP ward leaders in the areas involved to be present as observers at the neighborhood town meetings scheduled in 12 sections of Philadelphia next Wednesday night.

"We are acting in the open," Devlin said, "to show our interest in and support for this aid project for the city's poor. We want this program to work. We also want to know whether or not some one, or some group, will try to move in and use this project for their own advantage. This is something that must be guarded against."

There was no corresponding order to ward leaders from Democratic Party headquarters, but individual ward leaders said they were keeping a close watch on every development in the war on poverty program.

One ward leader, a councilman in whose district there will be a town meeting next week as well as a community election on May 26, said that he or one of his aids has attended every neighborhood session thus far held in connection with the program. "You have to remember," he said, "that the parties here are organized along neighborhood lines. Anything new in the community is important to us. We're not trying to take over. We've been told that this is a program that is off limits to politics. But we want to make certain that the Republicans don't try to move in or that someone doesn't try to set himself up as a neighborhood power through this program."

Devlin said that his organization's ward leaders in the areas designated as pockets of poverty already have been attending meetings. He said they have reported that Democratic Party ward leaders and division committeemen always are in attendance.

Mr. President, I cite these newspaper stories only to make the point that the Murphy-Prouty amendment was not prompted by idle fears. If the Federal Government is going to spend the better part of \$2 billion a year to combat poverty, we should do everything within our power to make sure that the program is not destroyed by pernicious influences. The Murphy-Prouty amendment was written into the bill by the unanimous agreement of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee specifically to help keep politics out of the poverty program. We have no illusions that our amendment would purge politics from the poverty program altogether; there are a number of areas susceptible to political subversion that our amendment, with its limited scope, could not reach. But it could have, at the very least, assured that the armies of community organizers and antipoverty fieldworkers be kept out of partisan political action.

I challenge any Senator to rise this afternoon and tell this body that partisan political activity by federally paid com-

munity organizers will help strengthen the antipoverty program. I challenge any Senator to rise and state to the Senate that there is no evidence of the political activity that the Murphy-Prouty amendment would prohibit.

You will look about in vain, Mr. President, because no Senator will rise to make those statements. This amendment was scuttled by the Democratic conferees because they envision a political profit to be made. I say to them, whatever profit they foresee for their party is far, far outweighed by the disastrous effects that will be produced in the war on poverty by the action of scheming politicians seeking to exploit the poor.

Mr. President, I have stood by the antipoverty program, often in spite of what I thought was better judgment to the contrary. If the poverty warriors are sincere in their efforts, I say let us give them a fair chance. But the actions taken by this conference committee, I assume at the specific request of the administration, have led me to question the sincerity of the povercrats. They do not want strong provisions of law to prevent the program from becoming a political feeding trough. They do not want any independent group empowered to give the whole program a conscientious review.

At some point every original supporter of the war on poverty must draw the line. I have come to that point, Mr. President. I have gone along as long and as far as I could. I have tried to overlook glaring deficiencies and bunglings. I have tried to lean over backward to recognize the difficulties posed by the intricate and stubborn causes of poverty in America, and the difficulties of getting a billion dollar program off the ground. But now, with this administration-directed action of the conference committee, my support of the war on poverty is for the time being at an end. I shall vote against approval of the conference report, and I urge every Member of the Senate to do the same. If the conference report thus fails of approval, I shall move to request another conference with instructions to the Senate conferees to stand firm on the Hatch Act language and the revised National Advisory Council. If those provisions are returned to the bill, it will again have my support, if not my full confidence.

I want the war on poverty to succeed. It cannot succeed if its benefits are channeled away from the poor and into the pockets of the politicians. It cannot succeed if the administration strives to bury its dirty laundry far from the view of friendly but independent critics.

I appeal to the Senate to act now to recover for the poverty program some sense of respectability in the eyes of the American people. If we do not do so, we shall perpetrate a cruel hoax on the poor and grand larceny on the taxpayer. The time has come to save the poverty program from its misguided advocates, and I hope the Senate will not shirk its responsibility for so doing.

Mr. President, if the conference report is rejected I shall move that the Senate insist upon its amendment, and request

a further conference with the House of Representatives thereon.

Second. I will move that the Senate conferees be instructed to insist on the language in section 18 of the Senate bill, which includes certain persons within the political prohibitions of the Hatch Act, and section 28, which amends the provision of the Economic Opportunity Act with respect to the National Advisory Council. Then, I shall move that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I rise at this time to join the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty] in urging the Senate to reject the report of the conferees in the hope that these two sections which he has mentioned will be restored to the bill.

Mr. President, 2 weeks ago this great body sent to conference legislation covering the poverty program. It included a Hatch Act provision to keep politics out of the poverty war.

I am very disappointed that the conferees refused to give the taxpayers of our Nation that protection and rejected the Murphy-Prouty Hatch Act amendment. As the legislation exists now, paid executives of the community action program and the VISTA projects are permitted to engage in partisan political activity. I believe that the American people—who are going to pay the bills for this multi-billion dollar Government program—are as disappointed in the conferees' decision as I am.

I am pleased that all Republican members and one Democratic member of the conference committee voted to keep the Murphy-Prouty Hatch Act amendment in the bill. The others, however, must stand accountable for permitting over-eager politicians to grab plush poverty jobs and use them for political purposes.

I feel it is appropriate and necessary that the Senate return the poverty legislation to conference and insist that the Murphy-Prouty amendment be included. This is certainly proper in view of the mounting evidence throughout the country that local political battles are keeping the entire poverty program from accomplishing any degree of help to the unfortunate and needy of this country.

While admittedly it is too early to evaluate the effectiveness of the many Office of Economic Opportunity programs—and I frankly feel that some have real potential and I hope they are successful—it is clear that it is not too early to see that the program has produced a real political struggle between politicians at the local level, between local and State politicians, and between local and State politicians and Federal politicians.

In Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Omaha, Albany, and many other cities across the Nation, the program has produced sharp controversy and has been embroiled in political power struggles unmatched in intensity in recent years.

In no State has the program faced greater problems and produced more controversy than in the State of California, the No. 1 State in the Union. Democrats and Republicans alike have

criticized it. Gov. Edmund Brown said at the Western Governors' Conference it was "scandalous" that politicians, including elected officials, were fighting each other for "fat-salaried" war on poverty jobs for themselves and their friends solely to enhance their patronage.

Mayor Yorty, of Los Angeles, has charged that the war on poverty is a "huge political porkbarrel."

Democratic Congressman B. F. SISK said that the antipoverty program is "not working well" in California, and that "the program is bogged down in nine different directions."

In San Francisco the controversy over the makeup of the commission to administer funds delayed the program for months, and a total deadlock was averted only by the resourcefulness of Mayor Shelley.

In Fresno, Calif., antipoverty funds have been threatened by a similar dispute over control of the program.

In Oakland, according to a recent article in the Oakland Tribune, the antipoverty program is a "snafu," a "confusing and bewildering operation." The problem was largely attributed to the fact that there has been "undue haste to get something started."

In Contra Costa County, according to reports of the Richmond Independent, the program is "divided, clumsy, and costly," and after 9 months "has yet to help a significant number of the county's poor." I received a lengthy letter from the Richmond Chapter of CORE asking that the funds be withheld until the mess could be straightened out.

In a telegram to me last month, State superintendent of public instruction of California, Dr. Max Rafferty, said that coordination between Federal Government and local applicants have been poor, that "advance planning has been almost nil," that "project approvals have been on a hit-or-miss basis."

Most of California's leading newspapers have editorialized on the war on poverty and have provided incisive analysis and criticism of the program. To cite a few, the Los Angeles Times, of July 4, 1965, stated:

The poor of Los Angeles County have already paid a high price for the failure of local and State governmental agencies to agree on how to administer antipoverty program funds* * *. In recent months the poor have been all but forgotten in the power struggle for control of the antipoverty effort.

The Long Beach Press Telegram, in an editorial of July 12, entitled "A Stalled Poverty War," calls attention to administrative decisionmaking and control problems involved in allocating poverty funds. The editorial concludes:

One thing is certain. Nobody will benefit from the antipoverty war if the program remains bogged down in disagreement over the makeup of the general staff.

The San Francisco News Call Bulletin reached a similar conclusion on July 12, when it stated:

Pursuit of the poverty war in San Francisco—and elsewhere—calls for dedication on the part of everyone involved. It must not be allowed to become an arena for a power struggle.

And the San Diego Union on July 20, in an editorial entitled, "War on Poverty Tastes Defeat," states:

It is becoming increasingly apparent as the so-called war on poverty unfolds that the only unemployment solved today is that of Washington bureaucrats desperately trying to spend appropriated funds* * *.

The inflexible and poor administration has been a mark of the war on poverty since its inception. It has arbitrarily assumed a set of conditions and tried to fit all problems into the boundaries, regardless of local conditions and pleas. As a result, vast sums have been spent on administration instead of the poor. Local wishes have succumbed to pressures that fit them into the preconceived mold. Flexibility has all but vanished.

And finally, the Oakland Tribune, on August 12, in an editorial on "Politics and Poverty" states:

All the unsavory grubbiness of the political spoils system have plagued operations of the war on poverty since it was authorized. High-salaried jobs, and the right to decide who should get them are the prize sought by local politicians fighting for control of the program in many areas. There is a very real danger that this money-dispensing program may become merely a war chest for big city political machines.

A survey of the situation in California reveals that the criticism is well founded. In Los Angeles, the war on poverty was stalled for months in a major political struggle between two factions of the Democratic Party. The poor of Los Angeles, like the poverty stricken all-across the Nation, received promise after promise when the Economic Opportunity Act was passed last year. But nothing happened. The frustration, the disappointment, the feeling of having been taken in again—these emotions are not hard to imagine, and they have become widespread. The House Subcommittee on Poverty got a glimpse of the bitterness and tension in Los Angeles when it held hearings on the antipoverty program just 4 days before the tragic riots in the Watts area ripped that city. The chairman of that subcommittee, Congressman AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, has tied the violence to the failure of officials to get the poverty program moving.

On June 28, during the hearings before the Senate Select Subcommittee on Poverty, on page 130 of these hearings, I questioned Sargent Shriver regarding this delay, apparently resulting over the question of who was going to run the program in Los Angeles. Mr. Shriver replied that "the situation" that I described, "was resolved last week." Further, he stated that the problem "no longer exists." That was 12 weeks ago. In reality, this was not the case at all.

I, in turn, wired Mr. Shriver forwarding Mayor Yorty's telegram and requesting that Mr. Shriver personally visit the riot-stricken area to resolve the dispute. Whether Mr. Shriver was too busy pushing public relations for OEO or preoccupied with the Peace Corps, I cannot say. But I do know he failed to give me the common courtesy of an acknowledgment until September 9, which was 74 days later. Even today, the dispute is yet to be fully resolved.

Warnings about the political nonsense

in the program have been expressed by newspapers, magazines, and over radio and television throughout the Nation. Mr. Shriver's lone voice of denial is unconvincing to me, and I am certain unconvincing to the American people.

Despite all this criticism, I read in the Sacramento Bee on Sunday, September 5, that Mr. Shriver insists that the poverty battle is doing well. Of course, the question that we might ask is, "Doing well for whom?"

We would have to admit that for the many supergrade chiefs who administer the program, the program has been doing well. It has been reported that 85 percent of the \$5.5 million that has been budgeted under this program has gone for personnel and administrative expenses at OEO. At this stage, Mr. President, it might be said that never in the history of our Nation has the Congress appropriated so much to accomplish so little for so few of those for whom it was desired.

Mr. President, I would also direct the attention to my colleagues to another article which appeared in the same September 5 Sacramento Bee. This article compliments the distinguished Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS], for now turning his recognized ability for uncovering corruption and nonsense in the Federal Government to the poverty program. Judging from Senator WILLIAMS' shocking disclosure that the poverty war chiefs arranged for themselves a 2-day conference in the plush Suffern, N.Y., area, perhaps this is what the Director meant when he said that the poverty battle is "doing well."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article, entitled "Senate Hawkshaw Eyes Poverty War Expense Account," written by Edward H. Dickson, and published in the Sacramento Bee of September 5, 1965.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ECHOES FROM CAPITAL HILL: SENATE HAWKSHAW EYES POVERTY WAR EXPENSE ACCOUNT

(By Edward H. Dickson)

Should Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, of Delaware, ever get tired of being a Member of the Senate—an unlikely possibility, as anybody familiar with the feeding and care of Senators knows full well—he would not necessarily have to retire to his grain business.

The Senator has a real talent for investigative work, much to the dismay of evil-doers in the Federal "Gumment."

While he is a Republican, WILLIAMS puts the microscope on the carrying-ons by bad guys without regard to political affiliations.

His revelations have resulted in a number of employees of the Internal Revenue Service either being sent to the pokey or being stripped of their epaulettes and form 1040's.

It was WILLIAMS who precipitated the investigation of Bobby Baker, secretary of the Senate Democratic majority and as far as Bobby's official connection is concerned, the present situation can be paraphrased in the words of the old melody:

"Bobby doesn't live here any more."

What puzzles any number of people is how WILLIAMS digs up his information.

Some suspect he has sort of an espionage system all of his own which functions even

better than the farflung and expensive Central Intelligence Agency.

Although he is by no means an imposing person and is no spellbinder with a high pitched voice, the people of his State appear proud of the reputation he has won as a sort of national hawkshaw.

He won reelection last year over formidable opposition and despite President Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide victory.

WILLIAMS now has turned his attention on the Office of Economic Opportunity and the war on poverty program, and it is causing uneasiness among even friendly Democrats who feel there are too many chiefs and not enough Indians engaged in the battle.

The Senator has not uncovered anything as yet which might be of interest to an inquisitive grand jury, yet he has dug up some expense accounts which indicate that some of the warriors are living high off the hog in developing their plans for the antipoverty war.

WILLIAMS says a \$230,000 grant was made for a skirmish in the New York area.

Disregarding the old military maxim that a council of war never fights, the poverty generals, WILLIAMS claims, immediately hied themselves for a 2-day conference in the plush Sulfern, N.Y., area.

The conference cost \$2,168.26 for the week-end, including motel rooms, meals, and "refreshments."

WILLIAMS says he wanted to make it clear that "refreshments" were synonymous with "booze."

The expenses, WILLIAMS declared, included \$228.30 for dinner at the Restaurant on the Mountain and \$63.20 for floral decorations from Lucille's Flowers.

There was an item of \$12.85 for the rental of a tuxedo by an official drawing a salary of \$12,500 per year, \$331 for telephones, and \$26 for a table reservation for an unidentified 25th anniversary meeting.

WILLIAMS concludes:

"This is the meetingest group I ever heard of. Apparently they were meeting morning, noon, and night with breakfast, lunch, and dinner, all charged to the taxpayers.

"As to the tuxedo, I suppose the official who rented it thought it necessary so he could get down to the level where he could discuss poverty.

"I do not know who they were telephoning unless they were calling Washington to explain what a terrific job they were doing or is it possible they were calling to discuss what a wonderful time they were having?

"They have just gotten the program started and they already are planning a 25th anniversary meeting of some kind.

"Who says the Great Society is not planning ahead?"

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I offered my amendment in an honest effort to eliminate the political confusion taking place across the country. My amendment was a simple one. It merely extended the coverage of the Hatch Act to VISTA volunteers and to employees of the community action program who receive the principal part of their salary from Federal funds. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare unanimously agreed with me after this issue was fully discussed. I should like to read from pages 13 and 14 of the Senate committee report, where an explanation of my amendment appears:

The committee has added a subsection to section 211 designed to make the Hatch Act applicable to employees of community action agencies. Under the committee amendment, these employees would be prohibited from engaging in political activity where they are paid in principal part from Federal funds.

When public agencies are recognized as the local community action agencies, the Hatch Act is already applicable. When private, nonprofit agencies are recognized, however, the act does not apply. The committee's amendment reflects the belief that the success of community action programs could be adversely affected if local antipoverty officials were actively engaged in partisan politics. Such engagement could impart a partisan character to a program which should be based on a broad spectrum of support within the community.

Also, Mr. President, on page 16, the Senate report discusses my amendment as applicable to the VISTA volunteers, and I read from the report:

The bill includes, finally, one additional amendment relating to VISTA which was adopted by the committee. This would make the Hatch Political Activities Act applicable to volunteers. Although volunteers for many purposes are not deemed employees of the Federal Government, their relationship with the Government has many characteristics of an employment relationship. The committee believes that they should be subject to the same restrictions on political activity as regular Federal employees.

There is nothing complicated about it. It is completely in keeping with the present wishes of Congress and of its wishes during many years past.

During the 5 days that the poverty bill was before the Senate, not a single voice was raised in opposition to my amendment. OEO lieutenants sulked in the galleries. The response to my amendment editorially and from the American people was most favorable.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD two articles, one by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, published in the August 22 issue of the Washington Post, and one by Jack McDowell, published in the August 24 issue of the San Francisco News Call Bulletin.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 22, 1965]

POVERTY AND POLITICS: ADMINISTRATION SOUGHT TO BEAT BAN ON POLITICS IN SPITE OF CONTRARY PUBLIC COMMENTS

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

In conflict with public utterances that it wants the poverty program divorced from politics, the Johnson administration attempted a futile fight against such a prohibition.

The poverty bill passed last week by the Senate puts all local poverty workers under the Hatch Act. That means Federal law—not merely agency regulations—will bar local poverty officials from partisan politics.

This amendment to the Poverty Act, sponsored by Senator GEORGE MURPHY, Republican, of California zipped through the Senate Labor Committee and the Senate itself without apparent opposition.

Behind the scenes, however, two Democratic Labor Committee members were asked privately by the White House to kill the Murphy amendment. One was summoned from a Labor Committee meeting by an urgent telephone request.

Although they usually follow the administration line, the two Senators turned down the White House. They actively supported the Murphy amendment. Consequently, the White House made no public fight.

What makes this particularly interesting are public utterances of poverty chief Sargent Shriver and other officials when confronted with examples of local poverty workers playing politics (including the case we reported of a Philadelphia antipoverty leader lobbying in Harrisburg).

These Federal officials said they would prevent such conduct if Congress would write a prohibition into law.

Hence, the administration's veiled effort to block the prohibition comes as a surprise.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) News Call Bulletin, Aug. 24, 1965]

MURPHY PUT DAMPER ON POVERTY POLITICKING (By Jack S. McDowell)

In San Francisco, Los Angeles, and many major areas of the Nation there are tremendous battles over who's going to control the Federal war on poverty program.

In most cases, the squabble boils down to the struggle of who will get the various supervisory jobs the program provides and, through this sort of control, who derives the largest number of political green stamps.

There is another important factor. When part of the tab for the poverty war begins to shift from Federal to local pocketbooks, those responsible for local tax rates want a hand on the controls. If control is in the hands of the recipients, they argue, local taxpayers could be spent into bankruptcy and local officials could be spent right out of office.

This fiscal problem, however, seems not to enter into the burning desire of many local politicians to get their cohorts and themselves nailed into the Federal payroll where they would be occupying positions of influence in the spending of millions of dollars. Such positions of fiscal affluence and influence normally evolve into positions of political influence.

MURPHY AMENDMENT

What most of the eager politicians involved have overlooked is the language of a simple amendment to the poverty war act, placed into it by Senator GEORGE MURPHY, California's freshman Republican in the upper House.

This provision declares that employees of the poverty war program clearly and definitely are subject to all provisions of the Hatch Act.

This means, we're informed, that any poverty war soldier who receives most of his income from that position is covered by the act which prohibits Federal employees from participation in political campaigns.

While this is a Federal law and does, indeed, apply directly to campaigns for Federal offices such as Congress, U.S. Senate, and President, it also has been interpreted to apply to include all partisan races such as those for the State legislature and statewide constitutional officers.

PENALTIES TOUGH

Penalty for violation ranges from a minimum of 90 days' suspension from the offender's Federal job to a maximum of permanent removal from the payroll.

This raises a question of whether so many would-be political empire builders would be so anxious to place themselves and their lieutenants on the poverty war payroll if they were aware of the ominous provisions of the Murphy amendment.

It is possible, of course, that the courts would have interpreted employment by the poverty war program as being subject to the Hatch Act. But this would have consumed time and no test could have been possible until the campaign season when a violation could be alleged.

MURPHY's language answers the question in advance. This means that politically inclined poverty war officials will know their

enemies will be looking over their shoulders, ready to hit them with a Hatch hatchet.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, following the passage of the bill, I did not have the vaguest idea that my amendment faced any difficulty. Why should it? It was noncontroversial. It had been accepted unanimously by the committee. It had passed the Senate without opposition. But, Mr. President, a funny thing happened to the Murphy-Prouty amendment on the way to conference. Apparently, following Senate approval of the poverty bill, the Shriver forces diverted their attention from the poor, sought additional troops, and secured the highest of chiefs to battle the Murphy-Prouty amendment.

At 1 minute before midnight, so to speak, Chairman John W. Macy, Jr., of the Civil Service Commission, in a letter dated September 1, 1965, to the Senate and House conferees urged the deletion of the Murphy-Prouty amendment. I might say at this point that I was not given a copy of his letter. In Chairman Macy's letter he says:

The Commission believes that it would be unwise to extend the general political activity restrictions of the Hatch Act to such a sizable group of persons in the private sector of community life.

Mr. President, why would my amendment be unwise? I find the Civil Service Commission's reasoning unpersuasive.

While it is true that the acceptance of the Murphy-Prouty amendment would result in an extension of the Hatch Act. It would be a desirable extension and one that could be administered without any difficulty. Although my amendment for the first time extends the Hatch Act to cover persons in the private sector, we must realize that the poverty program itself breaks with tradition by involving the Federal Government greatly in local efforts to assist the needy in communities across the Nation. We must also remember that in 1940, the Congress amended the Hatch Act to extend its restrictions to employees of State and local governments, whose principal employment is in connection with activities by Federal loans and grants. I know that the dangers of political manipulation in 1940 did not begin to approach the potential for abuse that exists under the present poverty program.

Chairman Macy also stated:

The Commission concurs in the view that partisan politics should be kept out of the community action programs financed by Federal grants.

And after citing that the current law does prohibit political activity on the part of State and local government employees in the community action programs, Chairman Macy concludes, "that the Hatch Act will deter most of those engaged in community action programs."

The obvious answer to Chairman Macy's statement can be found by simple examination of what has been happening across the country. My amendment was aimed at preventing political activity on the part of those who received over half of their salary from the Federal Government regardless of whether they were employed by Federal, State or local governments or by a private organ-

ization. Its purpose was to prevent all political activity. It was based on the premise that the program is bigger, more important than politics, and should be so preserved.

Also, Mr. President, I was interested in the comments of the House conferees when they said that "their insistence on the exclusion of these provisions was based on the difficulty of applying the existing statutory restrictions to organizations and agencies for which they were not designed."

I cannot understand any difficulty on the part of the Civil Service Commission in administering the act's provisions to employees of VISTA and the community action programs who receive the principal part of their salaries from Federal funds.

In conclusion, Chairman Macy urged "that the Congress should seriously consider the effect of a legislative prohibition against political activity on the part of private employees." What would be the effect, Mr. President? The effect clearly would be to make it law that those who are receiving taxpayers' dollars to operate the local poverty programs would stay out of politics and see that the programs benefit the poor and the needy. The effect would clearly be to keep politics out of the poverty program, which is the wish that has been expressed by many of the leaders of the administration and many Senators on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. President, I urge that Senators read the debate that occurred on the Senate floor during the consideration of the poverty legislation. I am confident that in so doing, Members of this body will reach the same conclusion as that reached by the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], when he stated:

In my whole political career, I have never seen a program so loaded with the ability of political manipulations and deviousness.

The Senator from Ohio further declared that the "arguments have not been about the poor but about who is going to control the loot."

The Senator from Ohio was only confirming what newspapers, editorials, and magazines have reported since the program's inception.

Mr. President, I am truly sorry, as I am sure the American people must be, that the administration seems bent on keeping politics in the poverty program. With the rejection by the Senate and the House conferees of the Murphy-Prouty amendment which would have taken politics out of the poverty program, a Pandora's box has been opened and the politicians are left free to use poverty funds for pure political leverage. I only hope that the committee's action will not result in closing the door on the hopes of the poor—the very people for whom the program was designed.

Since the administration rejected my amendment, I cannot help but wonder about the true purposes of the program. Is it for the poor or is it for the politicians?

In addition, Mr. President, I recently read a rather complimentary article in the September 13 edition of Newsweek

entitled, "Shriver and the War on Poverty." I was particularly intrigued with the concluding paragraph:

The new assault in an age-old crusade has just been launched. Last week, Congress authorized a second-year appropriation of \$1.8 billion to underwrite the vanguard of the attack. The sniping from the rear mounts even before the first reports from the front are in. Yet Sargent Shriver, the commandant of the war on poverty, imperturbably predicts total victory. How long will it take to win? A decade, predicts the top OEO general. A generation, says another. Forever, says a third with an uncertain smile. You just continue to upgrade the definition of poverty.

I would hope that my colleagues would ponder these reported remarks of a top OEO general stating that the program may last forever and that they would merely continue to upgrade the definition of poverty. I find this shocking.

Mr. President, although I for one hope that the administration does not share the views of the these OEO chiefs, I hope that the Senate will recommit the poverty bill with instructions to reinstate the Murphy-Prouty amendment. By so doing the Senate will at least assure that the political confusion and competition that accompany this program will not continue for a moment longer even if the program lasts for a decade, generation, or forever, as the OEO chiefs envision. We will be taking a proper and necessary step in seeing that the billions of taxpayers' dollars requested by the administration for the poverty program will actually go to the needy and the unfortunate of our country.

I urge that the Murphy-Prouty amendment be restored to the bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURPHY. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I congratulate the Senator for his remarks and his effort, even though he was unsuccessful, to have his Hatch Act amendment kept in the bill.

I, too, regret that the administration has seen fit to insist upon the deletion of the amendment which would have prohibited employees administering the poverty program from participating in politics. I cannot understand why the administration insists on the Hatch Act not applying in this instance, unless it is because they are willing to admit that what they are really after is not a solution to poverty but rather an army of paid political workers out in the field on election day serving as an adjunct to the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, in reply to the remarks of the Senator, I sincerely hope that this is not the case since the President of the United States saw fit to send a personal representative of his to Los Angeles to attempt to straighten out the mess which existed there. People are confused about these affairs. Some Senators are confused. This is a program which has the greatest enthusiastic following of everybody that I know. The program is necessary. Yet we find that, after nearly a year, the progress of the entire program is held up, stymied, confused, and distorted, at least in my State, merely because groups of politi-

cians are fighting over who is to control the money.

I believe that the simplest, most effective, and most direct way to take care of the situation, eliminate the confusion, and write the best insurance that this program can and will succeed is to restore the Hatch Act amendment.

I sincerely hope that this will be done.

I thank my colleague. I yield the floor.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I congratulate my very distinguished colleagues, the junior Senator from California and the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] for their comments.

I know that it was not easy for the Senator from Vermont, after having voted for the original bill and after having gone so far as to sign the first conference report, to come back from the second conference and say, "No; I will not sign the report and I will not vote for the measure." This is not an easy position to take.

I admire the courage of the Senator in doing this. I believe that it exemplifies the problem that is being discussed today.

I admire the courage of my distinguished colleague the Senator from California for his frankness in discussing what is going on in his State, as well as in other areas, with regard to the political manipulation of the war on poverty.

It seems to me that, when we went into conference, we had three or four major points in the Senate bill. I should like to review them for the benefit of my colleagues.

First of all, we had the issue of the Governor's veto. We fought desperately for the Governor's veto on the floor. Time and again as the various issues unfolded we were defeated by one or two votes, or by a tie-breaking vote cast by the Vice President.

We debated the Governor's veto because those of us who were supporting the right of the Governor's veto felt that this was imperative if we were to get any kind of proper cooperative poverty program activities within the respective States.

We felt very strongly that, without this provision, there would be an injection of Federal power into the local area without any coordination with the local or State authorities who were involved in a similar effort to try to do something about poverty in their area.

We did not win. We were narrowly defeated. We went to conference, and, at that point, it was said, "We will eliminate the veto entirely in the community activities program." However, the House of Representatives would not accept that. They rejected the conference report and sent the measure back to a second conference and said, "We want some form of Governor's veto left in the bill."

What did we get? We got the completely anomalous situation of having a Governor being given the right to veto activities of the Federal Government in his State, which activities he did not like, and an appointive executive being given the power to override a Governor's veto.

That is the type of situation we have now where under the pending measure an appointive Federal agent is given the right to overrule a Governor's veto. I

know of no other situation in our legislative history in which that has occurred. Perhaps it did occur in connection with some of the emergency wartime powers during World War II. But I cannot conceive of a situation in peacetime in which an executive appointive official can overrule the elected Governor of a State on activities within that Governor's State. It is incomprehensible to me that such a procedure could be agreed to. But the conference committee so agreed.

My second point concerns the Hatch Act.

Mr. President, the Hatch Act provision, as my distinguished friend the Senator from California has cogently stated, was not even questioned on the floor of the Senate. It was brought up in conference, and is one of the things that the conference committee eliminated in both conferences. It does not make sense to me. If we are trying to do something for the poor, and not for the politicians, it seems to me the very best thing we could do in expanding the poverty war would be to include the Hatch Act provision.

What was the third? It was the advisory council, carefully worked out by members of the committee, to try to form a study group which could correlate the activities of the various departments of Government involved in the poverty war. In S. 600, the higher education bill which the Senate recently passed, we took the work-study program out of the Department of Labor, and put it into the Department of Agriculture. We have, as I recall, as to student funds, used an override of jurisdiction of some 24 departments and agencies under the war on poverty program. Yet all we provide by way of an advisory committee to assist the director of the program is a committee appointed by him, controlled by him, and designed, as it is said, to act as a kind of sounding board for his ideas, as far as I am able to determine.

Such an advisory committee is not going to be beneficial. It is not going to give the director outside sources for advice to help him better correlate the activity for which he is responsible, and work effectively with other departments and agencies. It is only another method of saying, "Here is a nice bunch of people you can run, and we can get out more propaganda."

The fourth point was the money to be spent in the coming fiscal year on the war on poverty. The authorization for fiscal 1965 was \$947 million. This year, the request from the administration was \$1.5 billion. The Senate bill, as passed, provided \$1.650 billion. We went into the conference and accepted a figure of \$1.785 billion. That is \$838 million more than was authorized in 1965. It is \$135 million more than the Senate approved in its bill. It is \$285 million more than the administration requested. It is \$992 million, almost a billion dollars, more than was spent in 1965. It represents perhaps the most colossal expansion of any governmental program in 1 year that we have ever had in our peacetime history. It is perhaps the most rapidly expanded program we have ever had in the domestic field. I do not know of any

other program which has mushroomed to that degree, particularly a program with the problems and the troubles that this one has had in trying to get organized and get underway.

I offered an amendment during the debate designed to cut the program back to a little more than \$1 billion—last year's authorization plus \$150 million to take care of Senator NELSON's ideas on title II.

My amendment was rejected by a close vote of the Senate. But at no time did anyone ever indicate that it was the consensus of Senators that the amount the Senate authorized should be increased. But that was done by the conference committee. It was increased, as I stated, by \$135 million.

Furthermore, as to the \$150 million provided in the bill as authorization limits for the Nelson program, it is my understanding that the earmarking of that amount for that purpose has been eliminated, and it is entirely possible that that additional \$150 million will find its way into the community action program, where there have been so many problems already.

Mr. President, there have been a great number of newspaper comments and editorials on this subject. I should like to make reference to some of them, because I believe they bring up the problems that we have, which, in my opinion, have not been dealt with either by the bill that we had before us originally in the Senate or by the conference report.

First of all, I read from an article entitled "Washington Wonderland," in the Reader's Digest, quoting an excerpt from an editorial published in the Seattle Times and reprinted in the Reader's Digest. It reads:

INSPIRATIONAL LITERATURE?

Millions of dollars will be spent this year to develop new teaching materials for teenage dropouts and adult illiterates. A paragraph from one of the new remedial-reading textbooks written for Job Corps campers reads: "Together Pete and Joey slugged away at Hank until his nose was bleeding and one of his eyes was black and blue. Then Pete landed two blows in the pit of Hank's stomach and Hank doubled over. He slumped slowly to the sidewalk. The fight had ended."

Is this the type of material that we are trying to develop in order to train individuals? It strikes me it is a strange way of going about it.

Another brief article, entitled "Whose Welfare?" was originally printed in the Milwaukee Sentinel. It reads in part:

WHOSE WELFARE?

Administrative costs of the antipoverty program, critics say, may exceed the money going to the poor. At Washington headquarters, 44 top officials draw close to a million dollars a year in pay. Director Sargent Shriver's deputy is listed at \$28,500, with three assistants getting \$27,000 each. Of 40 other assistants, 9 get \$24,400 a year, 11 get \$21,445, and 20 draw \$18,935. A staff of 1,150 is planned—as a starter.

Out in the field, the New Jersey director is being paid \$25,000 annually, more than any member of the Governor's cabinet. In Gum Springs, Va., the antipoverty program is to spend \$82,150, with \$56,723 going for salaries and only \$25,427 earmarked for the poor. In New York City, a woman lawyer is getting \$500 a week as a poverty "consultant."

I shall ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD at this point a letter to the editor written by a man in Pueblo, Colo., whom I do not know. It reads in part—and I believe this is a rather interesting observation:

Mr. Johnson's Great Society has now provided project Head Start for the poverty-stricken children, youth camps for their big brothers and sisters, welfare for their parents, and now taxpaid babysitting jobs for their grandparents. It's time now that he did something for the forgotten group, the taxpayer.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this letter printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BABYSITTING

To the Editor:

It seems that every time I pick up a newspaper or turn on the radio, there's a new and more idiotic scheme out of Washington.

We've had all kinds of crazy ideas foisted off on us in the name of the Great Society, but this one is the nuttiest by far. Now Mr. Johnson wants to hire 5 million people over the age of 60 years to act as "companions" to neglected children from poverty-stricken homes. In other words, the taxpayers are now being forced to pay for 5 million babysitters. It used to be that if parents neglected their children, they were arrested and taken into court where they were fined for child neglect. Now the Federal Government sends around a professional companion for the children.

Most of these companions would evidently be persons who never worked enough in their lives to qualify for social security. If they are on social security and need more money, then I say it's time to cut out all the other Socialist hogwash like medicare which Johnson has tacked onto social security, and start paying these people the money they were supposed to get under the original social security law. But taxpaid nursemaids—ugh.

Almost 20 years ago, John T. Flynn wrote a book, "The Road Ahead," in which he made the statement that the Communists encourage our spending programs because the sooner we spend ourselves into bankruptcy, the sooner they can take over. Mr. Johnson is well on the way toward their goal.

Mr. Johnson's Great Society has now provided Project Head Start for the poverty-stricken children, youth camps for their big brothers and sisters, welfare for their parents, and now taxpaid babysitting jobs for their grandparents. It's time now that he did something for the forgotten group, the taxpayer. Oh, I forgot, he does have a nice gift for us—eventual bankruptcy in the name of service to suffering humanity at home and abroad.

ROBERT EGNOR.

PUEBLO.

Mr. DOMINICK. On August 21, we had a very difficult situation crop up in the Breckenridge, Ky., area youth camp. I hold in my hand two articles from Morganfield, Ky., dated August 21, compiled from UPI and AP dispatches. In brief, they show that the camp was being operated by a group of "hoods" from beginning to end, at taxpayer's expense, many people were being beaten up and physically assaulted, and many were leaving in fear of their lives.

The article reads in part:

MORGANFIELD, KY., August 21.—Hundreds of youths, who had come to a nearby Federal Job Corps center, with hopes high, left it today, driven by fear.

"They [hoodlums] threatened to kill me three different times," said Gilbert Blankenship, 18, of Jamestown, Ky., as he boarded a bus to leave.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have these two articles printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIOT FEAR DRIVES YOUTHS FROM JOB CORPS CENTER

MORGANFIELD, KY., August 21.—Hundreds of youths, who had come to a nearby Federal Job Corps Center with hopes high, left it today, driven by fear.

"They [hoodlums] threatened to kill me three different times," said Gilbert Blankenship, 18, of Jamestown, Ky., as he boarded a bus to leave.

About 150 poured out of the center at Camp Breckinridge last night, along with most of the teaching staff, after a 3-hour riot in which 10 were injured. Another 100 left today and more were expected to leave.

OVER 500 INVOLVED

Up to 500 of the 650 white and Negro youths at the center were involved in the rioting. State troopers, FBI agents, and U.S. marshals remained near the center today.

Seven youths were arrested for drunkenness and brought before a magistrate in Owensboro, who dismissed the charges at the request of Job Corps officials.

Blankenship said, "There were eight guys (Negroes) in my dorm who threatened to kill me. I'm leaving here until I think it is safe to come back."

"DON'T DO NOTHING"

Blankenship said his locker was broken into and clothing and money were stolen. Ralph Allen, 18, of Pascagoula, Miss., another who is leaving, also said his locker had been broken into and clothing and money taken.

"If the officials here had taken a stand before this would never have happened," Allen said. "They were always giving these guys a second chance."

A Negro youth from New York, who did not wish to be identified, said:

"Man, we don't do nothing here. That's the trouble. I want to be a mechanic but they say there's no room in the mechanics class. Man, there's nothing to do here."

Job Corps officials put up some of the trainees in an Evansville, Ind., hotel in hopes they would return later.

APPEAL BY MAYOR

Morganfield Mayor J. Earl Bell appealed to center officials to rid the corps of "the racketeering and hoodlum element" before it happens again.

"They have got to operate that center on a basis where people are not afraid to go there to work," Bell said. "I'm in favor of the Job Corps. There are some nice kids up there but unless these centers are properly policed they have missed the boat."

Charles Singer, a member of the security guard, said the camp's teaching staff is gone. "When you're a resident and you have 40 students gang up on you the way they did, well, you can see why they'd want to leave," he said.

RIOT DRIVES TEENS FROM JOB CAMP

MORGANFIELD, KY.—Hundreds of youths, who had come to a nearby Federal Job Corps center with hopes high, left it Saturday driven by fear.

Seven youths involved in Friday night's rioting were arrested for drunkenness and brought before a magistrate in Owensboro, who dismissed the charges at the request of Job Corps officials.

About 150 corpsmen poured out of the center at Camp Breckinridge Friday night,

along with most of the teaching staff, after a 3-hour riot in which 10 were injured. Another 100 left Saturday and more were expected to leave.

Up to 500 of the 650 white and Negro youths at the center were involved in the rioting. State troopers, FBI agents and U.S. marshals remained near the center Saturday.

Purpose of the \$10.7-million center, part of the U.S. war on poverty, is to train disadvantaged youths for 10 months to a year. Basic training includes 3 hours of general education and 3 hours of work experience a day.

In nearby Morganfield, Ky., one resident described the center as "the damndest mess you've ever seen."

"It's just like a Sunday school," said Bob Hite, manager of a Morganfield radio station. "If the kids do something, they (the camp officials) say, 'now if you boys don't behave we'll take your pie away.'"

Six angry young Job Corps men told their story.

As the six crossed a dusty field toward a Red Cross hut where they would ask for a transfer to another Job Corps center, one said, "I ain't going to stay here and get my throat cut."

Another added, in reference to a camp protection racket, "After I got off the bus" (on his return from a weekend trip) "they ask me if I had any life insurance, and I said 'Hell, no.'"

Another student told of watching a beating in the messhall Wednesday: "They just took his head, pushed it in a plate of food, then stomped his face in."

One boy said he told a camp official Thursday night there was trouble brewing at the camp. "They didn't do nothin'," the boy said.

Most of the camp's boys are staying in motels and hotels. The six boys said their stay at a hotel last night was paid for by the Federal Government.

They said the riot sources were:

The protection racket which the six boys said was "nipped in the bud" in their dorm area but may have continued elsewhere.

The boys said they were forced to pay \$13.50 a month—one-half of their monthly take-home salary—in return for "life insurance" to avoid beatings.

A civil rights demonstration August 13 triggered by Negro comedian Dick Gregory, who claimed the camp hired only persons with college degrees. Some students felt that charges of discrimination in hiring were false and staged a counterdemonstration.

Rioting in Los Angeles, creating fear between races.

Dissatisfaction among students. Said one of the six: "I've been here 2 months and I've been to all the classes and haven't learned a damn thing."

The six were Philip Lefferman, 16, New York City; Larry David, 18, Athens, Ga.; Ronnie Stone, 16, Marietta, Ga.; Edward Mattock, 17, Beckley, W. Va.; Antoine Monette, 20, Los Angeles, and Harvey Bunker, 21, Little Rock, Ark.

A mob of about 75 attacked a firetruck they apparently thought was coming to settle Friday's fighting which began between swirling knots of people, said Seymour Bryson, director of student security.

It was determined later that the firetruck had arrived because of a false alarm.

Ten Job Corpsmen were treated at a camp hospital. Most of them had stab wounds, many had cuts and bruises, authorities said.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, it is an interesting feature that one of the first things that happened in the war on poverty, one of the first programs that was announced, was reported last October in Time magazine, in January, that in the administration's opening salvo on poverty spending last month,

"one project, for example, was a \$25,000 loan to a fruitcake manufacturer in Lafayette, La." The magazine commented further, "Standards certainly must have been flexible."

Let me say, with all due deference, that every bit of factual information which we have received from beginning to end points up one problem after another of this kind.

Here is an article published in the New York Times on June 2, 1965, with a St. Louis dateline, dealing with the problems that the mayors of our towns have been having. Again I should like to quote:

A group of angry big-city mayors failed today in a move to get the U.S. Conference of Mayors to back their charge that the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity was "trying to wreck local government by setting the poor against city hall."

The controversy was shifted to the politically less exposed channel of private consultation with Vice President Humphrey.

A strongly worded resolution—accusing administrators of the Federal antipoverty program of creating tensions among the poor against mayors and of "fostering class struggle" against city administrations—was bottled up today in the resolutions committee.

The resolution was drafted by Mayors John F. Shelley of San Francisco and Samuel W. Yorty of Los Angeles, both Democrats. It had seemed almost certain of passage by the conference at a final plenary session tomorrow.

Mr. Shelley said he had been urged by Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, who is not at the conference, to "make the resolution even stronger."

In Syracuse, Mayor Walsh said, federally financed antipoverty workers refer to city officials as "the enemy." He said the poor in Syracuse "are being urged to storm city hall."

Mayor Shelley read to the committee excerpts from the Office of Economic Opportunity's "Community Action Agency Workbook," published last March under the name of Theodore M. Berry, the agency's director of community action programs. The book stressed the importance of "organizing low-income residents for political effectiveness."

Mayor Shelley said the Federal agency's insistence that "the poor must dominate this thing" would have the effect of "wrecking the program" by removing it from the control of elected city officials "who are responsible to the taxpayers."

"Look," he said. "I'm a liberal. I was poor. I came out of the labor movement. I am in complete sympathy with what they are trying to do. But they are saying that we can have no voice in the control of expenditures (by local governments) that will be 10 percent of the program this year and 50 percent next year. That creates a situation in which no local government can exist."

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURDICK in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator is now discussing that aspect of the program with respect to which I stated, when the bill was originally before the Senate:

In my whole political career, I have never seen a program so loaded with the ability of political manipulation and deviousness.

I believe that rather accurately describes what can be done politically under the types of organizations which are substituted for the performance of functions which properly belong to the Government; does not the Senator agree?

Mr. DOMINICK. I completely agree with the Senator from Ohio. We welcomed his support in the original debate on the bill. He was extremely effective in presenting his ideas, thoughts, and rationale on the subject. But, as he knows, the Hatch Act amendment which was in the bill, and which would have helped as an effective weapon in trying to keep out politics, was eliminated by the conference committee, even though the possibility of eliminating it was never even discussed on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand a number of other articles, a whole series of papers from the State of Arizona, the Phoenix Gazette, the Arizona Republic, the Tucson Daily Citizen, and a variety of other newspapers, all of which have been referred to prior to this time by the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], on the problems they have been having in Arizona with the programs which have been initiated there. Frankly, they depict one horror after another. There are accounts of recently released convicts running the program. The fact is, they cannot find any rationale or motivation for the people they are placing in these camps.

Mr. President, I was entertained, and I believe other Senators might be entertained also, by the report of June 11 in the Arizona Republic, as follows:

Boys recruited for the Job Corps may elect to go home when they please and the government is required to provide transportation.

The other day, at the Winslow camp, an eastern boy arrived and almost immediately asked to return home. Why?

"I can't wait to get back on that jet airplane," he said. "That's the most fun I ever had in my life."

Mr. President, here is a boy being taken out to Arizona at Government expense. He went to Winslow and soon came back at taxpayers' expense merely to enjoy another airplane ride.

It does not strike me that this is doing much about the poverty program as such.

Here is another one:

POVERTY PROGRAM MONEY TO DEVELOP ROCK AND ROLL GROUPS

Latest announcement from the "Nothing-May-Surprise-You-Department" of the poverty program: A program to use Federal poverty funds to develop rock and roll choral groups was announced in Chicago July 19 by Denton J. Brooks, Jr., executive director of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity.

Mr. Brooks said development of rock and roll groups has "cultural implications but also a definite economic effect in the war on poverty because it will give jobs to persons who would not otherwise have jobs."

Perhaps this is a useful endeavor. I do not know. But it does not seem to me to be something on which general tax funds should be spent.

All kinds of groups want to promote rock and roll, but the idea of spending Federal funds on it is beyond me.

Here is another article, dated July 23, 1965, from the Denver Post:

Three of five Job Corpsmen in San Marcos, Tex., charged with felonies in the shooting of two airmen, returned to the job center after being released from jail on a habeas corpus writ.

Here are a couple of fellows who did not like sitting in the camp. They went out on the town and shot two airmen, were released, and returned to the Job Corps camp.

The Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce, in August of this year, did a kind of lineup of some of the problems.

I am reciting incidents from various areas of the country to try to indicate to the Senate the kind of problems we have run into.

The Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce reported:

In Ypsilanti, Mich., a local teacher described a Federal grant of \$188,000 in nearby Willow Run village as "a fraud and a disgrace." One antipoverty project planned was a weight-losing class for women who were told "now that summer's coming on, don't fry in your own fat."

It is inconceivable that we are spending Federal funds for that.

The next item relates to St. Petersburg, Fla., about which we heard a great deal before:

The Job Corps Director has resigned. Of the 270 young girls training at the Center, 90 percent were school dropouts.

Blaming the Federal Government for not screening the candidates properly, the Director said one girl arrived emotionally ill, another 5 months pregnant. Six girls were kicked out for drunkenness, several refused to obey regulations; 20 more left because they weren't "motivated."

In New York City—and I am glad to see the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] present—

The 22-year-old neighborhood investigator in Harlem was charged with the stabbing (fatal) of a 16-year-old white boy. The investigator was on the Federal payroll for \$36.50 a week, checking on neighborhood poverty complaints. At the same time he was a member of a gang of rowdies known as the Barbarian Knights.

So the first three States involved that I have mentioned are Michigan, Florida, and New York. The report goes on. It does not stop there. It covers all areas of the country.

LEWISTON, CALIF.—Citizens complain that they are being terrorized by volunteers at the local Job Corps Center. Residents were told that no young volunteer with a criminal record would come to the Center. "Now we learn that parolees are being sent here and that there is almost no supervision," said one Lewiston city official. (A Job Corps official said the "rules got changed—at the Presidential level.")

The next one is from Portsmouth, Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Where?

Mr. DOMINICK. Portsmouth, Ohio.

Community action program officials had allowed \$45,000 to rent meeting rooms when, as Congressman WILLIAM H. HARSHA, Republican, of Ohio, reported, "There is plenty of free space they could use." The money is now being held up, pending investigation.

I do not happen to know what happened with respect to that.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, where was the rock-and-roll program?

Mr. DOMINICK. That was in Chicago, Ill.

Mr. LAUSCHE. And that is a part of an economic opportunity program on which the taxpayers' money is being spent?

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Where was the program in which the taxpayers' money was being spent to teach how weight can be reduced? Was that in Ypsilanti?

Mr. DOMINICK. Yes; that was in Ypsilanti, Mich.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Those programs are now a part of the general laws?

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct—the so-called poverty program.

The next item mentioned in this report refers to Indianapolis, Ind.

The local Project Head-Start has a \$1,094,000 budget for a preschool center. Fully two-thirds of that budget is going for salaries of administrators, consultants, coordinators, teachers, aids, office help.

Here is one from Gum Springs, Va.:

Citizens are up in arms over a \$74,000 local poverty budget. Of that budget, \$56,722 is going for salaries for the staff.

Then we get down to Washington, D.C.:

The Public Health Service, with a budget of \$2 billion per year, has wide-ranging health programs for the general public throughout the United States. But poverty program officials aren't satisfied. They are launching their own health service in the form of nursery school setup, complete with medical, dental, and eye benefits. Costing initially \$17 million a year, it will zoom shortly to \$150 million annually. Obviously it will compete with the existing Public Health Service.

The one I have just referred to relates to Washington, D.C. The next one relates to New York City. It is reported that:

The powerful United Federation of Teachers has forced local poverty officials to pay \$8 to \$9.20 per hour to summer nursery school teachers.

I have already referred to the Syracuse, N.Y., blast by Mayor Walsh.

There is another program going on in Washington, D.C., which is thus described.

Poverty officials admitted paying \$87,000 to a private research group "to compile a catalog of more than 170 Federal programs—in addition to those set up by the antipov-erty program—which helps the poor.

The Washington Daily News reported the catalog is thicker than New York's Manhattan phone book.

So far we have included the States of Michigan, New York, Florida, California, Ohio, Indiana, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. The areas I mentioned before included Kentucky and Texas. I know that there have been problems in my own State of Colorado.

The Washington Post had this to say when we passed the bill in August. This article appeared on August 23:

Mounting concern across the country that the war on poverty has yet to establish an effective beachhead was ignored in the Senate where administration forces crushed opposition 61 to 29 and passed a 1-year, \$1.65 billion extension of the program.

The time has come to throw away the quantitative yardstick and the tub-thumping press release that tells only how much or how many or how big, and to concentrate on how effective, how lasting is the war to help people lift themselves above poverty and stay there.

I was really interested in my own State. I believe I previously placed in the RECORD an article which was published in the Denver Post which referred to one of the centers of the Job Corps in western Colorado and stated that it had really been successful. When one read below the headlines he learned that one-fourth of those who had gone out there at the Government's expense had already left the camp after they had been there for only 2 weeks. This was supposed to have been a successful camp. I have some more examples of what went on in Colorado.

Here is an article from the Rocky Mountain News dated September 2, 1965, in regard to the new head of the Denver war on poverty. He was elected by a 11-to-7 margin after a secret ballot and after a motion to postpone the election another month had been beaten down, 8 to 7. The new director is a fellow that I know from my home State, and is an able person.

But once again the political situation, largely within the Democratic Party, has created such a force they have been unable to get anything done that meets with the approval of Washington. That is why when this gentleman, whose name is Corky Gonzales, and incidentally a fine guy, was elected. One of the first things done was to fire the executive director. They have not yet found a new one.

Here is the comment made by another director of the Denver war on poverty. This comes from the Rocky Mountain News of September 3, 1965. He said that the local program can work despite the current internal bickering hampering achievement:

Herrick Roth, president of the Colorado Labor Council, said possibilities for the future are excellent.

Speaking to the Young Democrats of Denver, Roth claimed the issue is who shall be the local spokesman and through whose eyes poverty seen.

"We can take some progressive steps while we're fighting these petty battles," he predicted.

When he got through he said, "I trust it will not be a boondoggle."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these two articles be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CORKY GONZALES ELECTED HEAD OF DENVER'S WAR ON POVERTY

(By Fritz Lalendorf)

Rudolph (Corky) Gonzales, former bail bondsman and professional boxer, is the new general of Denver's war on poverty.

He was elected Wednesday as chairman of the Denver war on poverty board to succeed Dr. James Galvin, who resigned the top post because of friction with several of his coworkers. Galvin will remain on the board.

Gonzales won by an 11-to-7 margin after a secret ballot and after a motion to postpone

the election another month had been beaten down 8-to-7.

The board has been racked by dissension for the past 2 months since Mayor Curri-gan publicly called for the removal of then Executive Director Robert E. Allen for alleged ineffective leadership.

Allen has since been demoted to community relations director, although he is serving as acting executive director until a successor is chosen.

The local program has bogged down amid personality clashes and differences of opinion on how the program should be conducted and which way it should move.

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Washington has been slow to approve needed poverty funds until the leadership hassle is straightened out and the program is revitalized.

Only 19 of the 33 board members were on hand for the regular monthly meeting Wednesday night.

Gonzales, 37, is director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, a part of the war on poverty.

His salary in that job is \$9,636 a year. The chairman of the Denver war on poverty board is a nonpaying position.

William Blackburn, an oil executive and chairman of the nominating committee, reported the committee favored Walter E. Emery, president of the Bank of Denver, for the top post.

The vote was 4 to 1, he said, with Mrs. Mary Chavez, board member representing "the disadvantaged community," opposed.

Mrs. Chavez said she believed Emery would be unable to communicate with residents of poverty areas.

Blackburn quoted Emery as saying he would be unwilling to serve as chairman if there were opposition to his election, preferring to encourage board unity rather than disunity.

Then followed a motion to postpone the election until the nominating committee could talk it over.

TRIGGERS BLAST

That triggered a blast from Herrick Roth, president of the Colorado Labor Council, AFL-CIO, who has been leading the fight to get the program off dead center.

"How long do we intend to bicker on and on about this?" he asked. "Caution has been part of our problems with this program."

Further postponements, he said, means the war on poverty "does not go forward for a while."

The 8-7 vote closely followed economic lines with the so-called disadvantaged representatives prevailing over the other board members. Emery, however, abstained from the balloting.

After Gonzales was nominated by Mrs. Chavez, Mrs. Lloyd M. Joshel said the board should dissolve itself and start all over again.

"The board is badly split," she said, "in I don't know how many ways."

She suggested appointing a chairman from outside the board "who might be able to pull these patches together."

Attorney A. Edgar Benton called it "a sad commentary" that a community of 500,000 people could not find someone willing and able to take on the responsibility of running the war on poverty program.

He announced he would vote against Gonzales "simply because I don't think he's qualified."

After the election Gonzales said he did not intend to get involved in "politics behind closed doors."

"I don't say that I know everything there is to know but I can learn," he declared. "I do know that we must help the poor people."

COMPLETE SHAKEUP

The board has approved a complete structural shakeup, revamping the administrative hierarchy from top to bottom.

The executive director will oversee six divisions dealing with community relations, education, employment and training, health, home management and research and analysis. The divisions will be staffed by board members plus professional outsiders subject to board approval.

POVERTY FIGHTER EXUDES CONFIDENCE

A director of the Denver War on Poverty (DWOP) board said Thursday the local program can work despite the current internal bickering hampering achievements.

Herrick Roth, president of the Colorado Labor Council, said possibilities for the future are excellent.

Speaking to the Young Democrats of Denver, Roth claimed the issue is who shall be the local spokesman and through whose eyes is poverty seen.

"We can take some progressive steps while we're fighting these petty battles," he predicted.

MIDDLE GROUND

The labor leader claimed the Denver board, under fire for its ineffectiveness, is neither far behind nor far ahead of other communities.

He said the poverty representatives on the board don't know what their role is and neither does the "power structure."

"In fact," he said, "the power structure probably has less understanding."

He said the current board hassle is a matter of the poverty people being hampered by the "society people who know how to run boards."

He said all the haggling is going on amid the power structure and not the so-called disadvantaged board members who are continually being talked down to.

"I have been critical of the power structure," Roth conceded, "because I don't like to see this bulldozing going on."

FINDING A TRUST

Roth said the election of Rudolph (Corky) Gonzales, a representative of the Spanish-American community, as board chairman Wednesday night amounted to "finding a trust."

"If we walk away from Corky we will be doing him and the war on poverty a disservice," he declared.

Roth said he was sure the board, despite the division in leadership, was united in wanting to move ahead with the program.

Nationally, he said the Johnson administration "may hang its hat or lose it" on the anti-poverty war.

"I trust it will not be a boondoggle," he added.

Mr. DOMINICK. Here is an editorial from the Rocky Mountain News headed "Boondoggle." "I trust it will not be a boondoggle," Herrick Roth said.

The Rocky Mountain News said very pungently:

We certainly trust so, too, but we must admit that nothing in the record so far gives us much cheer.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the editorial from the Rocky Mountain News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOONDOGGLE?

Herrick Roth in commenting on the strife-ridden organization of the Denver War on Poverty, of which he is a director, expressed this hope:

"I trust it will not be a boondoggle."

We certainly trust so, too. But we must admit that nothing in the record so far gives us much cheer.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thought I was through the parade of horrors on this matter until I got a new one the other day. Here is one dated September 7 from the Dixon Evening Telegraph in Dixon, Ill. It is an editorial entitled "The War on Poverty Invades Lee County, Ill."

Mr. President, I would ask unanimous consent that the entire editorial be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Dixon (Ill.) Evening Telegraph, Sept. 7, 1965]

THE WAR ON POVERTY INVADERS LEE COUNTY, ILL.

The war on poverty is to be fought on home grounds in Lee, Ogle, and Whiteside Counties, three of the most prosperous farming and industrial counties in northwestern Illinois.

A great number of the citizens of our community are aghast and utterly disgusted after reading in this newspaper of the press conference called by Rev. Alden R. Hickman, assistant pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Dixon. It has been reported that this committee is a self-appointed, self-perpetuating group controlled by about 10 persons. None of these persons are responsible to county or city voters.

At this meeting the Reverend Mr. Hickman announced that he and his group that he calls the Tri-County Opportunities Council (TCOC) has requested a grant from the Federal Government of more than \$38,000 "to finance a study which will determine the extent and nature of poverty in the Lee-Ogle-Whiteside Counties area."

If approved by the Government the grant will be used specifically to "discover incidents of poverty, resources available, and the possibilities of eliminating or alleviating poverty in this area" * * * said the Reverend Mr. Hickman. Budget information released at this press conference specified that the program director will receive \$10,200 a year. Two assistant directors will receive \$7,200 each. The remainder left in the budget salary allotments will be used for secretarial salaries and for neighborhood aids whatever that means, and these are the ones he says will benefit. Also included is travel expense of \$7,200 and \$1,800 for consultants who are supposed to evaluate the completed survey. Then there is allotted \$1,950 for office rent, \$2,000 for supplies and postage and \$1,300 for equipment rental.

We can think of better initials to be used for the Great Society than TCOC. We suggest they change their name to the "Pay-rollers Everlasting Utopia" and call it by its initials (PEU) which would be more appropriate because of this senseless squandering of Federal funds just to put a few people on the payroll.

We were informed by a member of the Presbyterian Church that Reverend Hickman's coming to Dixon and the church was contingent upon his being on this boondoggle payroll at \$10,200 salary. If this information is incorrect we will be happy to correct same.

If this committee, whoever they are, will come to us or any number of people in our community we will tell them why we think some people have less than others—we will tell them for free and save taxpayers \$38,000.

We will even throw in something as a bonus and for free—we will tell why some people have more than others in case these men are planning to spend taxpayers' money in the future to find out why some people have made money and saved it.

We are sure that almost everyone has compassion for people who are unfortunate because of reasons of sickness or of something beyond their control. Our county board of supervisors has a setup that has been in force for years to take up and care for hardship cases.

We have a suggestion. If these men are so willing to get this \$38,000 and use it we would like to be so bold as to say—get it and give it to those who need it but do it through the county supervisors and township men who are already set up and have been doing this over many years. Let's not pay it out in fat salaries for a favored few.

Mr. DOMINICK. In effect what is said here is that the Tri-County Opportunities Council requested a grant from the Federal Government of more than \$38,000 to finance a study which will determine the extent and nature of poverty in the Lee-Ogle-Whiteside Counties area.

The editorial starts out by saying that these three counties are the most prosperous farming and industrial counties in northwestern Illinois.

The editorial goes on to say who is going to get the \$38,000. The program director will receive \$10,200 a year, the two assistant directors will receive \$7,200 a year.

That is \$24,600 out of the \$38,000. The remainder left in the budget salary allotments will be used for secretarial salaries and for neighborhood aids, whatever that means, and these are the ones who will benefit.

Also included is travel expense of \$7,200 and \$1,800 for consultants who are supposed to evaluate the completed survey. Then, there is allotted \$1,950 for office rent, \$2,000 for supplies and proceeds, and \$1,300 for equipment rental.

The editor suggests the name be changed from the TCOC, which is Tri-County Opportunities Council, and that it be called PEU, which is Payrollers Everlasting Utopia.

I do not know whether that situation is going to be changed or not. The editorial is dated September 7, 1965. I presume it will.

The Ypsilanti, Mich., program went through despite determined opposition of everybody in the area.

Then, we have this article of September 9 from the Washington Daily News, and an article by Jack Steele in the Rocky Mountain News. The first one is dated September 9, 1965, and the last one is dated September 12, 1965. I would ask unanimous consent that these be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept 9, 1965]

HEAD STARTERS STARTLE PROBES: 'FREE' USE OF CHURCH, \$532 IN 'RENTALS'

Senate investigators have reported that a Mississippi Head Start project paid \$100 rent to use a bathroom toilet in a church for 8 weeks.

The project also paid the owner of the church \$10 in rent for use of a garbage can, \$100 to rent a sink, \$120 to use a refrigerator.

tor, \$110 for a stove, and \$92 for a carpet during the same 8-week period.

One of the project's officials chartered a twin-engine plane for a 200-mile flight to address a "graduating class of 5- and 6-year-old Head Start pupils. Another chartered a plane to attend a meeting of the project's board of directors, they said.

LEFT HASTILY

And when the Senate staff employees started their investigation, bookkeepers for a New York firm which had received a \$35,000 contract to audit the project, left Mississippi hastily, taking the books and records with them.

These and other alleged irregularities in the project's operations have turned up in the course of an investigation sparked by Senator JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi.

Senator STENNIS is preparing a detailed report to present to the Senate Appropriations Committee, of which he is a member, when it considers the administration's request for \$1.5 billion to run the antipoverty program.

MADE PUBLIC

Results of the probe were first made public in dispatches by Morris Cunningham, Washington correspondent for the Memphis Commercial-Appeal, a Scripps-Howard newspaper.

The project involved is the Child Development Group, which was granted \$1,460,748 by the Office of Economic Opportunity to run Head Start classes in 65 Mississippi communities this summer.

Senator STENNIS has charged that the project's facilities were being used as a "staging area" for civil rights demonstrators rather than for their intended preschool educational purpose, and that Head Start funds were used to provide bail and pay fines for demonstrators.

FIRST HAND

In late July, Senator STENNIS asked OEO Director Sargent Shriver for an accounting of the child development group's use of Federal funds. When Mr. Shriver reported his accountants could find no serious irregularities, Senator STENNIS and Appropriations Committee Chairman CARL HAYDEN, Democrat, of Arizona, sent committee investigators to Mississippi for a firsthand look.

When they arrived August 26, they reported they at first were denied admittance to the group's headquarters. After Senators STENNIS and HAYDEN protested to Mr. Shriver, the staff aids were let in and staff accountant William J. Miller started an audit.

VANISHED

When he arrived to continue his work August 30, the records had vanished and so had three bookkeepers for Spokny-Gersten Co., a New York City firm which had the \$35,000 accounting contract, investigators said.

The books were later returned by air express from New York but the bookkeepers never did show up again, the investigators said.

Mr. Shriver's office later announced the contract had been canceled and the routine auditing assigned to another New York City firm, but Spokny-Gersten had received nearly \$27,000 of the \$35,000 in advance.

The Senate investigator, meanwhile, found a check had been paid to the Reverend Harry Howard, listed as owner of St. Peter's Baptist Church, Pascagoula, Miss. Reverend Howard had "donated" use of his church for a Head Start class for the 8-week session, they were told.

"FREE"

However, according to Mr. Miller, an invoice filed in support of the check revealed that although use of the church was "free," Reverend Howard had been paid \$100 for use

of a "bathroom commode" (toilet), \$10 for use of a garbage can, \$100 for use of a sink, \$120 for use of a refrigerator, \$110 for use of a stove, and \$92 for use of a carpet during the 8 weeks.

OEO officials here said the rental charges appeared to be exorbitant—and if so, would not be allowed. Presumably, the money can be recovered either from Reverend Howard or from Mary Holmes Junior College of West Point, Miss., official sponsor of the child development group.

The chartered air flights, investigators said, were taken by the Reverend Willie Brown, assistant director of the group, who flew from Jackson to Holly Springs to speak before a Head Start graduating class, and by Dr. Tom Levin, former director, who flew from Jackson to West Point for a board of directors' meeting. Washington officials said Mr. Levin's flight was authorized as necessary.

ABUSES IN HEAD START PROGRAM REVEALED

(By Jack Steele)

WASHINGTON, September 11.—The antipoverty program's own audit of a big Mississippi Head Start project disclosed "questionable and improper" expenditure of portions of the \$1.4 million in Federal funds poured into the project.

Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, made public Friday night a sketchy summary of a July 31 audit report, which charged that \$87,778 in "questionable expenditures" were uncovered at this midway point in the 8-week program to provide nursery schools for underprivileged children.

Shriver made public the audit summary after Nathan Cutler, OEO's chief auditor, had denied reports by Senate investigators, which were published by Scripps-Howard newspapers, of waste and mismanagement in the Head Start project in Mississippi.

Yet Cutler himself stated in the audit summary that "significant weaknesses," which included possible conflict of interest, were uncovered by his auditors.

USED TO PAY FINES

The OEO auditors found that \$1,129 in Head Start funds were used to pay bail and fines for Head Start employees arrested for civil rights activities. They insisted all but \$329 had been recovered.

Shriver himself earlier admitted some OEO employees engaged in civil rights activities "on their own time" and added: "I hope they do it." He insisted they were not intermingling their antipoverty and civil rights activities, however.

The big issue of whether OEO paid high-priced "rentals" on such items as a toilet, a rug, refrigerators, and garbage cans in two Negro churches in Pascagoula, Miss., used as Head Start centers was left unresolved.

Cutler earlier denied the charges—insisting that OEO had purchased these items.

After release of the audit report, Cutler admitted that invoices found in the files of the Mississippi project covering these items used the word "rentals." But he insisted this was a mistake.

SEEK ADJUSTMENTS

Cutler said OEO was trying to work out adjustments in the prices of these articles rather than rip out the toilet and take possession of the other items.

Investigators for the Senate Appropriations Committee, sent to audit the project by Senator JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi, made the "rental" charges on the basis of the invoices.

Shriver refused to release the full audit report on grounds that it was an internal document of OEO and might contain unsubstantiated charges involving some individuals.

But the audit summary, although all specific charges were deleted, disclosed evidence of wholesale mismanagement of Head Start funds in the Mississippi project, which was operated by the Child Development Group of Mississippi from a center at Edwards, Miss., near Jackson.

WEEK TO CORRECT

Cutler considered the lack of control over the Federal funds so serious that he recommended that the project be curtailed or halted unless the faults were corrected within 1 week.

The report listed among "questionable" expenditures:

Cost of teacher orientation: \$30,710.
Accounting and financial services: \$35,000.
Administrative expenses: \$12,380.
Printing agreement: \$7,188.
Retainer legal services: \$2,500.

The report also charged the project had violated conditions of its grant by improper use of funds, by failing to identify the non-Federal share (10 percent) of its costs and by buying furniture and services before the grant was approved.

CONTROL LACKING

It charged the OEO auditors had found no control over petty-cash funds, accounting system deficiencies, and such mysterious other "weaknesses" as "special bank account" and "possible conflict of interest." These were not further explained.

The report stated:

"Our audit indicated the existence of a relatively lax and uncontrolled system of management both at the grantee and subcontractor levels.

"Essential functions involving cash and check disbursements, purchases, material control, and recordkeeping were informally accomplished and inadequately supervised."

Mr. DOMINICK. I believe most of us have seen these, but this article relates to the Head Start program in Mississippi which paid \$100 to rent a bathroom toilet in a church for 8 weeks, and it went into details of what was being paid out: Scrap basket rental, toilet rental, and screen rental, and all of these things that are plain idiotic use of funds when we are trying to help the poor in this kind of program.

I do not intend to outline all of these things in order to show the difficulties of the program. Of course, there will be difficulties. No program can get started in this way without difficulties and without problems. We all know that.

The point is, to take a program that is already nationally in trouble in all areas of this country and then say we are going to give \$285 million more than the administration wanted and \$135 million more than the Senate provided and millions more than was spent last year in expanding this type of program, without getting administrative help or supervision, it seems to me, is absolute nonsense. If this conference report can be defeated we will have an opportunity to go back to conference and insist on the Hatch provisions, and insist on a fair monetary amount and try to get some kind of advisory council that will be of assistance in this program.

I yield the floor.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I intend to address myself in some detail to this situation, as I believe I am the only Member of my party who signed the conference report: With the indulgence

of the Members of the Senate who are present, I would like the privilege of inserting several matters in the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that I may do so although they are not germane to the pending business. Then I shall ask for a quorum call for the brief time that Members are notified that this debate will be coming to a close.

I ask for such unanimous consent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RETIREMENT OF SECRETARY ZUCKERT

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, at the end of this month, the Honorable Eugene Zuckert, Secretary of the Air Force, will leave his post in the Government.

Secretary Zuckert has served in that high post longer than any other Secretary in history and, undoubtedly, his contributions have been extraordinary. In 1946, he served as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of War for Air, and, when the new Department was formed the following year he became Assistant Secretary. His experience had qualified him well for the leadership position to which he was appointed by President Kennedy in 1961.

During his tenure as Secretary we have not always agreed on matters affecting installations in New York, but I respect his dedication to the public service, I applaud his contributions to the growth of the Air Force and the defense of the Nation, and I admire his unquestioned ability and patriotism.

The Air Force will miss his leadership and the Federal Government his dedicated service. I join Senators in wishing him success, health, and happiness in the future.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY FORMER NEW YORK ATTORNEY GENERAL GOLDSTEIN

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, former New York State Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein was installed as President of the American Friends of the Hebrew University last Sunday. Mr. Goldstein is one of New York's most distinguished citizens. He served the State as Attorney General from 1942 to 1954 and was my immediate predecessor in that post. During his terms of office under Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, New York moved forward and led the Nation in many areas of government concern, including civil rights, education, and health. Also during that time, Mr. Goldstein was a leading figure in the National Association of Attorneys General. In addition to the bar, he has also distinguished himself in philanthropy and community service.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the acceptance speech of Attorney General Goldstein on the occasion of his installation be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM THE ACCEPTANCE REMARKS OF FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN OF NEW YORK, UPON HIS INDUCTION AS PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1965

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your very kind introduction. May I also express my deep appreciation to the Minister of Commerce of the State of Israel, His Excellency, the Honorable Haim Zadok, for his most gracious remarks. Were I, in turn, to present him to you, I should characterize him succinctly as a brilliant lawyer, a superb public servant and, above all, a gentleman of the highest order.

I accept the idilia of office today with due humility, realizing the duty which goes with it and the accompanying obligation to that great citadel of learning, standing at the crossroads of the Middle East, in all of its majestic glory, beaming its rays of knowledge throughout the civilized world.

The Hebrew University performs a dual function. It supplies the professions to administer to the needs of the people of Israel, the scientists, the doctors, and the lawyers. It produces the teachers so essential to man the primary and secondary schools, for brick and mortar without teachers can be of no avail. I know I need not stress its importance, for it is self-evident and axiomatic.

For the next few minutes, I should, therefore, like to tell you what impelled me, with all of my manifold duties and obligations, to accept the presidency of the American Friends. It is inherent in the second great historic mission of the Hebrew University.

We are the people of the Book, and learning has sustained us throughout the ages, in all of our travail and suffering—and it is learning which can bring peace and tranquillity to the world.

Nuclear weaponry is not the answer, for in a span of 50 years we have fought and won two World Wars, steeped in blood, sweat, and tears. Checkerboard diplomacy will not do it, for with all our statesmanship and diplomatic maneuvering, we find ourselves on the brink of world war III.

Knowledge, learning, education, and understanding must supply the tools, by which the human race can survive, in a world of plenty and splendor.

Unfortunately, America, the most powerful nation on earth, which has done so much good for so many people, has been unable to reach the underdeveloped and newly developed countries of Asia and Africa. Unless there is a rapport with them, I fear that mistrust and misunderstanding will continue. Unless we can infuse them with our democratic way of life, we shall be groping in the dark and in the abyss of dismal failure. We, who are living under the best form of government conceived by man, cannot transmit our good and our blessing to these people.

But there is one ray of hope. In an era when the use of force as a weapon in diplomacy has become an anachronism, the example of Israel stands forth as a guiding light. The diplomacy of economic and technical assistance waged so badly by Israel is doing much to win the hearts and the minds of the people of these developing countries. Dedicated young people trained by the Hebrew University are now practicing the diplomatic art and setting an example which the free countries of the world can follow and learn from.

Let me name a few specifics where the Hebrew University is now playing its important role, helping their Asian and African neighbors. There is, at the university, a unique program for training Africans in modern medicine, under the auspices of the World Health Organization, an arm of the United Nations. The program, now in its

third year, will soon graduate the first group of physicians, who will return to their native lands in Africa and head hospitals, research centers, and, before long, be training physicians and technicians essential to the health of their people.

Similarly, there are African and Asian students in economics, social work, the law school, as well as in the multifaceted fields of modern science.

There is presently underway a newly created Institute for American Studies. Although less than a month old, this institute is teaching American history and an appreciation of the guiding principles of American democracy. I can think of no more direct channel to the consciousness of the people of the emerging nations than through the tutelage of another new democracy which has benefited so dramatically from the American experience.

This little State of Israel has been able, in a short time, to reach the eyes and the ears of these Asians and Africans. It has been able to gain their confidence and trust. And this little State, through the Hebrew University must be the catalyst by which these people can be reached.

To eradicate poverty of the body is all-important, but to feed the poverty of the mind is also important, if we are to live in a world of rule by law.

We, in America, must provide the wherewithal, for the Hebrew University can supply the manpower and the brains. All that we are being asked for is dollars, and dollars, unless put to good use, lie fallow and helpless. This, believe me, my friends, is the cheapest insurance premium we can pay for the survival of civilization.

SCURRILOUS TELEPHONE CALLS BY THE ORGANIZATION "LET FREEDOM RING"

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the news media yesterday and today have once again brought to public attention the irrational, scurrilous attacks being employed by the rightwing group called Let Freedom Ring. The current attack is against the National Congress of Parents and Teachers but for the past 3 years this same organization has used the telephone lines of the Nation to attack in the most personal and vicious manner the integrity, and the patriotism of such outstanding, loyal Americans as former Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson.

Now, of course, the method used by Let Freedom Ring—which seems determined to bring hate and fear within the reach of all—is faceless, and anonymous. A voice on the telephone. Not even the written word where the inaccuracies and innuendoes can at least become apparent to reasonable people on considered reading. Just the short message over the phone, which leaves you asking what exactly was said, but with just enough of the message to cause suspicious and doubt.

Telephone officials in many parts of the country feel that there is nothing they can do under the law to regulate the use of their equipment, except in cases of overt criminal activity. But what is strange is that it is almost impossible for the individual telephone customer to find out from his local company just who rents the equipment for Let

the city of Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations:

"1. It is the duty of the telephone company to furnish services and facilities to anyone who will use the service in a lawful manner. * * * The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has made it clear that public utilities are not censors. * * *

"2. Automatic announcement service is a regular telephone service which is available to any customers. * * * A user of automatic announcement service determines for himself the content of the messages handled by the service.

"3. Regardless of its views on the contents of recorded messages, the telephone company is prohibited from interfering with the lawful exercise of a customer's right of free speech."

Bell System officials have pointed out that public utilities are prohibited under Federal statutes from discriminating—i.e., in offering preferential service or in withholding services at will—and further, that they are forbidden to censor or even to monitor private calls. True, the telephone company may intervene in the case of messages which violate criminal laws (e.g., bookmaking operations or obscene calls) when requested to do so by police agencies. Various courts have held, moreover, that the company may act when it has reasonable cause to believe that the telephone is being used for illegal purposes, even without a specific police request. The crucial difficulty is in proving an "illegal" purpose.

In the present case, this would necessitate a reasonable cause for belief that the material of Let Freedom Ring's tapes constitutes criminal libel. Telephone officials are hesitant to admit that such reasonable cause exists. Mindful that evidence of criminal libel must usually show a tendency to create a breach of the peace, and fully aware that the courts extend the broadest protection to freedom of speech, these company officials say that they would take action only if advised by law enforcement agencies of the existence of criminal libel in specific cases.

One remedial suggestion that has been offered is to extend to this type of telephonic public announcements the Federal Communications Commission's regulations which are applicable to radio and television broadcasting. Such controls, thoroughly tested and upheld in the courts, provide for a certain degree of Federal control under license requirements to maintain "standards of public convenience, interest, and necessity." Is there not, in the telephone company's automatic announcement service, a potential that is profoundly similar to that of a radio station—in that such service provides for the increasingly public use of a public communications medium? The promoter so believes since he speaks of "broadcasts via a telephone tape recording" and of a "program that is 'on the air' 24 hours a day."

The telephone company's answer is that phone messages reach only those persons who wish to hear them, thus limiting the broadcast nature of Dr. Douglass' programs and negating any tendency on the part of those broadcasts to create a general breach of the peace. (But no one is forced to listen to radio or TV broadcasts either.)

Such arguments, of course, would not invalidate suggestions of the possible need for new Federal legislation—or for a whole new approach, considering the expanding electronic possibilities in the area of telephone communications. For such arguments do not answer the possibility that wide publicity and advertising of the appropriate phone numbers have given the anonymous broadcasters of "Let Freedom Ring" a greater daily audience in some cities than many a radio news broadcast. Here, the case for privacy may indeed be a shaky one.

Dr. Douglass feels confident, from seeing the recent impact of his operation on various

key cities, that "Let Freedom Ring" cannot be stopped and that it will become one of the major rightwing influences within the next 2 years.

"You will be amazed at the influence that you have on public opinion almost immediately," he states in his prospectus. "Last year, for instance, we were given credit for having killed the UNICEF Christmas Card drive locally—an accomplishment of which we are very proud."

Against the doctor's pride stands a growing indignation among persons and organizations who recognize the perils inherent in the "Let Freedom Ring" technique, which Senator Javits has called a pushbutton approach to mass libel.

Javits warned in the Senate on October 2, 1964, that the Douglass network was a nationwide organization not run by professionals but by enthusiastic amateurs and apparently inaugurated and dedicated to bringing hate and fear within the reach of all.

The usually conservative California Federation of Republican Women, on May 13, 1965, adopted a resolution calling "Let Freedom Ring's" messages "false and treacherous propaganda" and asked the FBI to look into the "origin, sponsorship, and objectives of this vicious activity." (The federation had been particularly angered by a "Let Freedom Ring" script labeling General Eisenhower "pro-Communist" and accusing the former President of having attended a meeting at which he supposedly had joined in a discussion on "the best way to surrender you and your family to the Reds.")

The question of free speech is bound to arise in any discussion of "Let Freedom Ring's" gross misuses of public utilities. It is noteworthy, then, that a strong statement on the issue of Dr. Douglass' operation has been broadcast by a leading radio station, for broadcasters certainly have a special interest in the preservation of freedom in communications. WCAU, an important radio voice in Philadelphia, has stated:

"WCAU believes that such hate messages * * * are feeding the fires of race hatred and possible violence. And we call upon all decent people to renounce such tactics * * *"

Upon all decent people. Here is where the matter most obviously will rest, as so often it does in a free society—a society whose concept of liberty is broad enough to allow for its own abuse.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Sept. 24, 1965]

PHONE CALLS SMEAR PTA, LEADER SAYS—
"LET FREEDOM RING" IS CALLED IRRATIONAL
AND VICIOUS ATTACKER

CHICAGO, September 23.—The president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers said today the organization is the object of scurrilous attacks from an unidentified source.

Mrs. Jennelle Moorhead, the PTA president, said the attacks, which she characterized as similar to "Communist smear tactics," emanate from a recorded anonymous message played from telephones in Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Des Moines and other cities.

Heard in Chicago, the recording describes the PTA as "basically a lobby for left-wing educators who work closely with the bureaucrats in the (United States) Office of Education to federalize our schools in the Russian manner."

IMPLICATION CALLED VICIOUS

"To imply that the PTA works 'to federalize our schools in the Russian manner' is vicious, untrue and irrational," Mrs. Moorhead said in a statement. "What's more, this venomous strategy smacks of Communist smear tactics so abhorrent to every loyal American."

Mrs. Moorhead said she had protested to Frederick R. Kappel, chairman of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., regarding

the use of company equipment "to attack an organization that has devoted itself so effectively for 68 years to securing for every American child the highest advantages in physical, mental, social and spiritual education."

The message is broadcast by the organization called "Let Freedom Ring." It closes its 1-minute message by urging callers to write to a Sarasota, Fla., box number for anti-PTA literature.

Mrs. Moorhead said both the box number and the telephone listings are anonymous.

"Let Freedom Ring" was founded 3 years ago in Sarasota by Dr. William C. Douglass, a 39-year-old general practitioner and former Navy flight surgeon.

AWAKENING SOUGHT

Its purpose, Dr. Douglass says, "is to awaken Americans to the extreme danger of communism within and without."

Senator Javits, Republican of New York, the object of a "Let Freedom Ring" recording a year ago, charged on the Senate floor that the organization was a radical rightwing group spreading suspicion, hate and invective.

Douglass replied, "Mr. Javits always calls any group effectively fighting communism a radical right-wing group. That's standard procedure for liberals in both parties."

In New York, a spokesman for the Bell Telephone Co. said State laws regulating public utilities do not permit the company to take any action against such telephone subscriber, but added:

"We are taking steps to make it possible to provide the names of sponsors of these anonymous services when we are asked for them."

[From the Miami News]

A VIEW OF THE NEWS—RING OF THE RADICALS

(By Jack Kasewitz)

The recent attack on the U.S. Peace Corps by the Let Freedom Ring telephone network comes as no surprise to those who have closely watched this rightwing propaganda machine.

In more than 30 cities, one only has to dial a telephone number (Miami's CA 1-6767) to hear an anti-Communist, anti-Socialist, pro-American tape recording which generally is either attacking the United Nations, the civil rights movement, the Supreme Court, the State Department, Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, or Eisenhower, the newspapers, National Council of Churches, American Civil Liberties Union, and/or the Anti-Defamation League.

Let Freedom Ring is the idea of Sarasota dentist William C. Douglass who says, "A lot of people are listening to us" after only 3 years of operation. The radical right line sees a Communist conspiracy in the pulpit, the school, and the libraries. Therefore, it is not surprising that Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, recommended Let Freedom Ring to his followers.

HALLUCINATIONS

One message of Let Freedom Ring bears repeating to illustrate the line of the far-out paramilitary groups also associated with Dr. Douglass' efforts. The telephone listener was told:

"At the University of Michigan a plan is being developed for the systematic house-to-house search of the entire United States for arms of any kind. The search is to be made by the U.S. Army by blocking off five States at a time, beginning in the western part of the country. The entire civilian population is to be disarmed by the end of 1965."

Senator JACOB JAVITS, the New York Republican, was so angered he asked the Defense Department to establish the truth as a matter of public record. This reply was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

"This charge is absurd, completely false, and reflects the hallucinations of an aberrated mind."

The Michigan story, Senator JAVITS discovered, was derived almost verbatim from an issue of *On Target*, official publication of the radical Minutemen organization. The Senator went on to warn:

"Let Freedom Ring is a nationwide organization not run by professionals but by enthusiastic amateurs and apparently inaugurated and dedicated to bringing hate and fear within the reach of all."

A THIRD PARTY

Dr. Douglass is a member of the board of the Conservative Society of America, political crusade headed by Kent and Phoebe Courtney of New Orleans. Dr. Douglass was a speaker at the recent less than successful congress of conservatives convention in Chicago, and designed to offer the foundation for a national rightwing party.

The doctor is hoping to start a third political party in Florida which would select a slate of candidates in the 1966 State elections. All he needs to do is to find 7,500 registered voters who will admit they are followers of the radical right and sign his petitions to create a new faction.

[From the Miami Herald, Sept. 6, 1965]

TELEPHONE MESSAGE—FAR RIGHT "VOICE"
RAPS PEACE CORPS
(By Miller Davis)

A South Dade telephone number that offers uncharitable opinions about the Peace Corps and the State Department is plugged into a national network of way-out rightists, the FBI disclosed Sunday.

The program is "Let Freedom Ring." The Dade number is CA 1-6767. It is usually busy.

It is sponsored by a 39-year-old Navy man turned doctor who lives in Sarasota and says he sees Communists coming out of the woodwork in 45 U.S. cities.

"I have no apologies about this," says Dr. William Campbell Douglass, founder of the "Let Freedom Ring" broadcasts. "A lot of people are listening to us."

A lot of people in Miami are dialing the home of friendly locksmith L. T. Gacek, 8541 Southwest Third Terrace, where the telephone company reports the recordings originate.

Gacek said the "number won't be here much longer" and referred a reporter to Sarasota and Dr. Douglass.

Beginning with, "This Is Let Freedom Ring," the taped message launches immediately into the theme, "The Peace Corps Tragedy."

"One gets the uneasy feeling," the carefully modulated male voice goes on, "that the Peace Corps is something akin to the Hitler Youth Movement with a Communist twist. It is a taxpayer-financed anti-American, brain-washing operation for American youth."

Pause:

"Peace corpsmen are engaged in open treason in the Dominican Republic, aiding the rebel Communists who are killing U.S. marines."

"Yet no one in the Peace Corps has been tried for treason, and Sergeant Shriver (Corps Director) has not been fired for incompetence."

The recording charges Syracuse University in New York with harboring a leader of African terrorists groups who is indoctrinating Peace Corps students there. It identified him as Eduardo Montaigne.

It accuses a Peace Corps adviser, the Reverend James H. Robinson, of "10 Communist-front affiliations," and says a Congressman asked that Robinson be removed. Shriver ignored the demand the message says.

The tape concludes with the apparently irrelevant observation that the State Department made very little effort to hide its involvement in the Berkeley (University of California) riots.

The Let Freedom Ring phone number in Dade County appears from time to time in newspaper ads and pops up on bulletin boards, on some churches, civic clubs and even in an occasional police station.

An FBI spokesman in Washington Sunday identified the recordings as originating in Omaha, with wide distribution in major cities.

The spokesman described the group as "extreme rightwing," adding that, "We're aware of what they're doing." He did not elaborate.

Peace Corps Director of Public Affairs Donovan McClure said his office became aware of the national character of the organization when telephone calls from "Denver, Baltimore and other places" began flooding Corps switchboards in Washington.

"Many were corps parents, frightened after hearing the messages, and wanting to know what they are about," McClure said.

McClure added, "Radio Moscow and Peiping have been labeling the Peace Corps capitalist imperialism, for some time."

"But this is the first time we've been called Communists," he said.

Joseph Reap, a State Department information officer, said, "I can't figure out what they mean, about the University of California riots. The State Department had nothing to do with the rioting. What possibly could they mean?"

The occupants of the home from where the freedom messages originate were not at home Sunday, and neighbors were unaware of the voice in their block.

[From the Miami News, Sept. 16, 1965]

FCC CRACKING DOWN—ANONYMOUS PHONE
SETUPS RAPPED
(By Louise Blanchard)

Federal Communications Commission attorneys, prompted by questions raised here, are seeking a way to regulate anonymous recorded telephone messages.

They will attempt to find a legal way to make available the identities of local sponsors of such messages, if the messages discuss public issues or attack individuals, groups, or institutions.

The idea is that the sponsors—like newspapers, magazines, and radio and television stations—should be identifiable to sue for libel if the recorded messages justify such a suit.

Miami is one of about 30 cities where it is possible to dial a telephone number and get a recorded right-wing message.

Dr. William Campbell Douglass, Sarasota physician who furnishes the Let Freedom Ring messages, is a member of the rightist John Birch Society.

Harry P. Cain of Miami, former Republican Senator from Washington, raised the question with the FCC after an anonymous recorded telephone message here attacked the University of Miami.

Senator Cain said the attack on the university "was cowardly, scurrilous, distorted, misleading, and inaccurate" and that it made him so angry he talked to FCC Chairman E. William Henry.

"I posed this question," Senator Cain said: "Is there or should there be an opportunity for slander and libel by telephone that is not tolerated or possible on radio or television?"

John F. Cushman, Henry's administrative assistant, said in Washington today:

"We're going to do what we can. Our authority is questionable under present law. We have relatively little jurisdiction over telephone calls within a State."

Cushman said FCC attorneys are conferring with officials of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. and that they are working to determine what kind of legislation would be needed to deal with the problem.

"If it can't be corrected administratively," Senator Cain added, "I have been strongly

led to believe that many Senators would view with favor any legislation that does not seek to prevent what a person wants to say but does seek to make certain that person can be held legally responsible for what he says."

He said he has discussed the problem with half a dozen Senators who would support such legislation.

In New York City, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has filed a formal complaint with the FCC against "the use of anonymous recorded telephone messages for abusive and extremist attacks and libels on individuals and institutions."

The ADL's general counsel, Arnold Forster, said the organization wants to correct a legal situation that gives libel victims "little chance to seek redress."

In Miami, this week's message accused the National Council of Churches of being "Communist-dominated." It suggested that listeners mail 25 cents to a Miami Shores post office box for a publication called "The NCC Story." Postal authorities refused to identify the renter of the box.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. BURDICK in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield, without losing my right to the floor, to the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, on the adoption of the conference report, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, first, I yield to no one in the extent to which I fought, in committee, on the Senate floor, and in the conference, for the very things which other Senators have raised in their extremely valid objections to the omissions in the conference report.

I pay tribute to the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], who stood fast to his position, whose heart is as big as that of any other Senator, and who, in the final analysis, in the best of conscience, felt that he could not—much as he felt for those who are affected by the program—sign the conference report. Although I came to a contrary conclusion, I wish to affirm the seriousness with which he regarded the decision, and the pain and reluctance he felt when he found he just could not go along. I respect and honor that kind of intellectual integrity.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, I am grateful to the distinguished Senator from New York for his kind words. The Senator from New York fought by my side throughout the efforts to make

changes which we believed were desirable. I appreciate his cooperation.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. President, I made a special trip here because I knew the roll would be called on this question, and I felt it my duty to lay before the Senate the considerations which induced me to take a somewhat different road and at the same time to pay tribute to those who did not take that road but who, I believe, had valid reasons for so doing.

The issues involved in this matter are four: First, the improvidence of the program; second, the effort to immunize it from political handling, namely, the Hatch Act provisions; third, the effort to introduce public scrutiny through a more independent National Advisory Council; and fourth, the Governor's veto provision. I should like to address myself, briefly, to each of these subjects.

First, as to the improvidence of the program, there is no question that there are improvidences that have continued; that they have been severe; and that, notwithstanding notice, they have not been adequately dealt with.

The whole question is: What is the weight of the evidence? What is the preponderance of the evidence? Is there enough evidence of improvidence to require that the program be stricken down? That becomes a question of judgment and factual evaluation. I came to the conclusion that there was not such evidence. I could readily understand how someone else might come to the conclusion that there was. But there is no question whatever that there is improvidence, misuse, abuse, and stupidity in the program.

This is a very widespread program, probably one of the largest scale direct aid programs that the country has ever had. Six million eight hundred thousand families, whose annual income is less than \$3,000 a year, are affected. Another 5.3 million individuals, not in families, are also in that income bracket. The total of persons potentially affected by the program is 34.3 million.

The latter figure is enough of an indication of the scope of this program to show that there is plenty of room for difficulties, improvidences, excesses, frauds, and so on, still to leave a great deal that is being done and needs to be done.

I point out—and this information is based on the Senate report—that if we add up the number of people who are directly affected by the first year's work, including the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, work study, community action, adult basic education, rural loans, migrants, and work experience, the total, in round figures, is 1,300,000. When we consider the Head Start program, which has been so widely advertised—and I think quite properly so—with preschool opportunities for well over half a million children, many of whom are children of working mothers, and when we consider the programs which has taken so many youths off the streets, reaching almost 280,000, we become impressed with the magnitude of what we are about.

I believe, with all due respect, that almost every American must glow with pride that we at last have a Nation on earth which can, without looking ridiculous, undertake to fight a war to eliminate poverty. We have the productive power and economic resources and spirit of national sacrifice and the national will to make an effort which has probably never been made on this earth by any government.

I am very proud of our having undertaken that effort, whatever comes of it. I believe that every American ought to feel the same way.

I should like to give one other instance which I think is rather important, to be balanced against the improvidence in the program; I will not try to draw too much of a conclusion, but still I believe it is a legitimate point. In New York City, which is a racial tinderbox, we had riots in 1964, as everybody knows. I believe that, in part because so many youths were taken off the streets and put to work, we did not have such trouble in 1965.

I am sad that that same was not true in Los Angeles. I do not know whether the program would have helped a bit there. However, I am sorry that it was not true there, so that we might have seen whether this program would help. I can affirm that it helped materially in New York City when it was tried.

I realize that, like a war—and this has some of the aspects of a war—all is confusion in such a field of activity. We are dealing with people who have been denied an appreciation of opportunities which should have been available to them for so many years, and in some cases for generations. We must expect at least confusion, let alone a lack of appreciation and cooperation. Yet, everyone who has worked on the poverty program—and I know hundreds of distinguished social scientists and doctors and case workers—is proud of the degree of cooperation and resources which are found among the poor when we begin to open the doors of opportunity in a very appreciable way.

As one who has worked in philanthropy in the most ardent way, it is clear to me that our effort has not been sufficient to meet the present needs. I am active in an organization in New York which raises over \$100 million a year for hospitals, homes, and community action efforts very much like these. It has been engaged in this effort for years. It is the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. It is operated probably as well as any organization anywhere in the world on a local level. However, the effort is not enough. We have had and continue to have an endemic poor population of 30,000 or 40,000 families in the New York area, which experience most of the narcotics addiction, the crime, the degradation, and the denigration of the entire society in which they live. This situation is attributable to the fact that these families are endemically poor.

Mr. President, while accepting the improvidence of the program in so many areas, I must affirm that the weight of the evidence so far is in favor of con-

tinuing, rather than discontinuing this noble—and I use that word advisedly—and historic effort of which no nation on earth was capable, in my judgment, until the United States came along.

It is the duty of my colleagues and it is my duty to unearth every instance of improvidence and foolishness and dishonesty, and to endeavor to correct it. This is the function of legislative oversight. I know and everybody else knows that if the administration is not agile and quick and active on that score, the program will go down the drain because the weight of the evidence will turn in the other direction.

This is merely the second year, and already there is great promise, but there is also great difficulty. I believe that, so far, the weight of the evidence is on the side of the maintenance of the program.

Mr. President, the amount involved is \$1.785 billion. We arrived at this amount in conference. It is a great deal of money in itself, but it is not a great deal of money when considered in proportion to the program. I am satisfied that it is not lush, and that, if it is well administered, it can be tremendously effective.

I point out, in answer to the arguments made against this figure, that even the Senate figure was \$1.65 billion. When one gets up into that range, an increase of approximately 10 percent—which is what we have come back to the Senate with—does not change the order of magnitude. The result is approximately a split between the House and Senate figures. It is approximately the order of magnitude of the bill which was reported to and passed by the Senate. I do not believe that we can condemn the program on that ground.

Mr. President, the next issue concerns the Hatch Act. I am highly sympathetic to the criticism of the conference report in that regard. I do not agree at all with the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Mr. Macy, who wrote to the conferees on this subject. I think very highly of Mr. Macy, but I do not agree with him at all in this particular case.

I believe that there is the danger of political abuse of the poverty program by workers who receive their principal salary from the Federal Government, though they work for local organizations. I believe that the Hatch Act provision, authored by the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], was a very intelligent way in which to approach the matter.

I believe that the Senate committee and the Senate as a whole were absolutely correct in going along with the amendment of the Senator from California. I believe that the conference committee should have gone along with this amendment. I believe that that was the correct thing to do and a very wise thing. It would have saved us much trouble in the future.

However, this is a bicameral national legislature. I participated in the conference, as did the chairman, who is present in the Chamber at this time,

the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA]. We were faced with a hard-rock situation. If we wanted the poverty program, we could not have the Hatch Act provision. I believe there are other provisions in the bill concerning which the Senate would have acted in exactly the same manner and said, "if you want the program, you will have to go along with us on these particular matters."

Mr. President, I am in thorough accord with my colleagues on that subject. We had to decide in that conference whether we did or did not want the program.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. May I just finish my thought? I believe the Senator will then find his observation to be more pertinent.

If I had felt that we were wrong in this respect, I would have voted against the conference report and I would be here now advocating a vote against it. However, I believe that the power of legislative oversight by a committee such as ours is so great that we can haul in anybody in the country at any time. I believe that the disposition of our committee is clear. We said so in our report to the Senate on this bill, that we can bring in anyone from anywhere in the country when we have the remotest glimmer of suspicion that there is political abuse of the program.

I feel that that is, for the moment, not satisfactory, but at least a way in which to approach a solution to the problem. That is the reason why I felt that we had to go along.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, relating to what the Senator just said concerning the fact that, if we wanted a poverty program, we must eliminate the Hatch Act supervision over what might be political activities of workers engaged in administering the program, why would the opponents of the application of the Hatch Act provisions advocate its elimination?

Mr. JAVITS. The opponents said that the Hatch Act was designed to deal only with government employees, either Federal or State or local, who draw the preponderant parts of their salaries from the Federal Government. They refused to extend it to private persons and private agencies, notwithstanding the fact—and I believe our position is absolutely correct on this—that in this case, the private agency becomes a governmental means, and therefore acquires a governmental character. The Hatch Act should reach those employees; I do not think there is any question about it.

The most we could get out of them was the provision contained in the conference report, which reads as follows:

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The Senate amendment contained provisions, which had no counterpart in the House bill, relating to the application of the Hatch Political Activities Act to persons employed by agencies administering or carrying on community action programs and to persons serving in the VISTA volunteers.

The managers on the part of the House wish to make it clear that their insistence on the exclusion of these provisions was based upon the difficulty of applying the existing

statutory restrictions to organizations and agencies for which they were not designed. They in no way intend to depart from the principle that these programs must be conducted on a nonpolitical basis, free of any activity designed to further the election or defeat of any candidate for public office.

Mr. LAUSCHE. That principle can be declared, but the fact remains that the law now provides that employees of volunteer nongovernmental agencies, though paid in part by Federal money, shall be free to engage in political activity.

Mr. JAVITS. It certainly does. To make it even stronger for the Senator, we did not even attempt in the Senate to extend the Hatch Act to those "paid in part by Federal money." We provided that it applied only where the preponderant part of their compensation came from Federal money. We were very careful and very restrictive about it, and yet we could not get anywhere even with that. They were adamant.

The question then was, "Shall we let that be the rock upon which we crash, or not?" As I say, it was my feeling, and apparently that of the majority of the conferees, that it should not be the rock on which we failed to get a report.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. JAVITS. The next point to which I address myself is the National Advisory Council.

Here again, in my judgment, our case is irrefutable. There is an Advisory Council in the poverty program today, but it is absolutely ridiculous. It meets only at the request of the Director. It reports to the Director only upon matters upon which he asks it to report. It is as powerless, weak, and ineffective an advisory committee as I have ever seen provided by any statute. I can hardly believe we turned this bill out in the first place with that kind of provision.

We tried to get a stronger Advisory Council, which our committee and the Senate had agreed to. As the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] knows, we tried constantly in conference and could not get to first base with it, because the attitude of the conferees from the House was, "You do not need an Advisory Council. You can always haul them up here. You have two legislative committees, and you can examine them to your heart's content."

Again, it was a question of deciding whether this was the rock upon which we break. I decided one way, Senator PROUTY decided another. Only the Lord knows who is right.

Finally, the Governor's veto. Here, as has been said time and again, I think it is fair to say that the Senate feeling was evenly divided on whether or not to have a veto. But I certainly feel that a majority of Senators wanted the Governor to have a strong voice in the matter. Personally, I was disappointed, and I think it was only because of the legislative situation, that the bill was sent to conference without at least the House provision, plus a provision for hearings. I think that, at the least, was the majority sentiment in the Senate. Nonetheless, it was sent with only the provision for hearings. On the first conference,

the House did not insist, and hence the Senate provision prevailed. But when the measure went from conference to the House, it voted affirmatively for the conditional veto which it had written into the bill, and that is the way conference went.

I point out that we have firmed that up somewhat by affording public hearings to those who would complain about the fact that a Governor is seeking to veto a provision, and to the Governor himself. I call to the attention of the Senate the express provision in the report of the managers for the House, found at page 10 of the conference report, which says:

The conferees expect that the procedures established by the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under section 209 (a) will include provision for informal hearings held by the Director at the request of the Governor of a State or other interested parties.

The 30-day stay which a Governor can obtain is retained in the bill absolutely, and I honestly believe that on the Governor's veto, we have come as close to a consensus as is possible. The Governor is entitled to such opportunity and such authority, and I think, within reason, we have retained it.

Finally, we have also retained adequate publicity in the community action program, including hearings for those who are denied participation at the city-wide level. We have retained a channel for desirable programs to go directly to the director for funding if their proponents feel aggrieved by denial at the city-wide level. And we have provided for greater coordination with cooperative State agencies throughout the planning and administration processes. I believe that in every other respect which I have mentioned, the bill is a sound one.

In my judgment, the weight of the evidence so far, notwithstanding all the things which have been said about this program—with many of which I agree—is that we should continue it in the form in which it is outlined in the conference report. As one Senator who signed the report with grave concern, I pledge myself to join others who have reservations to exercise the most scrupulous care in terms of legislative oversight, to assure that our fears—many of which have been realized—are dealt with in the work of our committee, and in its scrutiny of what is done by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I close by expressing the hope that the President, at long last, may decide to take Sargent Shriver off his two jobs, namely, the Peace Corps and the poverty program, and put him on the poverty program alone. That, too, would give us some measure of assurance that every effort is being made to see that the job is well done.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. And may I suggest that attachés on both sides call their Senators and ask them to be present.

Mr. PROUTY. And explain to them that a vote will occur very soon.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Exactly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BARTLETT in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point an article entitled "Poverty and Politics," written by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak and published in the Washington Post on Sunday, August 22, 1965.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POVERTY AND POLITICS—ADMINISTRATION SOUGHT TO BEAT BAN ON POLITICS IN SPITE OF CONTRARY PUBLIC COMMENTS

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

In conflict with public utterances that it wants the poverty program divorced from politics, the Johnson administration attempted a futile fight against such a prohibition.

The poverty bill passed last week by the Senate puts all local poverty workers under the Hatch Act. That means Federal law—not merely agency regulations—will bar local poverty officials from partisan politics.

This amendment to the Poverty Act, sponsored by Senator GEORGE MURPHY, Republican, of California, zipped through the Senate Labor Committee and the Senate itself without apparent opposition.

Behind the scenes, however, two Democratic Labor Committee members were asked privately by the White House to kill the Murphy amendment. One was summoned from a Labor Committee meeting by an urgent telephone request.

Although they usually follow the administration line, the two Senators turned down the White House. They actively supported the Murphy amendment. Consequently, the White House made no public fight.

What makes this particularly interesting are public utterances of poverty chief Sargent Shriver and other officials when confronted with examples of local poverty workers playing politics (including the case we reported of a Philadelphia antipoverty leader lobbying in Harrisburg).

These Federal officials said they would prevent such conduct if Congress would write a prohibition into law.

Hence, the administration's veiled effort to block the prohibition comes as a surprise.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I have a short item which I think is of interest in connection with the debate we are having today. It is a news ticker item, and reads as follows:

News conference, 11 a.m.: Three Job Corpsmen joining the private business firm of the Mechanical and Engineering Service Division, Consolidated American, suite 200, 1726 M Street NW. Subject: These are reported to be the first Corps trainees to go to work outside. Press contact: W. C. Hobbs, 659-1990.

This is ironic. The organization has been in operation for about a year. I do not know how many people have gone to Job Corps camps, but I believe they number in the hundreds, if not in the thousands.

Finally, three Job Corpsmen, in a great publicity announcement, are going to get a job with a private business firm, after having had some Job Corps training.

THE WAR ON POVERTY IS NOW FREE FROM THE TYRANNY OF THE GOVERNOR'S VETO

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, as one of the Senate conferees with the House on the 1965 antipoverty law, I wish to note that the bill as finally agreed upon effectively curtails the power of Governors to frustrate the purposes of the war on poverty.

Under the new law the Governor of a State will have 30 days in which to study a Neighborhood Youth Corps, community action program, or adult basic education program. If he vetoes a project, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity will reconsider the application, and if he finds it to be consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of the war on poverty, he shall override the Governor's veto and the project will go forward.

In other words, under this bill the Director of OEO can veto the Governor's veto. A Governor no longer has a final veto. He can delay but he cannot kill or destroy a program, as he could under the old law.

While most Governors in the Nation cooperated with and supported the antipoverty program so well that no curtailment of the Governor's veto power would have been thought of or necessary, a few Governors in the United States vetoed projects, or held them up, or purged participants under the threat of a complete veto. It was the crippling actions of a few Governors which have caused this veto power to be taken away from the Governors of all 50 States, most of whom did not misuse this power.

A few Governors have used veto power to cut wages down on projects, to purge people they did not like from serving on local boards on projects, and in one extreme to absolutely veto an 11-county rural antipoverty project, said to be the best planned rural antipoverty project in America. It was such irresponsible action that forced me to devote much time to aid in eliminating the Governor's unrestricted veto over poverty projects, which has now been done.

This antipoverty bill, by ending irresponsible and unreviewable Governor's vetoes, and making every such veto subject to administrative review in Washington, has greatly strengthened this antipoverty law.

We are now entering the second year of the war on poverty. The first year of our campaign has produced good results, considering the unique nature of what we are attempting to do here, and the shortness of time available. But weaknesses have become apparent. If we can correct these, and if those who administer the program will go forward with dedication and imagination, willing to try new things, as I know many of them already are, this program can make a great contribution to the continuing American revolution, which has always stood for justice and equal opportunity for all Americans.

AMENDMENT OF CONSOLIDATED FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION ACT OF 1961

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1766) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply and water systems serving rural areas and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities, to increase the annual aggregate of insured loans thereunder, and for other purposes, which were to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That section 306(a) of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act is amended to read as follows:

"(1) The Secretary is also authorized to make or insure loans to associations, including corporations not operated for profit, and public and quasi-public agencies to provide for the application or establishment of soil conservation practices, shifts in land use, the conservation, development, use, and control of water, and the installation or improvement of drainage or waste disposal facilities, and recreational developments, all primarily serving farmers, ranchers, farm tenants, farm laborers, and other rural residents, and to furnish financial assistance or other aid in planning projects for such purposes.

"(2) The Secretary is authorized to make grants aggregating not to exceed \$50,000,000 in any fiscal year to such associations to finance specific projects for works for the development, storage, treatment, purification, or distribution of water or the collection, treatment, or disposal of waste in rural areas. The amount of any grant made under the authority of this paragraph shall not exceed 50 per centum of the development cost of the project to serve the area which the association determines can be feasibly served by the facility and to adequately serve the reasonably foreseeable growth needs of the area.

"(3) No grant shall be made under paragraph 2 of this subsection in connection with any facility unless the Secretary determines that the project (i) will serve a rural area which is not likely to decline in population below that for which the facility was designed, (ii) is designed and constructed so that adequate capacity will be or can be made available to serve the present population of the area to the extent feasible and to serve the reasonably foreseeable growth needs of the area, or (iii) is necessary for orderly community development consistent with a comprehensive community water or sewer development plan of the rural area and not inconsistent with any planned development under State, county, or municipal plans approved as official plans by competent authority for the area in which the rural community is located and the Secretary shall establish regulations requiring the submission of all applications for financial assistance under this Act to the county or municipal government in which the proposed project is to be located for review and comment by such agency within a designated period of time. Until October 1, 1968, the Secretary may make grants prior to the completion of the comprehensive plan, if the preparation of such plan has been undertaken for the area.

"(4) a. The term 'development cost' means the cost of construction of a facility and the

land, easements, and rights-of-way, and water rights necessary to the construction and operation of the facility.

"(b) The term 'project' shall include facilities providing central service or facilities serving individual properties, or both.

"(5) No loan or grant shall be made under this subsection which would cause the unpaid principal indebtedness of any association under this Act and under the Act of August 28, 1937, as amended, together with the amount of any assistance in the form of a grant to exceed \$4,000,000 at any one time.

"(6) The Secretary may make grants aggregating not to exceed \$5,000,000 in any fiscal year to public bodies or such other agencies as the Secretary may determine having authority to prepare official comprehensive plans for the development of water or sewer systems in rural areas which do not have funds available for immediate undertaking of the preparation of such plan.

"(7) Rural areas, for the purposes of water and waste disposal projects shall not include any area in any city or town which has a population in excess of 5,500 inhabitants."

"(8) In each instance where the Secretary receives two or more applications for financial assistance for projects that would serve substantially the same group of residents within a single rural area, and one such application is submitted by a city, town, county or other unit of general local government, he shall, in the absence of substantial reasons to the contrary, provide such assistance to such city, town, county or other unit of general local government.

"(9) *Provided further*, That no Federal funds shall be authorized for use unless it be certified by the appropriate State water pollution control agency that the water supply system authorized will not result in pollution of waters of the State in excess of standards established by that agency.

In the case of sewers and waste disposal systems, no Federal funds shall be advanced hereunder unless the appropriate State water pollution control agency shall certify that the effluent therefrom shall conform with appropriate State and Federal water pollution control standards when and where established.

SEC. 2. (a) Section 308 of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 is amended by—

(1) striking out "\$200,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$450,000,000";

(2) in clause (a) striking out "except that no agreement shall provide for purchase by the Secretary at a date sooner than three years from the date of the note"; and

(3) striking out clause (b) and inserting in lieu thereof "(b) may retain out of payments by the borrower a charge at a rate specified in the insurance agreement applicable to the loan";

(b) Section 309(e) of such loan is amended by striking out "such portion of the charge collected in connection with the insurance of loans at least equal to a rate of one-half of 1 per centum per annum on the outstanding principal obligations and the remainder of such charge" and inserting in lieu thereof "all or a portion, not to exceed one-half of 1 per centum of the unpaid principal balance of the loan, or any charge collected in connection with the insurance of loan; and any remainder of any such charge".

(c) Section 309(f)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out "\$25,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$50,000,000".

And to amend the title so as to read: "An Act to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect

to water supply, water systems, and waste disposal systems serving rural areas and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities, to increase the annual aggregate of insured loans thereunder, and for other purposes."

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is this the Aiken water bill which was introduced and cosponsored by 93 Senators?

Mr. AIKEN. This is the multiple-sponsored rural water facilities bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I move that the vote by which the House amendments were concurred in be reconsidered.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I move, that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BASS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Vermont yield?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. BASS. As one of the cosponsors of the Aiken water bill, I commend the Senator from Vermont for the outstanding work he has done, and express my personal appreciation to him for passage of this bill.

Mr. AIKEN. I thank the Senator from Tennessee. He was one of the earliest cosponsors of the bill, which was sponsored by 63 Democrats and 30 Republicans.

Mr. BASS. It is called the Aiken-Bass bill.

Mr. AIKEN. I appreciate the compliment, and I accept it.

ON THE SUBJECT OF LOYALTY

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, on September 16, 1965, Lt. Gen. Thomas S. Moorman delivered an address at the Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs, Colo., on the subject of loyalty.

While in this day and age, as he points out, loyalty is supposed to be a very common subject to talk about, which is supposed to be much understood, General Moorman has been successful in defining and analyzing the components of loyalty, and what it means, especially to the members of the Armed Forces.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this address printed in the RECORD, and I recommend its reading to all Senators.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY LT. GEN. THOMAS S. MOORMAN FOR AIR FORCE ACADEMY OFFICERS' DINING-IN, SEPTEMBER 16, 1965

My remarks this evening will be directed to the subject of loyalty. Because the subject does not lend itself easily to levity, it could become deadly dull. Loyalty, as with patriotism and national pride, is a subject that is too often approached with pomposity or embarrassment. Neither is fitting, and I shall attempt to avoid both pitfalls.

Because loyalty is a word so common, it is often misunderstood. As with so many other things that are present in our everyday lives, even its meaning is perhaps misunderstood.

Webster defines "loyalty" as the act of being faithful to a cause, an ideal, a custom or a person and goes further in definition with two phrases—in this order:

Faithful in allegiance to one's government; Faithful to a private person to whom loyalty is due.

In selecting that descending order of importance on things to whom loyalty is due, I believe the compilers of the dictionary have unveiled the key to true loyalty.

First, loyalty to our Nation and its national purposes. Next, to our service, its mission and customs. Then to our own organization or unit. And, lastly, to each other.

In our growth as individuals as well as members of the military, we find that we build our loyalties in reverse order. Our initial loyalty as youngsters was to our parents, our brothers and sisters, our immediate family. Then, as we grew older, our loyalties extended to our school, our city, and our State.

This is a normal progression.

It has been said that in all human enterprises, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. This is certainly true in the military service. We join a new unit. We gain respect for our fellow airmen and our commander. We then progress from respect to loyalty to these individuals. As we become more knowledgeable concerning the purposes of our unit and our service, we gain a greater respect for them and transfer our greater loyalty to them. Thus it is that in the final analysis, our greatest loyalty should, and must, be to our national goals and purposes.

We cannot be loyal to that which we do not understand, respect and believe in. It is through this pattern that the proper order of loyalties is established and maintained.

You will remember that the White Committee pinpointed as a contributing factor in the cheating incident the fact that there was confusion in the minds of the individual cadets as to the mission of the Academy. This led to a situation in which cadet loyalties were brought into conflict with one another. The respect, understanding, transference pattern broke down. In the final analysis, faced with a choice between loyalty to other individuals or loyalty to the honor code and thus to the Academy's mission, the Air Force and the Nation, the cadet chose loyalty to other individuals as his course of action.

If we are to instill this pattern as our way of life, we must understand the meaning behind our national purpose and respect the reasons for that purpose.

The cause we serve would not be loyally served if ours was a blind, unquestioning obedience.

The great danger and tragedy of the Communist movement is the fact that it has become a perfect instrument for a fanatical and insensitive loyalty.

The military has been included among the three great dedicated callings of our time. The other two are the religious and the educational. In our capacity as members of the staff and faculty at the Air Force Academy, we find that our endeavors really place us within the parameters of two of these callings.

It is certainly not chance that has molded these callings into similar structures. The growth of the professional scale and the knowledge of any individual who enters the callings is designated by a grade, a title that we call rank, and that these ranks have universal meaning, not only within a given society or culture but within any society or culture, for these professions have similar characteristics in all societies and cultures.

Each is controlled by a rigid and conditional discipline that includes the orientation of the individual to the requirements of his profession as a whole. And the profession vests judgment concerning the requirements of its practitioners in those of senior rank. This, in turn, involves the acceptance of limits of personal reward and, in effect, allows rewards only in terms of increasing responsibilities and ever deepening dedication.

Military leadership has been defined as the management of violence, which is indeed a paradoxical definition, for violence always carries a connotation of unmanageability. Now we are faced with the certainty that violence, if it is again released on a large scale, will be unmanageable.

In this strange situation, military organization must be increasingly compact, increasingly skilled, increasingly disciplined in order to avoid tragic error. It also must become increasingly dedicated to its basic purposes.

Consider the nature of the responsibility which the individual officer will have to assume in a combat role of the future. One young officer alone and unsupervised may be responsible for executing an extremely difficult and hazardous mission which may destroy a vital segment of enemy strength.

One officer may have the responsibility for stopping an enemy aircraft which is capable of wrecking one of our cities.

The officers of the Air Force must be men to whom responsibilities such as these can be entrusted with complete confidence.

Just what are the qualities in a man that enable us to give to him, with confidence, responsibilities such as these? When we think of such men, we think of courage and endurance and integrity and all that is included in the term "leadership." These traits are somewhat descriptive of what we are trying to determine, but they do not add up to the whole man. The element of purposeful meaning must be included.

Courage for what?

Endurance in what service?

Integrity with respect to what ideas?

What purpose in life must a man have that will permit these human qualities to appear before us in action as the performance of duty? For the answers to these questions we must look into the things officers live by and for. And it would seem logical that we would seek to identify these things within ourselves.

One thing I think we will all find—that we have neither the strength nor the will to live alone. We have need for a purpose; for a cause bigger than ourselves; something that requires us to take strenuous action if necessary, to face danger if necessary, against the opposition of instinctive impulses to avoid such discomfort or danger.

Each of us making such an inquiry will come up with somewhat similar findings. When I look at officers in the Air Force whom I know and respect, I feel sure that I can detect things they hold in common. One of these common denominators is the need of which I have been speaking. Those officers who command our instant and continuing respect are invariably those who, whatever their abilities and whatever position of responsibility, put their responsibility first and foremost in all they do.

This common attribute may be best described as loyalty. If I am right in this assumption, these men have shared the common human experience of needing a goal in life and have found that goal in their loyalty to a cause they serve—a loyalty that serves them both as an incentive and a guide, and sometimes as a very hard taskmaster.

Loyalty has always been considered a warrior's virtue. Throughout history a legion of men have been true to their colors and died for their causes, and some were pretty small causes, and many were lost causes. The one noble thing that shines forth from

all the bloody pages of history is this capacity of man for loyalty. Perhaps this is proof enough that we are talking about one of man's greatest needs as well as one of his attributes of greatness.

The causes we serve must be tangible and concrete enough to be a specific guide for decision and for action. It must be a cause that we can comprehend, that we can make our own in a personal way, and to which our own personal contribution, however small, will be of some significance.

I believe we have all espoused such a common cause when we took the oath of office as commissioned officers of the U.S. Air Force. In that oath we swear faith and allegiance to a cause which commands our loyalty and our lives.

Let us examine this cause for a moment. I believe that a study of the Constitution will show that it proceeds from several fundamental ideas.

One is a conviction that man amounts to something as an individual, that the individual is good and can become better and stronger and wiser. It is a belief that the American people can build a nation that can endure and that can offer to each of its citizens an abundant life, personal liberty, and the fellowship of freemen.

Despite the many changes in economic theory and international relations, this marvelously flexible instrument still stands for the enduring ideals and the aspirations of the American people.

At the moment, it seems clear that we can serve humanity best by serving our country well.

Our cause has been well and truly served by loyal men throughout the history of our country. Such progress as we have made toward our national goals can be attributed to the sacrifice and the service of these loyal men. Today the country, and particularly the Air Force, has need of such men in greater numbers than ever before. To meet this need, we of the Air Force Academy faculty and staff must direct our training toward the development of loyalty in its deepest sense.

We still have much to learn about the problem of developing in the young men who enter our training program a willing acceptance of these ideals of loyalty and service.

Dr. John A. Hannah, in testifying for an Air Academy before Congress, said that he had not been in favor of an academy because he felt that the civilian colleges could meet the need, but that he had since become convinced that they could not, because they do not attempt to develop the qualities of character and integrity required for that service.

The other service academies and similar institutions have for a long time, by traditional methods, produced great leaders—not always many and not always soon, but enough loyal men to lead us through the great emergencies. Effectiveness of traditional methods and of precedent would appear to be historically demonstrated. The problem is to keep tradition and precedent in tune with changing requirements and situations.

Fortunately, most of us need to tie our loyalty, not only to a cause, but to an organization. Morally and intellectually, our objectives may be clear, but practically and personally speaking, we need a team to which we can belong.

Perhaps this intense identification with the Air Force is a human weakness, certainly it is a source of greater strength. In the unit, pride and esprit de corps of any good combat organization is to be found, perhaps the greater expression of human genius for loyalty.

In differentiating between our way of life and that of the Communist nations, our loyalty requires that we be critical of ourselves, of one another, and of our service and

country, while at the same time it must insure a discipline based on willing obedience derived from confidence in the moral integrity in our leaders and the essential soundness of our cause.

I believe our objective of building a stronger loyalty can be accomplished by traditional means. I include in this traditional means the intellectual problem of establishing the country's need for loyal officers. I include moral problems, which can best be solved by powers of example. I include disciplinary training based on a man's pride in his powers, his unit and his country.

We cannot make officers in any training program. All we can do is present the challenge, point out those obstacles in the way that must be overcome, and give the help and guidance to the individual in overcoming them. In this way and subject always to the power of example, the young men in our training program who have the potential, will make themselves into the officers the Air Force needs. This is a continuous process which will not stop when a man is commissioned a second lieutenant.

We are all shot through with human imperfections and we shall all fall short of our highest ideals; but if in this loyal brotherhood we find helpful understanding, human sympathy, and affection, then the strong will help make the weakest of us stronger and together we will find our powers multiplied many times over.

We must direct our efforts here at the Academy toward the development of loyalty in its deepest, truest sense—in the cadets, in our associates, and in ourselves.

In establishing a basis for loyalty, I set down respect as one of the foundation blocks. Actually, in obtaining respect from a subordinate, you do so by showing respect for him and his views. I believe that one of the first responsibilities of a junior officer to his superior officer is to present his point of view.

I heard a general officer instruct a new junior staff officer many years ago on this subject.

He said, "I expect—no, I demand—that you argue like hell with me on any subject under discussion—before the decision. Translate the courage of your convictions into words and let me have the benefit of them. I'll make the decision and then you have one other responsibility which I will also hold you to just as strongly. You will abide by and defend my decision as if it were your own. In this way we will demonstrate our loyalty to each other and to the mission."

In searching for methods of imbuing the wing with a deep sense of loyalty to the Air Force and the Nation, we must be continually aware that our purpose can only be served by our own loyalty to the mission of the Air Force Academy. Our program must be a strong, integrated union of the major departments: the academic, the military, and the athletic, with each of us demonstrating the finest traits of loyalty in wholeheartedly supporting the efforts of the other departments.

In closing, permit me to quote Mr. Elbert Hubbard, learned essayist, concerning the philosophy of loyalty:

"If you work for a man, in Heaven's name work for him. If he pays your wages that supply your bread and butter, work for him, speak well of him, think well of him, stand by him and stand by the institution he represents."

Thank you.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the

Senate to the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask the attachés to notify all Senators to come into the Chamber because there will shortly be a vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

Mr. PROUTY. I know that many Senators have other engagements and are anxious to leave the Chamber, but I should like to explain the proposal which I am making in greater detail. I shall try to be as brief as possible, and then we can have the yea-and-nay vote.

Mr. President, the only thing we are trying to do here is to insist on the Hatch Act provisions in the Senate bill which were approved by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and by the Senate; and to insist on the Senate language restructuring the National Advisory Council to make it an independent, impartial, conscientious body for reviewing the operations of the war on poverty and making recommendations to the Director, the President, and Congress for its improvement.

I had originally intended to move to recommit the conference report, with instructions to the Senate conferees to stand firm on these two provisions. I have been advised by the Parliamentarian that such a motion is not in order, and that instead the Senate must reject the conference report. Once the conference report fails of adoption, motions will be in order to request a new conference with the House and to instruct the Senate conferees to insist on the Senate provisions regarding the Hatch Act and the National Advisory Council. If the conference report is rejected, Mr. President, I will make these subsequent motions, the practical effect of which will be to recommit the bill to conference with instructions.

As a Senator who has always cast his vote in favor of the antipoverty program, I should like to take special care to point out that a "nay" vote on acceptance of the conference report should not be construed as a vote against the continuation of the war on poverty. On the contrary, I believe a rejection of the conference report leading to the reinstatement in the bill of the Hatch Act and National Advisory Council provisions adopted earlier by the Senate would be a course of action that would strengthen the bill and enhance the prospects of the entire antipoverty operation.

Mr. President, I believe that these two amendments will do much to make the program work as it should. Without them, we will find that the antipoverty programs will all too frequently succumb to the schemes of the professional ward bosses and machine politicians.

Then, unhappily for those for whom the antipoverty program has kindled a spark of hope, the people of this country will rise up in righteous protest against the abuses the present law is not designed to prevent.

If the Senate follows the course of action I have outlined, Mr. President, and the new conference reports a bill including the Hatch Act and National Advisory Council provisions, then I will again cast my vote in favor of the continuation of the war on poverty program. If the conference report is approved at this time, however, it will be approved over my opposition—not because I am opposed to the basic purpose of this legislation, but because I want to make sure that the law is written so that its purpose may be achieved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (when his name was called). Mr. President, on this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay"; if I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "yea." I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. INOUE. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOLYA], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOLYA], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT]. If present and voting, the Senator from Indiana would vote "yea," and the Senator from Utah would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH]. If present and voting, the Senator from

Virginia would vote "nay," and the Senator from West Virginia would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] is paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana would vote "yea," and the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Minnesota would vote "yea," and the Senator from Kentucky would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "yea," and the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] is paired with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea," and the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] is paired with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "yea," and the Senator from Mississippi would vote "nay."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] is absent on official business of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] is paired with the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea" and the Senator from Texas would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] is paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH]. If present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "nay" and the Senator from Indiana would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG]. If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay" and the Senator from Louisiana would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON] is paired with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "nay" and the Senator from Minnesota would vote "yea."

On this vote the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE]. If present and voting, the Sen-

ator from Wyoming would vote "nay" and the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS] is paired with the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay" and the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 22, as follows:

[No. 275 Leg.]

YEAS—46

Aiken	Gruening	McNamara
Bartlett	Harris	Metcalf
Bass	Hartke	Monroney
Bible	Hayden	Moss
Brewster	Inouye	Muskie
Burdick	Jackson	Nelson
Byrd, W. Va.	Javits	Pell
Cannon	Jordan, N.C.	Proxmire
Case	Kennedy, Mass.	Russell, S.C.
Church	Kennedy, N.Y.	Smith
Clark	Kuchel	Talmadge
Cooper	Long, Mo.	Williams, N.J.
Dodd	Magnuson	Yarborough
Douglas	McCarthy	Young, Ohio
Ervin	McGee	
Fong	McGovern	

NAYS—22

Allott	Hill	Murphy
Boggs	Holland	Prouty
Carlson	Hruska	Russell, Ga.
Dirksen	Jordan, Idaho	Thurmond
Dominick	Lausche	Williams, Del.
Eastland	McClellan	Young, N. Dak.
Ellender	Miller	
Hickenlooper	Mundt	

NOT VOTING—32

Anderson	Mansfield	Robertson
Bayh	McIntyre	Saltonstall
Bennett	Mondale	Scott
Byrd, Va.	Montoya	Simpson
Cotton	Morse	Smathers
Curtis	Morton	Sparkman
Fannin	Neuberger	Stennis
Fulbright	Pastore	Symington
Gore	Pearson	Tower
Hart	Randolph	Tydings
Long, La.	Ribicoff	

So the conference report was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we have just completed final action on a most controversial piece of legislation in the Senate's acceptance of the conference report on the so-called antipoverity act. In an area of our society where so much can be done and where so little attention has been directed heretofore, the range of viewpoint could well be expected to be as it was. Great credit very justly goes to the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] who so diligently, skillfully, and expeditiously piloted this bill through every stage of the sometimes seemingly tedious legislative process. He has demonstrated again not only his great concern for the segment of our society to be benefited by this bill but also the value and benefits of his long experience in this body.

In similar fashion, I commend the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], and the junior Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] for presenting their views and constructive criticism with such precision. I know that the inefficiencies they have claimed exist will not go uninvestigated and that the country has benefited from their scrutiny of this issue. To the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] we owe our thanks for the attention and assistance he has given to the completion of this bill.

I commend the Senate as a whole for demonstrating again that thorough and deliberative action can be accomplished expeditiously.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1766) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply and water systems serving rural areas and to make grants-to-aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities, to increase the annual aggregate of insured loans thereunder, and for other purposes, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 728) to amend section 510 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936.

The message further announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 7371) to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 2127) to amend title 38, United States Code, in order to provide special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Vice President.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 7371) to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. McGOVERN (for himself, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. CANNON, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MONTTOYA, and Mr. MUNDT):

S. 2562. A bill to preserve the domestic gold mining industry and to increase the domestic production of gold; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. McGOVERN when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. METCALF:

S. 2563. A bill for the relief of Yu Yu Ma; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SIMPSON:

S. 2564. A bill for the relief of Yoshio Sumida; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia:

S. 2565. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Savannah Revolutionary Battle Site National Monument; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. JAVITS:

S. 2566. A bill for the relief of Ngan Hok Ng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARTKE:

S.J. Res. 113. Joint resolution to establish a commission to formulate plans for memorials to the past Presidents of the United States; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(See the remarks of Mr. HARTKE when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

GOLD MINES ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1965

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Senators BIBLE, CANNON, DOMINICK, METCALF, MONTTOYA, and MUNDT, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill providing for financial assistance payments to present and potential domestic gold producers based upon cost of production experience.

The purpose of this measure is to stabilize and increase the life of existing gold properties, provide financial inducement sufficiently attractive to reopen our dormant gold mines, and stimulate an aggressive search for new gold ore reserves. I believe the time has arrived for the Congress to recognize the fact that due to almost constant escalating costs of production our once thriving domestic gold industry is facing extinction. This segment of the mining industry, just prior to World War II, supplied jobs to thousands of miners in the Western States and provided economic stability for a number of Western mining towns. In 1940, American gold mines produced nearly 5 million ounces of gold, exclusive of the Philippines. Today, our annual production in the United States has dropped to approximately 1.5 million ounces of which 40 percent is produced by one mine, the Homestake, located in my State of South Dakota. A few other mining properties are devoted exclusively to mining gold, but most of the remainder of our domestic production is derived as a byproduct from the copper mines of the Nation.

I need scarcely remind my colleagues of our dwindling silver supply since the Senate was so recently confronted with the necessity of passing legislation to resolve our critical coinage problem arising from our fast dwindling supply of silver. Silver production did not keep pace with the increasing demands for the use of this precious metal for industrial and coinage requirements, with the result that the Congress had to take emergency remedial action.

It would be tragic indeed were this Congress to ignore the storm signals with respect to our fast disappearing gold mines. The Members of this body are well aware that the flight of gold from our shores has reduced our gold reserves some 23 billion in the last 8

years. The solution to our balance of payments deficit is a matter of vital importance to the economic well-being of the people of the United States.

Treasury officials agree that they would like to see an increase in our U.S. gold holdings and profess sympathy for the plight of our gold miners. However, in the past, they have objected to legislation providing incentive payments to domestic gold producers on the ground that such action might be interpreted by foreign central bankers as an indication that the Federal Government is tampering with the monetary price of gold. If this appraisal be correct, I believe this fear is psychological rather than realistic. The Gold Mines Assistance Act, which I am introducing, is purely domestic legislation to provide financial assistance payments to domestic producers based upon a domestic costs of production formula. It does not, in any manner, seek to change the monetary price of gold.

To allay both Treasury fears and foreign apprehension, the bill provides that it is the intent of the Congress that the Act shall have no relation to the monetary price for gold paid by the Treasury of the United States.

For current domestic gold producers, including Homestake, who have demonstrated a capability of remaining in operation despite the ravages of increased production costs, this bill provides very modest financial assistance payments. For example, in the case of Homestake, the subsidy payments would amount to somewhere between 1½ to 2 percent of invested capital, or, together with net earnings, 7 percent on invested capital.

In the case of dormant gold mines, or as a stimulus to the search for new gold ore reserves, my bill provides much more generous payments. From a realistic standpoint, financial assistance payments must be provided which will definitely encourage reopening our closed gold properties and lend real incentives to a search for new gold mines. These incentives are provided in section 3(b) of the proposed legislation. It is logical to assume with the realistic incentives provided in my bill that domestic gold production will attain a rate as high, and quite probably higher, than the situation which existed in 1940, particularly in view of improved techniques in discovery methods in the past 20 years.

The Canadian Government has paid a cost of production bonus to its gold mines since 1948. British Columbia has gone one step further and adopted a statute which provides for a 3-year tax exemption for income derived from new mines producing any minerals except clay, shale, and stone quarries. Australia pays a subsidy to its gold producers. Foreign banking interests have not exhibited any concern over the Canadian or Australian gold subsidies which relate to the internal affairs of those two countries.

Under this bill, dormant properties reopened and new mines would be paid \$35 per ounce for their gold when sold to the U.S. Treasury, but, in addition, would receive financial assistance payments made under the direction of the Gold Mines Assistance Commission amount-

ing to 125 percent of their total gold bullion receipts produced from such properties for the year preceding the date of their application.

The Consumers' Price Index, U.S. Department of Labor, has increased by 126 percent since January 1, 1940. Provision is made in the bill for constructive cost determination of the differential between 1939 and the date of application which must show 125 percent increase to enable the applicant to be eligible for subsidy payments. There should be no difficulty in applying the 125 percent financial assistance payment to the last year's total gold bullion receipts because any dormant mines with known substantial marginal ores, or new properties with demonstrable valuable ore reserves, should have no difficulty with financing in order to permit them to open and operate for 1 year to provide a base as to which the subsidy formula will apply.

Furthermore, taking a long-term view, those who are interested in adding to our national gold reserve should not overlook the fact that under this bill existing gold producers will be enabled to mine marginal ores which are currently being lost forever. In short, this bill will aid greater utilization of our natural resources by stimulating extraction of marginal gold ores not now being mined.

I believe this legislation is in the national interest particularly in view of the excessive gold drain of our reserves. I have no doubt that the mining industry will be able to demonstrate that this bill provides the necessary incentives to reactivate the gold mining districts of the West. I hope that hearings will be held on this measure by the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee early in 1966, and trust that as a result of such hearings the Treasury Department will reappraise its position with reference to remedial legislation for our domestic gold industry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BASS in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2562) to preserve the domestic gold mining industry and to increase the domestic production of gold, introduced by Mr. McGOVERN (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. McGOVERN subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill I introduced earlier today to provide assistance to the gold-mining industry be permitted to lie at the desk for additional sponsors for 5 days.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PRESIDENTIAL MEMORIAL COMMISSION

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I introduce again a joint resolution substantially the same as that which was first offered on September 8, 1959, on my behalf by then Senator Lyndon B. Johnson.

This resolution, which I again introduced on May 4, 1962, provides for the

establishment of a commission to formulate plans for memorials to past Presidents of the United States.

Mr. President, it is my belief that any man who has been so highly regarded by his fellow citizens as to be elected as the President of the United States ought not to be unremarked and unrecalled in this Capital City of the Nation. Yet of all the 35 Presidents who have served this Nation, only 7 have received a memorial or a statue in this city. Three great monuments are dedicated to three of our greatest leaders—the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, and the Jefferson Memorial. Statutes may be found here of Washington and Lincoln, and of Buchanan, Garfield, Grant, and Jackson. It is expected that the planned Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial will some day become a reality; the John F. Kennedy Center is well on its way; and James Madison is to be honored in the new building of the Library of Congress which has recently received attention. We have Theodore Roosevelt Island, and there have been some plans to erect a memorial to him there.

But what of John Adams, James Monroe, Woodrow Wilson, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and all the others? To the tourists who come here by the hundreds of thousands, there is no evident recognition for them. The Memorial Commission called for by my resolution would be authorized to plan for a permanent memorial to all of our past Presidents, to accept gifts for use in construction or other expense, to work with the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capitol Planning Commission, and the National Capital Regional Planning Council, or others. Four of the 12 Commissioners would be Members of this body appointed by the President of the Senate, 4 would be Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House, and 4 would be appointed by the President. None of the Commissioners would receive salary, but expenses would be reimbursed. The initial authorization is a very modest \$10,000.

There are ample precedents for the procedures embodied in this bill, including the authorization of the Commission to receive private gifts for use in such a project.

Public subscriptions amounting to \$300,000 helped finance the Washington Monument, together with congressional appropriations of \$1,094,000. The Lincoln Memorial Commission was established by an act approved February 9, 1911, leading to dedication of the memorial 11 years later, on May 30, 1922. Cost of the Lincoln Memorial, all paid for by Federal funds, was \$3,678,000.

The resolution establishing the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission in 1934 specified that it might accept money or property from either public or private sources to finance its activities, which resulted in dedication of the Jefferson Memorial on the 200th anniversary of his birth, April 13, 1943.

Other than the three memorials which are such an integral part of the Washington scene, those to Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson, there is the 1853 statue to Andrew Jackson in an equestrian



Public Law 89-253
89th Congress, H. R. 8283
October 9, 1965

An Act

79 STAT. 973

To expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965".

Economic Oppor-
tunity Amend-
ments of 1965.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

JOB CORPS—DISPLACEMENT OF WORKERS

SEC. 2. Section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after "SEC. 103." the following new sentence: "The Director of the Office shall prescribe regulations to prevent programs under this part from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services."

78 Stat. 508.
42 USC 2713.

JOB CORPS—PAYMENT TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS PROHIBITED

SEC. 3. Subsection (e) of section 103 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the period and adding after the word "terminated" the following: " : *Provided, however,* That the Director shall make no payments to any individual or to any organization solely as compensation for the service of referring the names of candidates for enrollment in the Corps."

JOB CORPS—CUBAN REFUGEES

SEC. 4. Section 104(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d) (5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States."

42 USC 2714.

66 Stat. 189,
182.
8 USC 1184, 1182.

JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE AFFIDAVITS

SEC. 5. Section 104(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: "(d) Each enrollee (other than an enrollee who is a native and citizen of Cuba described in section 104 (a) of this Act) must take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the following form: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all its enemies foreign and domestic'. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable to the oath or affirmation required under this subsection."

62 Stat. 749.

JOB CORPS—APPLICATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION ACT

SEC. 6. Section 106(c) (2) (A) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended retroactive to January 1, 1965, to read as follows:

"(A) The term 'performance of duty' in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee while absent from his or her assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity (including an activity while on pass or during travel to or from

78 Stat. 510.
42 USC 2716.
39 Stat. 742;
63 Stat. 854.
5 USC 751 note.

such post of duty) authorized by or under the direction and supervision of the Corps.”

JOB CORPS—ENROLLEE WORK ACTIVITIES

78 Stat. 511.
42 USC 2720.

SEC. 7. Section 110 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting the word “male” before the word “enrollees” in the first sentence.

WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—CUBAN REFUGEES

42 USC 2734.

SEC. 8. Section 114(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: “For purposes of this subsection, any native and citizen of Cuba who arrived in the United States from Cuba as a nonimmigrant or as a parolee subsequent to January 1, 1959, under the provisions of section 214(a) or 212(d) (5), respectively, of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall be considered a permanent resident of the United States.”

66 Stat. 189,
182.
8 USC 1184, 1182.

WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

42 USC 2735.

SEC. 9. The first sentence of section 115 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

42 USC 2754.

SEC. 10. Section 124(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—PUBLIC INFORMATION

42 USC 2782.

SEC. 11. Section 202(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “and” at the end of paragraph (3), by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”, and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

“(5) which includes provision for reasonable access of the public to information including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups, and reasonable public access to books and records of the agency or agencies engaged in the development, conduct, and administration of the program, in accordance with procedures approved by the Director.”

TYPES OF PROGRAMS

42 USC 2785.

SEC. 12. The last sentence of section 205(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting after “including” the following: “, but not limited to,”.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED POOR

SEC. 13. Section 205 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and adding after subsection (c) a new subsection (d) as follows:

“(d) The Director is authorized to make grants under this section for special programs (1) which involve activities directed to the needs of those chronically unemployed poor who have poor employment prospects and are unable, because of age or otherwise, to secure appropriate employment or training assistance under other programs, (2) which, in addition to other services provided, will enable such persons to participate in projects for the betterment or beautification of the community or area served by the program, including without limitation activities which will contribute to the management, conservation, or development of natural resources, recreational areas, Federal, State, and local government parks, highways, and other lands, and (3) which are conducted in accordance with standards adequate to assure that the program is in the public interest and otherwise consistent with policies applicable under this Act for the protection of employed workers and the maintenance of basic rates of pay and other suitable conditions of employment.”

GENERAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS—LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 14. (a) The first sentence of section 208(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out “two” and inserting in lieu thereof “three”, and by striking out “, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later,”. 78 Stat. 519. 42 USC 2788.

(b) Section 208 of such Act is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and inserting a new subsection (b) as follows:

“(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe regulations establishing objective criteria pursuant to which assistance may be reduced below 90 per centum for such community action programs or components as have received assistance under section 205 for a period prescribed in such regulations.”

(c) Section 208(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (b) of this section) is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: “The requirement imposed by the preceding sentence shall be subject to such regulations as the Director may adopt and promulgate establishing objective criteria for determinations covering situations where a literal application of such requirement would result in unnecessary hardship or otherwise be inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved.”

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 15. Section 209(a) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting before the period the following: “including, but not limited to, consultation with appropriate State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of such programs”. 42 USC 2789.

DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS

SEC. 16. Section 209(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting “of part B” before “of title I” and (2) striking out “and such plan has not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such submission” and inserting in lieu thereof “and such plan has not been disapproved by the Governor within thirty days of such submission, or, if so disapproved, has been reconsidered by the Director and found by him to be fully consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the purposes of this part”.

NOTICES

78 Stat. 519.
42 USC 2789.

SEC. 17. Section 209 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

"(d) When the Director receives an application from a private non-profit agency for a community action program to be carried on in a community in which there is a community action agency carrying on a number of component programs, he shall, within five days, give notice to such community action agency and the Governor of the State in which the community is located of the receipt of such application. When the Director determines that a separate contract or grant is desirable and practical and that good cause has been shown, he is authorized to make a grant directly to, or to contract directly with, such agency."

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—PAYMENTS; FEDERAL SHARE

42 USC 2805.

SEC. 18. Section 216(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966," and inserting in lieu thereof "and each of the two succeeding fiscal years,".

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS—TEACHER TRAINING

SEC. 19. Part B of title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended—

42 USC 2802.

(1) by striking out "From the sums appropriated to carry out this title" in section 213(a) and inserting in lieu thereof "From so much of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part as is not reserved pursuant to section 218"; and

42 USC 2807.

(2) by redesignating section 218 as section 219 and inserting immediately after section 217 the following new section 218:

"TEACHER TRAINING PROJECTS

"SEC. 218. Not to exceed 5 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated to carry out this part for any fiscal year may be reserved and used by the Director to provide (directly or by contract), or to make grants to colleges and universities, State or local educational agencies, or other appropriate public or private nonprofit agencies or organizations to provide, training to persons engaged or preparing to engage as instructors for individuals described in section 212, with such stipends and allowances, if any (including traveling and subsistence expenses), for persons undergoing such training and their dependents as the Director may by or pursuant to regulation determine."

42 USC 2801.

VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR NEEDY CHILDREN

SEC. 20. Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out the second sentence of section 220(a) of part C thereof.

42 USC 2822.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY
IN RURAL AREAS

42 USC 2841-
2881.

SEC. 21. Title III of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "Grants and" in the heading, and by striking out the dash after the word "make" in the first subsequent sentence and the subsequent number "(1)".

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION—PROHIBITION OF LOANS TO ASSIST
MANUFACTURING

SEC. 22. Section 305(f) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following proviso: “: *Provided*, That packing, canning, cooking, freezing, or other processing used in preparing or marketing edible farm products, including dairy products, shall not be regarded as manufacturing merely by reason of the fact that it results in the creation of a new or different substance”. 78 Stat. 524.
42 USC 2854.

ASSISTANCE FOR MIGRANT AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL
EMPLOYEES

SEC. 23. Section 311 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read as follows: 42 USC 2861.

“MIGRANTS AND SEASONALLY EMPLOYED AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

“SEC. 311. The Director is authorized to develop and implement a program of loans, loan guarantees, and grants to assist State and local agencies, private nonprofit institutions, and cooperatives in establishing, administering, and operating programs which will meet, or substantially and primarily contribute to meeting, the special needs of migratory workers and seasonal farm laborers and their families in the fields of housing, sanitation, education, and day care of children.”

INDEMNITY PAYMENTS TO DAIRY FARMERS

SEC. 24. Section 331(c) of the Economic Opportunity Act is amended by striking the words “January 31, 1965” and inserting in lieu thereof the words “June 30, 1966”. 42 USC 2881.

AMENDMENT TO TITLE V—WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM

SEC. 25. Section 502 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended (1) by inserting after the first sentence thereof the following new sentence: “Workers in farm families with less than \$1,200 net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of this title.”, and (2) by striking out of the last sentence the following: “for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.”. 42 USC 2922.

AMENDMENTS TO TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

VISTA VOLUNTEERS—ASSIGNMENT; APPLICATION OF OTHER PROVISIONS AND
FEDERAL LAWS

SEC. 26. (a) Subsection (a) of section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out everything in paragraph (2) following the clause designation “(C)” and inserting in lieu thereof “in connection with programs or activities authorized, supported, or of a character eligible for assistance under this Act.”. 42 USC 2943.

(b) Subsection (d) of such section is amended to read as follows:

“(d) (1) Each volunteer shall take and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in the form prescribed by section 104(d) of this Act, and the provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be Ante, p. 973.
62 Stat. 749.

applicable with respect to such oath or affirmation; but, except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, volunteers shall not be deemed to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

"(2) All volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to paragraph (2) of subsection (a) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Job Corps under section 106 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act, except that for purposes of the computation described in paragraph (2)(B) of section 106(c) the monthly pay of a volunteer shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS-7 under the Classification Act of 1949."

78 Stat. 510.

42 USC 2716.

63 Stat. 954;

78 Stat. 400.

5 USC 1071 note.

42 USC 2945.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 27. Section 605 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking "fourteen" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "twenty".

PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

SEC. 28. Part A of title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

42 USC 2941-
2949.

"PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

"SEC. 610. It is the intention of Congress that whenever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall be considered in the development, conduct, and administration of programs under this Act."

AFFIDAVITS

SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out section 616 thereof and substituting a new section 616, as follows:

42 USC 2966.

"TRANSFER OF FUNDS

"SEC. 616. Notwithstanding any limitation on appropriations under any title of this Act, not to exceed 10 per centum of the amount appropriated or allocated from any appropriation for the purpose of enabling the Director to carry out programs or activities under any such title may be transferred and used by the Director for the purpose of carrying out programs or activities under any other such title; but no such transfer shall result in increasing the amounts otherwise available under any title by more than 10 per centum."

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 30. (a)(1) The first sentence of section 131 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three".

42 USC 2761.

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$700,000,000 for the fiscal

year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law." ~~79 STAT. 978.~~
79 STAT. 979.

(b) (1) The first sentence of section 221 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three". 78 Stat. 524.
42 USC 2831.

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$340,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$850,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(c) (1) The first sentence of section 321 is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three". 42 USC 2871.

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$55,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(d) (1) The first sentence of section 503 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three". 42 USC 2923.

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$150,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(e) (1) The first sentence of section 615 of such Act is amended by striking out "two" and inserting in lieu thereof "three". 42 USC 2965.

(2) The second sentence of such section is amended to read as follows: "For the purpose of carrying out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to the revolving fund established by section 606(a)), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and the sum of \$30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year, such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law."

(f) Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is further amended by inserting at the end thereof a new section as follows: 42 USC 2941-
2966.

"DISTRIBUTION OF BENEFITS BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

"SEC. 617. The Director shall adopt appropriate administrative measures to assure that benefits of this Act will be distributed equitably between residents of rural and urban areas."

AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT—MORATORIUM ON STUDENT LOANS TO VISTA VOLUNTEERS

SEC. 31. (a) Paragraph (2) (A) of section 205(b) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C. 425(b) (2) (A)) is amended by striking out "or" before "(iii)" and by inserting before the proviso 75 Stat. 623.

75 Stat. 612. and after "Peace Corps Act" the following: "or (iv) not in excess of
22 USC 2501 note. three years during which the borrower is in service as a volunteer under
42 USC 2943. section 603 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964".

(b) The amendments made by this section shall not apply to any loan outstanding on the effective date of this Act without the consent of the then obligee institution.

Approved October 9, 1965, 8:30 p.m.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 428 (Comm. on Education & Labor) and Nos. 1001 and 1061 (Comm. of Conference).

SENATE REPORT No. 599 (Comm. on Labor & Public Welfare).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 111 (1965):

July 20, 21: Considered in House.

July 22: Considered and passed House.

Aug. 16-18: Considered in Senate.

Aug. 19: Considered and passed Senate, amended.

Sept. 15: Considered in House.

Sept. 23: House agreed to conference report.

Sept. 24: Senate agreed to conference report.

S. 1759

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 1, 1901

Report of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, on the bill
for the relief of the

AMENDMENT

Proposed by the President of the United States, to the bill
for the relief of the

1
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89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1759

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 29, 1965

Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and ordered to be
printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. SMATHERS to S. 1759, a bill
to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness
of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964,
viz: At the end of the bill insert a new section as follows:

1 PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY

2 SEC. 19. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is
3 amended by inserting at the end thereof a new title as
4 follows:

5 “TITLE IX—PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY

6 “CONGRESSIONAL INTENT

7 “SEC. 901. It is the intent of Congress in enacting this
8 title to provide certain programs directed toward the special
9 problems of poverty among elderly persons. The provisions
10 of such programs shall not be construed to eliminate proper

Amdt. No. 303

★(Star Print)

1 consideration of the elderly in the programs provided in other
2 titles of this Act.

3 "PART A—EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR OLDER
4 WORKERS

5 "SPECIAL PROJECTS TO STIMULATE EMPLOYMENT
6 OPPORTUNITIES

7 "SEC. 911. (a) For the purpose of demonstrating the
8 employment capacity and utility of older workers, the Di-
9 rector is authorized to make grants to public and nonprofit
10 private agencies and organizations for experimental or dem-
11 onstration projects which will enlist most effectively the co-
12 operation of such agencies and organizations for this purpose.

13 "(b) No project shall be approved under this section
14 unless the Director, pursuant to such regulations as he may
15 prescribe, determines—

16 "(1) that the employment to be provided thereby
17 will permit or contribute to a public or community under-
18 taking or service that will not otherwise be provided;

19 "(2) that such employment will not result in the
20 displacement of regular workers; and

21 "(3) that the rates of pay and other conditions of
22 employment are appropriate and reasonably consistent
23 with the rates and conditions applicable with respect
24 to comparable work in the locality.

25 "(c) Whenever a project of a public or nonprofit private

1 agency or organization is approved under this section, the
2 Director may enter into an agreement with such agency or
3 organization for carrying out such project. He shall, to the
4 extent practicable, coordinate projects under this section
5 with other community plans for older persons, including com-
6 munity action programs under title II. Not more than 50
7 per centum of the costs of any such project may be paid by
8 the Director under this section. Any agreement under this
9 subsection shall contain such provisions as may be necessary
10 to insure that employees are employed in accordance with
11 the provisions of this section, shall provide for systematic
12 evaluation by the Director of the progress and achievements
13 of the project, and may provide that the Director may, where
14 he deems it essential to accomplishment of the project, fur-
15 nish tools, clothing, transportation, or similar items, and
16 necessary training or retraining, for employees. Payments
17 under this subsection with respect to any project may be
18 made in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such
19 installments and on such conditions as the Director finds
20 necessary properly to carry out the purposes of this section.

21 “(d) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of
22 this section there is authorized to be appropriated \$10,000,-
23 000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966, and
24 June 30, 1967, and for the succeeding fiscal years such sums
25 as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

1 "GRANTS TO VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ASSIST
2 OLDER WORKERS

3 "SEC. 912. (a) In order to promote employment oppor-
4 tunities among older workers, the Director is authorized
5 to make grants to private nonprofit groups and organizations
6 to assist them in carrying on activities designed to assist
7 older workers in obtaining employment.

8 "(b) No grant under this section to any group or
9 organization shall be made in an amount greater than 50
10 per centum of the total expenses (for the period with respect
11 to which the grant is made) of such group or organization
12 incurred in carrying out its activities relating to assisting
13 older workers in obtaining employment.

14 "(c) Payments under this section to any group or
15 organization may be made in advance or by way of reim-
16 bursement, and in such installments and on such conditions
17 as the Director finds necessary and proper to carry out the
18 purposes of this section.

19 "(d) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions
20 of this section, there is authorized to be appropriated for
21 each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966, and June 30,
22 1967, such amounts, not to exceed \$90,000 for any fiscal
23 year, as may be necessary, and for the succeeding fiscal years
24 such sums as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.

1 "PART B—NATIONAL SENIOR CORPS

2 "STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

3 "SEC. 931. It is the purpose of this part to provide an
4 opportunity for men and women aged 55 and over who are
5 in need of additional income to maintain an adequate stand-
6 ard of living to obtain such income by providing needed
7 services in their communities.

8 "PROGRAM AUTHORIZATION

9 "SEC. 932. (a) In order to carry out the purpose of
10 this part, the Director is authorized and directed to—

11 "(1) establish a National Senior Corps (hereinafter
12 referred to as the 'Corps') and enlist as members thereof
13 men and women aged fifty-five or over who are in need
14 of additional income in order to maintain an adequate
15 standard of living;

16 "(2) provide, either directly or by arrangement
17 with public or private agencies or institutions, for any
18 necessary short-term training for members of the Corps;

19 "(3) establish programs in communities throughout
20 the Nation under which members of the Corps residing
21 in such community or nearby communities provide serv-
22 ices which are determined to be needed and are other-
23 wise unavailable in the community and which provide—

1 “(A) advice and assistance to families in home-
2 making or home health practices;

3 “(B) companionship, guidance, and care for
4 children, including the provision of such care in the
5 member’s home or in centers;

6 “(C) meals and other services to enable per-
7 sons who are ill and unable to care for themselves to
8 remain in their own homes;

9 “(D) assistance in schools as lunchroom super-
10 visors, playground monitors, or in other needed
11 areas;

12 “(E) assistance in hospitals and other institu-
13 tions for the ill and infirm; or

14 “(F) other assistance to individuals or in com-
15 munity affairs;

16 “(4) provide members of the Corps with necessary
17 facilities and equipment for carrying out the provisions
18 of this part; and

19 “(5) prescribe charges for services provided by
20 the Corps to persons or organizations able to pay for such
21 services as determined pursuant to standards prescribed
22 by the Director.

23 No service shall be provided where it is already being pro-
24 vided or can reasonably be expected to be provided by a
25 private organization, whether or not operated for profit.

(1) " (b) Funds received pursuant to clause (5) of subsec-
2 tion (a) of this section shall be covered into the Treasury as
3 miscellaneous receipts.

4 "COMPENSATION AND HOURS

5 "SEC. 933. (a) Members of the Corps shall be compen-
6 sated at not less than the current minimum rate provided un-
7 der the provisions of section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards
8 Act of 1938, both for time spent in training and in render-
9 ing services. Members of the Corps shall also be compen-
10 sated for necessary transportation and subsistence in obtain-
11 ing training pursuant to this part and for necessary transpor-
12 tation in providing service as such members.

13 " (b) Members of the Corps shall be employed as such
14 members approximately twenty hours per week, except that
15 the Director may authorize regular employment in excess of
16 such twenty hours for particular positions in the Corps or in
17 unusual circumstances.

18 "ADMINISTRATION AND APPLICABILITY OF PROVISIONS
19 OF FEDERAL LAW

20 "SEC. 934. (a) The program authorized by this part
21 shall be administered by a full-time staff with the assistance,
22 wherever feasible, of members of the Corps. The staff shall
23 be composed of civil service employees who are entitled to
24 all benefits and privileges and subject to the same responsi-
25 bilities as all other Federal employees. In appointing mem-

1 bers of the staff, preference shall be given persons who (1)
2 are 55 years of age or older, and (2) have had training and
3 experience as members of the Corps.

4 “(b) To the extent practicable, members of the Corps
5 shall be used to administer the provisions of this part,
6 especially to supervise and direct the program in communi-
7 ties with insufficient numbers of corpsmen to justify assign-
8 ment of members of the regular administrative staff.

9 “(c) Except as otherwise specifically provided in this
10 part, a member of the Corps shall be deemed not to be a
11 Federal employee and shall not be subject to the provisions
12 of laws relating to Federal employment, including those
13 relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, un-
14 employment compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

15 “(d) Members of the Corps shall be deemed to be em-
16 ployees of the United States for the purposes of the Internal
17 Revenue Code of 1954 and service as a member of the Corps
18 shall be deemed to be employment for the purposes of title
19 II of the Social Security Act.

20 “(e) (1) Such members shall, for the purposes of the
21 administration of the Federal Employees’ Compensation Act
22 (5 U.S.C. 751 et seq.), be deemed to be civil employees
23 of the United States within the meaning of the term ‘em-
24 ployee’ as defined in section 40 of such Act (5 U.S.C. 790)

1 and the provisions thereof shall apply except as hereinafter
2 provided.

3 “(2) For purposes of this subsection:

4 “(A) the term ‘performance of duty’ in the Federal
5 Employees’ Compensation Act shall not include any act
6 of a member of the Corps—

7 “(i) while on authorized leave; or

8 “(ii) while absent from his assigned post of
9 duty, except while participating in an activity
10 authorized by or under the direction or supervision
11 of the Director; and

12 “(B) in computing compensation benefits for dis-
13 ability or death under the Federal Employees’ Compen-
14 sation Act, the monthly pay of a member of the Corps
15 shall be deemed to be his actual pay or that received
16 under the entrance salary for grade 6 of the General
17 Schedule of the Classification Act of 1949, whichever
18 is greater.

19 “(f) Such members shall be deemed to be employees of
20 the Government for the purposes of the Federal tort claims
21 provisions of title 28, United States Code.

22 “ALLOCATION TO STATES

23 “SEC. 935. (a) A minimum of fifty members shall be
24 in active service in the Corps in each State at all times.

1 For purposes of this section the District of Columbia shall
2 be considered a 'State' and all areas under the jurisdiction of
3 the United States other than States and the District of
4 Columbia shall be considered in combination a 'State'.

5 “(b) Any amount of the appropriation for a fiscal
6 year remaining after compensating the members of the
7 Corps specified in subsection (a) and defraying other neces-
8 sary expenses in carrying out the provisions of this part shall
9 be used for compensation for services of additional members
10 of the Corps, who shall be allocated among the States by
11 the Director in accordance with (1) the proportion that
12 the population of each State aged fifty-five and over bears
13 to the total population of the United States aged fifty-five
14 and over, and (2) other factors affecting the need for assign-
15 ment of members of the Corps to that State and the potential
16 effectiveness of members in that State; such as the number
17 of those eligible for appointment in such State who have indi-
18 cated an interest in appointment, the need for services of the
19 type rendered by the Corps, the cooperation received by the
20 Corps in such State, and the degree of acceptance of the
21 Corps in such State.

22 “AUTHORIZATION

23 “SEC. 936. There is authorized to be appropriated for
24 the purposes of this part \$15,000,000 for each of the fiscal

1 years ending June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967, and for
 2 the succeeding fiscal years such sums as the Congress may
 3 hereafter authorize by law.

4 "PART C—OTHER PROVISIONS FOR THE ELDERLY

5 "ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY

6 "SEC. 951. There shall be in the Office an Assistant
 7 Director for Programs for the Elderly. Such Assistant
 8 Director shall be appointed by the President, by and with
 9 the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall be in addi-
 10 tion to Assistant Directors appointed pursuant to section
 11 601 (a).

12 "REPRESENTATION OF ELDERLY IN COMMUNITY ACTION
 13 PROGRAMS

14 "SEC. 952. In the participation of groups served in the
 15 development, conducting, and administering of community
 16 action programs pursuant to section 202 (a) the Director
 17 shall require that elderly persons be represented as such a
 18 group wherever appropriate.

19 "COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS TO INCLUDE PROGRAMS
 20 FOR THE OLDER POOR

21 "SEC. 953. Community action programs approved for
 22 funding under the provisions of title II shall, wherever feasi-
 23 ble, include programs designed to be of particular assistance
 24 to the older poor.

1 “TASK FORCE ON PROGRAMS FOR THE OLDER POOR

2 “SEC. 954. There is hereby established in the Office a
3 task force on programs for the older poor. Such task force
4 shall function as an advisory committee to (1) advise the
5 Director in carrying out the provisions of this title, (2) ad-
6 vise the Director with respect to including the elderly in
7 other appropriate programs under this Act, and (3) examine
8 the nature and causes of poverty among middle aged and
9 older citizens, and recommend ways of preventing such
10 poverty and additional means of eliminating it. The task
11 force shall be composed of nineteen members who shall be
12 appointed by, and shall serve at the pleasure of, the Director
13 pursuant to section 602 (c) to represent industry, labor,
14 agriculture, education, minority groups, and social service
15 organizations. The Director shall name one such member as
16 chairman of the task force.”

S. 1700

APPENDIX

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON

FROM THE
FIFTH CENTURY
TO THE PRESENT
TIME

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. SMATHERS to S. 1759, a bill to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

JUNE 29, 1965

**Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public
Welfare and ordered to be printed**

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1759

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 26, 1965

Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and ordered to be
printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURPHY to S. 1759, a bill to
expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness
of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964,
viz:

1 On page 9, between lines 10 and 11, insert the follow-
2 ing:

3 "POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

4 "SEC. 16. Part A of title VI of the Economic Oppor-
5 tunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof
6 the following new section:

7 "POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

8 "SEC. 610. (a) For the purposes of the Act entitled
9 "An Act to prevent pernicious political activities," approved

1 August 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), a volunteer under this
2 title shall be deemed to be a person employed in the execu-
3 tive branch of the Federal Government.

4 ““(b) For the purposes of the Act entitled “An Act
5 to prevent pernicious political activities”, approved August
6 2, 1939 (53 Stat. 1147), any agency administering a com-
7 munity action program receiving assistance under part A
8 of title II of this Act shall be deemed to be a State or local
9 agency, and any person who is employed by such admin-
10 istering agency and whose salary is paid in any part from
11 funds appropriated pursuant to this Act, shall be deemed to
12 be an officer or employee of such a State or local agency.

13 ““(c) The provisions of section 595 of title 18 of the
14 United States Code shall apply to any such volunteer and
15 to any such person who is employed by such an adminis-
16 tering agency and whose salary is paid in any part from
17 funds appropriated pursuant to this Act.’”

18 On page 9, line 12, strike out “SEC. 16” and insert in
19 lieu thereof “SEC. 17”.

20 On page 9, line 15, strike out “SEC. 17” and insert in
21 lieu thereof “SEC. 18”.

22 On page 10, line 13, strike out “SEC. 18” and insert in
23 lieu thereof “SEC. 19”.

S. 1759

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURPHY to
S. 1759, a bill to expand the war on poverty
and enhance the effectiveness of programs
under the Economic Opportunity Act of
1964.

JULY 26, 1965

Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public
Welfare and ordered to be printed

Calendar No. 599

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 13 (legislative day, AUGUST 12), 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JAVITS to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page , between lines , insert the following
2 new section:

3 “QUALIFICATIONS OF DIRECTOR

4 “SEC. 18. The second sentence of subsection (a) of
5 section 601 is amended by inserting before the period at the
6 end thereof a comma and the following: ‘and who shall hold
7 no other Federal office of equivalent rank.’”.

8 Renumber the subsequent sections of the bill accord-
9 ingly.

Amdt. No. 386

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JAVITS to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of pro-
grams under the Economic Opportunity Act
of 1964.

AUGUST 13 (legislative day, AUGUST 12), 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 599

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 13 (legislative day, AUGUST 12), 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JAVITS to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz: On page , delete lines through , and insert in lieu thereof:

1 DISAPPROVAL OF PLANS
2 SEC. 10. Section 209 (c) of the Economic Opportunity
3 Act of 1964 is amended by (1) inserting “of part B” be-
4 fore “of title I” and (2) striking out “and such plan has
5 not been disapproved by him within thirty days of such
6 submission” and inserting in lieu thereof “and such plan has
7 not been disapproved by the Governor within thirty days
8 of such submission, or, if so disapproved, has been recon-
9 sidered by the Director and, after public hearing in which

Amdt. No. 387

1 the Governor or his authorized representative is given an
 2 opportunity to appear, found by the Director to be fully
 3 consistent with the provisions and in furtherance of the pur-
 4 poses of this part”.

Amdt. No. 387

Calendar No. 599

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JAVITS to
 H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
 poverty and enhance the effectiveness of pro-
 grams under the Economic Opportunity Act
 of 1964.

August 13 (legislative day, August 12), 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. DOMINICK to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page 28, line 24, strike out "\$535,000,000" and
2 insert in lieu thereof "\$412,500,000".

3 On page 29, line 10, strike out "\$880,000,000" and in-
4 sert in lieu thereof "\$490,000,000".

5 On page 29, line 23, strike out "\$55,000,000" and in-
6 sert in lieu thereof "\$35,000,000".

7 On page 30, line 22, strike out "\$30,000,000" and
8 insert in lieu thereof "\$10,000,000".

Amdt. No. 389

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. DOMINICK to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

August 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. DOMINICK (for himself and Mr. SIMPSON to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz: On page 31, line 17, insert the following:

1 SEC. 32. Section 103 of part 1 of title I of the Economic
2 Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the
3 beginning of said section the following: "The Director of
4 the Office will not authorize any Job Corps program that
5 would result in the displacement of employed workers or
6 impair existing contracts for services."

Amdt. No. 390

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. DOMINICK (for himself and Mr. SIMPSON) to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. FANNIN to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

- 1 On page 20, strike out lines 1 to 4, inclusive.
- 2 Renumber sections 16 to 31 as 15 to 30, respectively.

Amdt. No. 391

Amdt. No. 391

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. FANNIN to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

August 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. ALLOTT to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page 28, beginning with line 17, strike out all
2 through line 2 on page 31 and insert in lieu thereof the
3 following:

4 “SEC. 30. (a) The second sentence of section 131 of
5 the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is amended to read
6 as follows: “For the purpose of carrying out this title, there
7 is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$412,-
8 500,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965,
9 and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30,

Amdt. No. 392

1 1967, such sum may be appropriated as the Congress may
2 hereafter authorize by law.”

3 “(b) The second sentence of section 220 of such Act
4 (as redesignated by section 20 of this Act) is amended to
5 read as follows: ‘For the purpose of carrying out this title
6 there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of
7 \$340,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30,
8 1965, and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending
9 June 30, 1967, such sum may be appropriated as the Con-
10 gress may hereafter authorize by law.’

11 “(c) The second sentence of section 321 of such Act
12 is amended to read as follows: ‘For the purpose of carrying
13 out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated
14 the sum of \$35,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending
15 June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year
16 ending June 30, 1967, such sum may be appropriated as
17 the Congress may hereafter authorize by law.’

18 “(d) The second sentence of section 503 of such Act
19 is amended to read as follows: ‘For the purpose of carrying
20 out this title, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated
21 the sum of \$150,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending
22 June 30, 1965, and June 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year
23 ending June 30, 1967, such sum may be appropriated as the
24 Congress may hereafter authorize by law.’

25 “(e) The second sentence of section 615 of such Act

1 is amended to read as follows: 'For the purpose of carrying
2 out this title (other than for purposes of making credits to
3 the revolving fund established by section 606 (a)) there is
4 hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000
5 for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1965, and June
6 30, 1966; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967,
7 such sum may be appropriated as the Congress may here-
8 after authorize by law.' "

9 At the end of the bill insert a new section as follows:

10 "JOINT CONGRESSIONAL STUDY COMMITTEE

11 "SEC. 32. (a) There is hereby established a Joint Com-
12 mittee on the Administration of the Economic Opportunity
13 Act of 1964 (hereafter in this section referred to as the
14 "joint committee") to be composed of six Members of the
15 Senate appointed by the Vice President, three from the
16 majority party and three from the minority party, and six
17 Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the
18 Speaker, three from the majority party and three from the
19 minority party. In making such appointments the Vice
20 President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives
21 shall each designate one member to serve as cochairman of
22 the joint committee. Any vacancy occurring in the member-
23 ship of the joint committee shall be filled in the manner in
24 which the original appointment was made. Seven members
25 of the joint committee shall constitute a quorum for carrying

1 out its functions, except that a lesser number of at least two
2 members from each party may hold hearings pursuant to this
3 section.

4 “(b) The joint committee shall make a full and com-
5 plete study of the administration of the Economic Oppor-
6 tunity Act of 1964 at the Federal, State, and local levels
7 with a view to determining what improvements, if any,
8 should be made in such Act and in its administration.

9 “(c) The joint committee shall report the results of such
10 study and its recommendations to the Senate and the House
11 of Representatives not later than January 31, 1966. After
12 making such report the joint committee shall cease to exist.

13 “(d) For the purpose of carrying out this section, the
14 joint committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee there-
15 of, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times within
16 the United States (exclusive of any Commonwealth or
17 possession thereof) during the sessions, recesses, and periods
18 of adjournment of the present Congress, to hold such hear-
19 ings, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of
20 such witnesses and the production of such books, papers,
21 records, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take
22 such testimony, to procure such printing and binding, and
23 to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. Subpenas
24 may be issued under the signatures of the cochairmen of
25 the joint committee or any member designated by them,

1 and may be served by any person designated by such co-
2 chairmen or member.

3 “(e) The joint committee may appoint and fix the
4 compensation of such experts, consultants, technicians, and
5 clerical and stenographic assistants as it deems necessary
6 and advisable. The joint committee may also recruit and
7 utilize, on a loan basis and with the consent of the head
8 of the department or agency concerned, appropriate experts,
9 consultants, and technicians from the executive branch of the
10 Government.

11 “(f) The expenses of the joint committee, which shall
12 not exceed \$50,000, shall be paid upon vouchers approved
13 by the cochairmen of the joint committee.”

Amdt. No. 392

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. ALLOT to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

August 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz: On page 27, line 20, strike out everything through line 24 and insert in lieu thereof:

1 PROGRAMS FOR THE ELDERLY POOR

2 SEC. 610. (a) It is the intention of Congress that when-
3 ever feasible the special problems of the elderly poor shall
4 be considered in the development, conduct, and administra-
5 tion of programs under this Act.

6 (b) There is hereby established in the Office a Task
7 Force on Programs for the Elderly Poor. The task force
8 shall be composed of nineteen members who shall be ap-
9 pointed by, and shall serve at the pleasure of, the Director

1 pursuant to section 602 (c) to represent industry, labor,
2 agriculture, education, minority groups, and social service
3 organizations. The Director shall name one such member as
4 Chairman. The task force shall investigate the needs of the
5 elderly poor, examine the effect on the elderly poor of
6 programs under this and other Federal Acts, and, where
7 appropriate, recommend modifications of existing programs
8 and the institution of new programs to assist the elderly
9 poor to improve their standard of living. The task force
10 shall, among other things, examine proposals for substantial
11 increases in monthly social security benefits, the inclusion
12 of all persons of retirement age who do not receive public
13 pensions into the social security system, and further liberali-
14 zation of the retirement income test of section 203 of the
15 Social Security Act. The task force shall make a report of
16 its findings and recommendations to the Director for trans-
17 mittal to the President and Congress on or before June 30,
18 1966.

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

August 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page 17, line 7, strike out everything through line 6
2 on page 18, and renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

3 On page 29, line 10, change the figure "\$880,000,000"
4 to "\$730,000,000".

5 On page 29, line 13, strike out the semicolon and every-
6 thing that follows it down through the figure "205 (d)" in
7 line 16.

Amdt. No. 394

Amdt. No. 394

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1st Session

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

August 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

- 1 On page 29, line 10, change the amended figure "\$730,-
- 2 000,000" to "\$442,000,000".

Amdt. No. 395

Amdt. No. 395

Calendar No. 582

**89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

Calendar No. 582

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

2 “TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

3 “SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act
4 of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the follow-
5 ing new section:

6 “ ‘TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF LABOR

7 “ ‘SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under
8 part B of title I are hereby transferred to the Secretary of
9 Labor.

10 “ ‘(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and

1 unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other
 2 funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made available,
 3 in connection with functions transferred by subsection (a)
 4 as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine
 5 shall be transferred to the Department of Labor.' ”

6 Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

Amdt. No. 397

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
 H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
 poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
 programs under the Economic Opportunity
 Act of 1964.

August 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

2 “TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

3 “SEC. 30. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act of
4 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following
5 new section:

6 “ ‘TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF HEALTH,
7 EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

8 “ ‘SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under
9 part B of title II are hereby transferred to the Secretary of
10 Health, Education, and Welfare.

Amdt. No. 398

1 “(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and
2 unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other
3 funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made avail-
4 able, in connection with functions transferred by subsection
5 (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall deter-
6 mine shall be transferred to the Department of Health, Edu-
7 cation, and Welfare.’”

8 Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

2 “TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

3 “SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act
4 of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the follow-
5 ing new section:

6 “ “TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF
7 AGRICULTURE

8 “ “SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under
9 part A of title III are hereby transferred to the Secretary
10 of Agriculture.

Amdt. No. 399

1 “ ‘ (b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and
2 unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other
3 funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made avail-
4 able, in connection with functions transferred by subsection
5 (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall deter-
6 mine shall be transferred to the Department of Agriculture.’ ”
7 Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

**89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

2 “TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

3 “SEC. 29. Title VI of the Economic Opportunity Act
4 of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof the fol-
5 lowing new section:

6 ““TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO ADMINISTRATOR OF THE
7 SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

8 ““SEC. 617. (a) All functions of the Director under
9 title IV are hereby transferred to the Administrator of the
10 Small Business Administration.

Amdt. No. 400

1 “(b) So much of the personnel, property, records, and
 2 unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other
 3 funds employed, held, used, available, or to be made avail-
 4 able, in connection with functions transferred by subsection
 5 (a) as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall de-
 6 termine shall be transferred to the Administrator of the
 7 Small Business Administration.’ ”

8 Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

Amdt. No. 400

Calendar No. 582

**89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act of 1964.

August 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz:

1 On page 28, after line 15, insert the following:

2 "TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS

3 "SEC. 29. (a) Section 501 and section 503 of the Eco-
4 nomic Opportunity Act of 1964 are each amended by striking
5 out 'Director' and inserting in lieu thereof 'Secretary of
6 Health, Education and Welfare'.

7 "(b) Section 502 of such Act is amended by striking
8 out 'Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or
9 allocated to carry out the purposes of this title to the Secre-
10 tary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable him' and

Amdt. No. 401

- 1 inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'Secretary of Health,
 2 Education, and Welfare is authorized to utilize funds appro-
 3 priated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title'."
- 4 Renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

Amdt. No. 401

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
 H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
 poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
 programs under the Economic Opportunity
 Act of 1964.

August 16, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 18, 1965

Ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Proposed by Mr. PROUTY to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, viz:

- 1 On page 20, line 2, beginning with the word "Section",
- 2 strike everything down to and including "(c)" on line 4 and
- 3 insert in lieu thereof the following: "At the end of section
- 4 209 (c) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, add this
- 5 proviso: *Provided further*, That the Governor of a State
- 6 may disapprove a plan setting forth a contract, agreement,
- 7 grant, loan, or other assistance resulting from titles I and
- 8 II of this Act only where such plan would (1) provide for
- 9 or permit the payment of excessive salaries greater in amount
- 10 than the annual salary of the highest State welfare official,
- 11 thereby denying a proper proportion of aid to the poor, or

Amdt. No. 403

1 (2) permit political exploitation of the poor, or (3) ignore
2 or deny the rights of poor people to adequate participation
3 in the planning and administration of projects, or (4) ignore
4 or deny the rights of the poor people to effective representa-
5 tion on the governing or policy advisory boards of commu-
6 nity action agencies, or (5) permit a person convicted of a
7 crime involving moral turpitude to become or remain an
8 officer or employee of an agency conducting a community
9 action program if such person would have an unwholesome
10 influence on the poor people to be served by such agency,
11 or (6) if executed, create great social unrest and serious
12 disturbances of the peace.' ”

**89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PROUTY to
H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on
poverty and enhance the effectiveness of
programs under the Economic Opportunity
Act.

AUGUST 18, 1965

Ordered to be printed

Calendar No. 582

89TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 8283

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 18, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. COTTON to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, viz: At the appropriate place, insert the following new section:

1 SEC. No program director or other officer or em-
2 ployee shall be paid compensation in excess of 75 per centum
3 of the basic salary of the Governor of the State in which his
4 duty station is located.

Amdt. No. 404

89TH CONGRESS
1ST Session

H. R. 8283

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. CORTON to H.R. 8283, an Act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

August 18, 1965

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

